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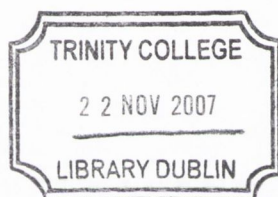
Philip I of France (1060-1108) and the development of royal authority

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29 September 2006

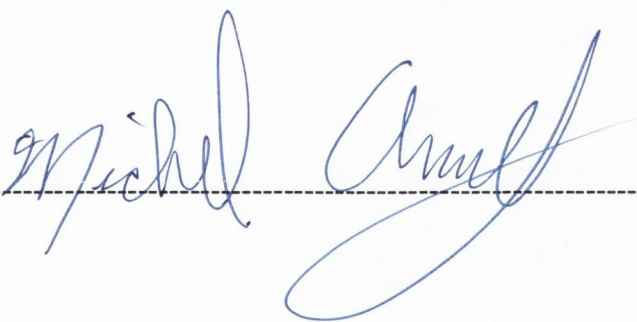
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Cette thèse est dédiée avec amour et affection pour mes parents et ami(e)s.

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Michel AMYOT

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Summary:

This thesis was an attempt to underline the positive aspects of the contribution of Philip I of France (1060-1108) to the development of the Capetian monarchy of France. His reign has been little studied in any language. This thesis is the first work in English which concentrates solely on Philip I. Philip lived during a period of immense change in society and social order. Philip adapted to the changing times with success and in doing so facilitated the rule of his successors, especially Louis VI (1108-1137) and Louis VII (1137-1180). The energies of his predecessors was focused on the magnates of the kingdom, Hugh Capet (987-996), Robert II (996-1031) and Henry I (1031-1060) focused their attentions on protecting their crown from usurpers such as Charles of Lorraine in the case of Hugh, or the counts of Blois-Champagne and the house of Anjou in the case of Robert II. Henry I focused his energies on the latter two and then changed his policy to deal with the growing power of the duke of Normandy. All these policies led to a decrease in authority and power in the region known as the Ile-de-France, the royal demesne of the Capetians.

Philip, because of the anarchy in the demesne lands needed to focus his efforts and energies on the rebel castellans and lords of the region. He needed to re-impose his authority on the region which would strengthen his rule and augment his resources thereby facilitating his efforts to govern. In doing so, Philip worked in conjunction with the French Church to glorify the title of the French king. The image of the holy man was furthered by the ecclesiastical establishment and the power to heal scrofula, the power for which the later kings of France would be renowned, was begun in his reign. Added to this Philip furthered the idea of his direct descent from the Carolingians. He named his first born son after a Carolingian name, breaking with family customs and creating a link with the previous dynasty.

Not only did Philip strengthen the image of the monarchy, but he also solidified its resources and power. Philip decided, against precedence, to pass on to his eldest son, Louis VI, all of his possessions, the inherited lands and those acquired by Philip I throughout his reign, which had become substantial. This not only augmented the power

of the kings as never before, it stabilised the authority and resources of the king, a policy followed by his successors. The wealth of the demesne was influenced by several matters, the growth of trade, development of a merchant class and increasing development of wine –growing in the northern regions of the kingdom. Since Philip's rights touched on these developments, their progress affected the king's resources thereby making the king more economically viable.

The final development of Philip's reign was his most successful, he centralised royal administration more than any of his predecessors. He achieved this by concentrating his travels in his demesne lands and by incorporating the local castellans in his household. These measures had the desired effects which are best illustrated by his use of the mandamus, or a royal order in the form of a letter expressing the orders of the king. It was my purpose to examine his internal developments and achievements, not to analyse his external relations with the other magnates of the kingdom or with other monarchs or the papacy for that would enlarge the thesis well beyond its intended limits.

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Comme toute dédicace de ce genre, il faut remercier tant de personne, qui, malheureusement ne puissent pas tous être mentionnées. A commencer, j'aimerai remercier Prof. Ian ROBINSON pour sa vaillance, ses aptitudes et ses confiances envers moi, sans ses connaissances et patiences cette thèse n'aurait jamais vu le jour. En outre, j'aimerai aussi donner mes remerciements aux autres membres de la fac d'histoire médiévale. En plus, si toutes université sont jugées par leurs bibliothèques, ça va avec raison que Trinity soit reconnu comme une des meilleure au monde et c'est grâce à cette magnifique bibliothèque et de tout les travailleurs, grands et petits, que j'aie pu étudier et accomplir avec succès ma thèse.

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Abbreviations

AHR	American Historical Review
ASHAG	Annales de la société historique et archéologique du Gatinais
BEC	Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes
BrueI, Cluny	Recueil des actes de l'abbaye de Cluny
Casper, Reg.	Das Register Gregors VII
CCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuation mediaevalis
DA	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittlealters
EHR	English Historical Review
HIF	Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age
HIF I	Histoire des Institutions Seigneuriales
HIF II	Histoire des Institutions Royales
HIF III	Histoire des Institutions de l'Église Françaises
HJ	Historische Jahrbuch
HZ	Historisch Zeitschrift
JL	Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ed. Jaffé, 2vols. (2 nd edition by W. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, Leipzig, 1885-1888)
MA	Le Moyen Age
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Briefe	Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Epp.sel.	Epistolae selectae
LL	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti
Schriften	Schriften der MGH
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
SS	Scriptores
NCMH	The New Cambridge Medieval History

Newman, Robert II	Catalogue des Actes de Robert II (996-1031)
OV	Orderic Vitalis, Historia Aecclesiastica
PL	Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne
Prou	Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059-1108)
Prou and Vidier	Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire
RBPH	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire
RH	Revue Historique
RHGF	Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet and others, 24vols. (Paris, 1738-1904)
RN	Revue du Nord
Settimane	Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, (Spoleto)
Soehnée, Henri Ier	Catalogue des Actes de Henri Ier (1031-1060)
VMPIG	Veröffentlicheungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte
ZRG germ.Abt.	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, germanische Abteilung

Introduction:

In the last thirty years a growing interest in the government of the early Capetians has led to a number of works dealing with the king's influence in the Ile-de-France and beyond¹. Most of these works have, however, been generalisations of the period from Hugh's accession in 987 until the death of Philip I in 1108. These studies have led to a change of perception regarding the first kings of the Capetian dynasty from a quite insignificant rank to a rank at least level with those of the great magnates of the kingdom, and similarly with other rulers throughout Europe. Although these works have been very beneficial and important to the understanding of the period and the workings of royal government, no in-depth study has pursued the development of royal power solely under Philip I (1060-1108). This thesis is an attempt to fill this lacuna and provide a complement to Augustin Fliche's monumental work on Philip I in using the most recent studies². Due to space and length considerations, only a selection of topics is discussed. In addition, since there is a lacuna of primary sources for this period in French history, I have relied on a number of German works, which may be used either as a comparative approach or as descriptive evidence. The thesis is divided into four chapters, each based on personal aspects of power. No chapter deals exclusively with the magnates of the kingdom or their relations with the king, although brief summaries on these are found throughout the thesis.

The first chapter deals with the perception of Philip as king. This subject is vast and contains observations by his contemporaries, both friendly and hostile to the king. These have never been fully analysed by any student of eleventh century French kings,

¹ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, (Cambridge, 1981); J. LeGoff, 'Aspect religieux et sacré de la monarchie française du Xe au XIIIe siècles' in *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers capétiens*, (Paris, 1985); P., Contamine, *Histoire militaire de la France I: Des origines à 1715*, (Paris, 1997); E. Bournazel, 'La Royauté féodale en France et en Angleterre (Xe-XIIIe siècle)' in *Les Féodalités*, (dir. E. Bournazel and J.-P. Poly), (Paris 1998), pp.389-510; and for Philip I see R. Bautier, 'La prise en charge du Berry par le roi Philippe Ier et les antécédents de cette politique de Hugues le Grand à Robert le Pieux' *Media in Francia. Recueil de Mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*, (Maulévrier, 1989), pp.29-48; O. Guyotjeannin, 'Les actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous le règne de Philippe Ier' in *BEC* 147, 1989, pp.29-48; E. Magrou-Nortier (dir.), *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens*, éditions Hérault, 1992.

² A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier roi de France (1060-1108)*, (Paris, 1912).

at least with regard to Philip³. I believe this to be an important starting point for this study because the perception of Philip as a king by modern historians has been negative. He was seen as unimportant and, especially after 1092, incompetent and wanting in administrative and military ambitions. The most detailed description of Philip's character and appearance arose from the incident when he abandoned his wife and took another man's wife in 1092. This event led the clerical and papal establishment to respond harshly to Philip's actions and describe him in an unfavourable light. It was these views that shaped modern perceptions of Philip and may have been the basis for promoting the perception of Philip as fat, lazy and unmindful of his duties. Alongside perceptions of Philip by others, a closer look at views of monarchy in France will be attempted. Both those of Philip's own chancery and of contemporary writers of royal polemics across Europe will be examined to demonstrate the aura that Philip, as king, was able to command⁴. I believe that a fresh look at the sources, and their reasons for writing, will reveal another view of Philip, especially for those where his power was most effective and felt, his own lands. It was in propaganda and its uses that the early Capetians excelled. They used every means possible to advance themselves and their claims, and most of the time enjoyed great success.

Because the French church was closely allied with the monarchy, the Capetians found able supporters willing to advance their claims in the name of order, justice and divine good. One of the goals of this first chapter is to demonstrate that Philip was not unaware of this advantage. The examination of Philip's charters reveal an attempt by his chancery to elaborate on royal duties, describing him at different moments as the defender of the church and its members and the rightful keeper of peace and justice. Philip's actions should be analysed within the framework of propaganda and symbolism as identified in the contemporary sources, those that were either royal or

³ Although works on both Hugh I and Robert II have been thoroughly written, the study of the perception of their royal persona was not fully examined. See C. Pfister, *Étude sur le règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031)*, (Paris, 1885); F. Lot, *Étude sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du Xe siècle*, (Paris, 1903); L. Theis, *L'Avènement de Hugues Capet, Trente Journées qui ont fait la France*, (Paris, 1984).

⁴ This idea has been studied by a number of historians. The title of king was on a different level from that of duke or count; kingship had a sacral character to it. The most important works on this are found in R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation*, translated by L. Butler and R. Adams, (London, 1960); F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age II: Institutions royales*, (Paris, 1958).

favourable to royal institutions. Since his letter collection is practically non-existent, an examination of his actions through the means of the crown-wearing ceremonies, will help to determine attitudes and views of his position as king. Ceremonials and crown-wearing ceremonies helped to elevate kings; it placed them on a different plane of existence. With the ceremony, the king became clerical, and it was understood by others that he was indeed spiritual. This may account for the fact that not once was Philip threatened, militarily or politically, with the loss of his title. The last section will deal with Philip's genealogical inheritance. Philip was very adamant in promoting his Carolingian heritage, whether valid or not is irrelevant, and in so doing was quite innovative and successful. His approach to inheritance was a turning point in Capetian history, as it strengthened the heir to the throne as never before.

The second chapter deals with the demesne. Due to the length and diversity of this topic, it has been subdivided into many aspects to facilitate its presentation. The first section deals with the demesne lands and possessions held by Philip. This was subdivided even further into two parts, the first dealing with his lay possessions and the second with his ecclesiastical demesne. This is followed by an attempt to enumerate the rights Philip enjoyed over these possessions and how successful he was in enforcing them. This topic has caused much confusion for the historian of eleventh century France, mostly because of the overlapping of rights and possessions between different rulers. Not until William Newman's thesis on the demesne was it widely accepted that the royal demesne was not a geographical unit. His work gives a detailed outlined of the royal possessions held by the kings until 1180⁵. This was followed by more recent studies both on the demesne and on the nature of feudalism and its changing connotations⁶. All these studies have re-enforced the idea put forward that Philip was not an insignificant king, in fact he was on level terms with , and even above, the majority of the dukes and counts of the kingdom. Because the eleventh century was a

⁵ W. Newman, *Le Domaine Royal sous les premiers capétiens (987-1180)*, (Paris, 1937). This work has come under recent criticisms. Newman fails to analyse his findings with any depth. The work remains a useful tool from which to begin. For more on the criticisms see: F. Menant, H. Martin, B. Merdrignac and M. Chauvin, *Les Capétiens: Histoire et dictionnaire, 987-1328*, (Paris, 1999), p.1143.

⁶ See M. Bloch, *La Société féodale*, (Paris, 1939); F.-L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, translated by P. Grierson, (London, 1964). For more recent studies see S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, (Oxford, 1994); E. Bournazel and J.-P. Poly, 'La Mutation Feodale: Xe-XIIe siècles' in *Serie Nouvelle Clio 16*, (Paris, 1980).

time of change, especially in the fields of demographics and economics, Philip's resources increased and developed alongside his methods of enforcing his rights. An entire section is devoted to describing Philip's resources and military strength based on his demesne possessions. The section has given no concrete details or even numbers, since no budget has survived of the period, but has instead given ideas as to the wealth Philip had at his disposal and to the force he was able to gather for battles.

As for the military prowess of the king, some emphasis has been placed on modern authorities examining the western emperors' military might as it has proven useful to compare them to the French kingdom. The majority of the information for his military might came from two sources, a saint's life, the *Miracles of Saint-Benedict*, and the *Life of Louis the Fat* by abbot Suger of St-Denis. These were invaluable sources. In addition, local histories and chronicles have proven useful, especially when dealing with the civil war in Flanders and the expedition led by the king against Robert I count of Flanders in 1071. In determining Philip's wealth, an abundant source of revenue, although periodic at best, came from his right to despoil a church when it was vacant and to claim its property until a new head could be appointed. This was determined with the help of the *Gallia Christiana* series which contained the history of each diocese and bishopric. A specific period of time was determined for how long Philip was to enjoy his rights over a vacant see or post. In addition to his rights over the church, Philip enjoyed a myriad of other rights, and of these the most profitable for the royal fisc were his rights on property, especially with the value of land increasing throughout his reign. The tell tale sign of prosperity is in the granting of lands by Philip. Philip did not grant away whole properties, but parts of those properties such as a half acre here, or a quarter acre there. This demonstrates that the value generated from the land was increasing, as such small divisions were understood as valuable grants. The most important commodity for the king was the sale and production of wine. Studies have determined that the expansion of wine into the north regions of the kingdom developed apace during the period of Philip's reign. The growing population contributed to Philip's fisc, as the increase of traffic on the roads, paying the tolls, and the greater number who had to pay certain taxes to the provosts in the name of the king, enriched Philip. Lastly, the growth of trade and commerce was single-handedly the biggest contributor to Philip's wealth.

He had the royal right to create fairs and from these, he demanded certain forms of payment for his protection and its liberties, on its traded merchandise and he collected revenues from those travelling to and from the market. In sum, the rights exercised by the king, coupled with the increase and development of trade and commerce with the growth of towns all contributed to the increasing wealth of Philip I.

The third chapter analyses Philip's itinerary. In the case of the French kings, not much has been written on the topic of the itinerary, especially with the earlier Capetians. In fact, the majority of twentieth century works are focused on the German kings. It was necessary to study more in regards to the German kings' itineraries as they shed much light on this topic. The use of John Bernhardt's *Royal itineraries* has been of immense help in putting together ideas on royal itineraries and journeys. He has summed up the work of several leading German scholars in this field. Although he does not mention anything regarding the French monarchy, the arguments in his book were useful for my research, and many ideas have been influenced from his study such as expected journeys and services rendered to the king from a monastery and zones of influence within a region. The importance of royal itineraries when discussing royal power is twofold. The first is that they are a means of identifying centres of importance and authority within the kingdom or demesne. Secondly, they identify periods of increased or decreased activity, which is important in Philip's case because it has been argued that after 1092, Philip became indolent and left the running of the kingdom to his son, Louis the Fat. This study, however, will demonstrate that even after 1092, although his journeys become less frequent, and his activity seems to have diminished, he still demonstrated certain periods of intense activity. The most detailed account of Philip's travels is found in Carlrhichard Brühl's monumental book on royal itineraries. Although vast in context and achievement, this thesis attempts to add more clarity and precision to Philip's itinerary and how it compared to his predecessors. No attempt has been made to compare his travels with other monarchs because of the differences between the kingdoms, especially with the western empire. Its size meant that the king and emperor had to travel much more frequently and over vast distances, whereas the French kingdom, as a politically divided kingdom, meant that the king had a much smaller area of travel to deal with. Although it has been argued that Philip was more restrained by his

demesne and that he ventured less outside of it, this chapter will illustrate that he was not as static as perceived. Certainly, he was mostly in the royal demesne, but he travelled to the lands of others frequently enough. Another point worth mentioning is his dependence on a more centralised form of government. Philip spent a great deal of time within two cities, Paris and Orléans. This chapter will demonstrate that with Philip, Paris began its progress towards being the capital of the kingdom and the most important city. Whether this was originated by Philip through the examples of other courts, such as Constantinople or Cordova, or whether it arose from the political situation of the demesne will be analysed.

The ultimate chapter deals with Philip's administration. This chapter is divided into four sections, each describing various aspects of Philip's government, and its evolution to a more centralised administration. The first section deals with the royal court, and its influences on the king. Philip's reign stands at the cross-roads of important changes in administration. This is identified by the evolution of the royal court from the dominating influence it held on the king to an almost non-existent role at the end of his reign. The first part examines the role of the royal family, their influence and duties. This is followed by the influence held by the great magnates of the kingdom, the archbishops and princes. Throughout the reign, their appearance at court became less frequent and numerous. They were substituted by the lesser nobility. The examination of this process is the core of the section. The following section deals with the household. An examination of the different members comprising the household and their growing influence at Philip's court is the focus of the section. With the diminishing numbers at his court, Philip relied to a greater degree on his household officers, their increasing importance and standing at court was evidenced by the placement of their subscriptions on the royal charters, their increased presence in the charters and their growing role as witnesses in the same charters, and lastly by the desire of the local nobility to fill those offices. A third brief section is dedicated to the chancery of Philip. Apart from an article by Léon Levillain and more recently Olivier Guyotjeannin, no historian has focused on French chancery activity under Philip I⁷. This aspect of Philip's administration is

⁷ O., Guyotjeannin, 'Les Actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous Philippe Ier' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147, 1989, pp.29-47; L. Levillain, 'Comptes rendus' in *Le Moyen Age* 26, 1913,

important for it demonstrates either an increase or a decrease in royal activities and chancery output, especially when compared to the previous French kings. Again a number of works on the German chancery were fundamental in the understanding of the workings of the chancery. In his study on the chancery, Olivier Guyotjeanin argued that Philip's chancery was more aware of Philip's Carolingian past, as many formulas utilised in Philip's diplomas were taken in part from Carolingian diplomas. The final aspect of the chapter deals with the growing centralisation of the administration. The provosts, who grew in importance along similar lines as the household officers, were the royal representatives of the king in a town or region. Their ability to enforce royal justice and collect the taxes necessary was an important feature of Philip's government. Near the end of the reign, the role of the provost, at least pertaining to the royal court, diminished and was replaced by a new form of administration never before utilised by the Capetian kings, the *mandamus*. This represents the centralising efforts and successes of Philip I. In these letters, no subscriptions and no witnesses were necessary to give the act justification. The *mandamus* was usually sent to provosts telling them the will of the king.

Before any study can be attempted, the sources used must be analysed and explained. Only trustworthy sources should be used. In order to help the analysis the editors of the various editions of the works have been cited. The best method of approach is the following: the royal diplomas and other charters; letters from both the French and the Roman *curiae*; and the narrative sources. These sources follow a pattern based on their regions, the Ile-de-France, Normandy and England, Flanders, Anjou and the Western Empire. For the analysis of the demesne and its resources, an examination of the geo-physical landscape⁸ will shed some light where the literary sources do not. The first and arguably the most important source for any study of royal power are the royal diplomas. They themselves, however, represent a weakness in authority. The Carolingians were a monarchy that loved to legislate. They created ordinances that applied to the whole of their kingdom. When the power of the Carolingians began to

pp.278-288; for a general view of the chancery and its evolution from Carolingian times, see H.-W. Klewitz, 'Cancellaria: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geistlichen Hofdienstes' in *Deutsches Archiv* I, 1937, pp.44-79.

⁸ M. Bloch, *The Ile-de-France: The Country around Paris*, translated by J. E. Anderson, (London, 1971).

falter and disintegrate into a more localised rule, the number of ordinances equally fell, and so did their acceptance by the magnates⁹. During the power struggles between the Carolingians and Robertinians, central power began to move to a more localised authority, that of the count. The former administrative officials used by Charlemagne and his sons began to act independently from the king's orders. The rule of those in these regions became more and more stable as time went on. Eventually, certain parts of the kingdom acted as independent kingdoms, only vaguely recognising the authority of the king. This conflict continued on for over half a century until finally Hugh Capet in 987 installed his son as co-ruler and, hence, created a hereditary and relatively stable monarchy. The damage to royal power, however, had been done¹⁰. The process of decentralisation would develop further during the reign of Henry I only to reach its nadir during that of Philip¹¹.

By the time Philip came to the throne in 1060, royal power had devolved down to the castellans of the Ile-de-France. The king's power base had shrunk to its smallest area, and his authority as king had reached a low ebb, even in his own demesne¹². Philip's administration was reduced to local affairs, which took the form of diplomas to monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions. These diplomas either confirmed grants or donations, or were themselves grants and donations made by the king to either an existing monastery or to one recently erected by Philip. It was during Philip's reign,

⁹ J.-F. Lemarignier, *La France médiévale: institutions et sociétés*, (Paris, 1970), p.106.

¹⁰ This has been a much discussed topic by historians. Aside from the analysis of F. Lot, *Étude...Hugues; L. Theis, Avènement...Hugues*, F. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens: Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine (954-991)*, (Paris, 1891), O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens 987-1180*, (Paris, 2002), pp.14-17. K. Leyser has argued that Hugh Capet was chosen by the northern magnates because of the arguments made against Charles of Lotharingia as surrounding himself with vile and corrupt men. In order for Charles to pay his men for their services in retrieving his inheritance, he would have to dispossess certain members of the northern nobility, especially those in Lotharingia. K. Leyser, '987: The Ottonian connection' in *Communication and Power in Medieval Europe: the Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, (ed. T. Reuter), (London, 1994), pp.174-177. Although with Ottonian support this may have occurred, it seems from the evidence that the Ottonians and more precisely the empress, were too involved in domestic affairs to worry over the French kingdom. A new dynastic family would, in their eyes, remove the threat of a Carolingian power base in Lotharingia and enable them to concentrate their efforts elsewhere. K. Leyser, *Ibid.*, pp.177-179.

¹¹ For further information on the de-centralisation of power, see the work by J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe-Xe)*, (Bruges, 1948), where he explains this phenomenon very clearly. For the problems in regards to Henry's accession see J. Dhondt, 'Quelques aspects du règne de Henri Ier' in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, (Paris, 1951), pp.199-208.

¹² I plan to argue that Philip's power was not as weak as believed, especially through an examination of his itinerary and his concentration on a few areas of his demesne lands.

however, that the importance of the diploma began to take form. It was Philip's *acta* that led the revolution in the royal administration¹³, as the roots of Capetian administration began to take hold, the perceptions of royal authority were stabilised and built upon. Charters recorded information that dealt with justice, land grants and donations to and from ecclesiastical institutions and any other transactions made which dealt either directly or indirectly with the king. This is very important in determining Philip's demesne and areas of royal influence. The granting of a piece of territory or *villa* to a monastery indicates that the land was once held, partially or fully, by the king, thereby indicating a royal presence. These grants are one of the only methods of knowing Philip's holdings; only by granting his possessions away is it known that he held them. Aside from its importance in determining the royal demesne, charters are invaluable in identifying Philip's itinerary. Their dating clauses, found usually at the end of charters, are the most important clues to determine Philip's itinerary. Since the majority of the royal courts were ambulatory in nature, and before the days of permanent residences and capital cities, lords at all levels travelled around their demesnes from place to place, residence to residence¹⁴. The charters help to place Philip at a time and place. They determine the areas where Philip felt safest, most secure and where his power was strongest. There is, however, no accurate account of Philip's itinerary, mostly because of the primitive dating clauses of the early Capetian chancery¹⁵. A large number of charters are unclear about either the date or the place, some years even lack any charters. Hence, any account of Philip's itinerary remains speculative. Anyway, they are still the most important and abundant sources for his demesne and his itinerary.

The royal demesne, geographically speaking, was not a united area. In between areas of royal influence and power were castellans who practically ruled independently

¹³ See the article by O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC* 147, p.29-48; J.F. Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux temps des premiers capétiens, 987-1108*, (Paris, 1965).

¹⁴ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age II : Institutions Royales*, (Paris, 1958), p.48. An interesting difference between the north and south of the kingdom is the stable, almost permanent residence of the southern counts. The stronger development of urban life and trade links of the south to established centres gave the counts a more urban lifestyle. Also, the governments of both Byzantium and Cordova were both centralised, being ruled from a capital city which influenced Otto III and may have been the inspiration for his attempts to create a permanent residence or capitol, see K. Leyser, 'Ottonian government' in *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours: 900-1250*, (London, 1982), p.94.

¹⁵ See chapter 4, pp.162-204.

of the king, challenging his authority in their regions¹⁶. Charters help to identify areas of royal influence. It has been stated, “where a royal charter is sealed determines where royal influence is felt”¹⁷. From this, the higher number of diplomas sealed by the king in a region determines a stronger sphere of influence. Those regions that received fewer diplomas can be summed up as the regions where royal authority was weak. It is important to note that since the Carolingians, the sphere of royal activities diminished continuously. The situation rapidly deteriorated under the reign of Robert II (996-1031), reaching its low point during Philip’s reign¹⁸. During the early Capetian kings, the area of royal influence diminished to a small axis located around the regions of Paris, Orléans and Senlis. Since the area of activity of the king diminished, so too did his witness lists. The witness lists, also usually found at the end of charters, are of importance as they identify those who held influence at the court and those upon whom Philip relied for the enforcement of his orders. Lemarignier noted that after the year 1077, the royal court comprised mostly the local castellans and knights from Philip’s spheres of influence, and the household of the king. When compared to the previous dynasty, and even the first Capetians, this is a stark contrast¹⁹. The argument is based on the idea of *servitium* and *auxilium*, two methods by which the king would govern his lands²⁰. Basically, the great nobles of the kingdom would attend the royal court and advise the king on matters of administration. They would also accompany him to battles, as was their duty. With the shrinking in royal authority, however, the prestige of the king diminished. The great nobles were unwilling to attend their king’s court unless it dealt exclusively with them²¹. As the years went on, the absence of the magnates continued to increase, until, eventually, Philip was left with only a selection of castellans from the local countryside

¹⁶ This might not be solely based on power, during his problems with the papacy, Henry IV had serious uprisings to deal with throughout his kingdom. He was arguably one of the more powerful rulers of the period. See Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany: 1056-1106*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp.107-210; Henry IV had inherited the ecclesiastical rights created by Otto I. This created an immense independence on the monasteries and churches. When the reform was pushed by the papacy, Henry IV found himself in a precarious position.

¹⁷ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.106.

¹⁸ J. Dunbabin, ‘West Francia: the kingdom’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III*, pp.392-393 for the effects of the revolt against Robert and his continued absences from his domain lands. This is comparable to many of the German emperors when they were absent for long periods of time.

¹⁹ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.136.

²⁰ CR Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, (Cologne, 1968); J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936-1075*, (Cambridge, 1993).

²¹ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal*, p.103-104.

and his household officers. It is important to note that of all Philip's charters, only three or four of the great magnates subscribed a diploma²². The second reason, cited by Lemarignier, was the Gregorian reform. This movement had as its origins the desire to eliminate lay investiture from ecclesiastical affairs. When Pope Gregory VII appointed Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, as the papal legate for Gaul, he set in motion a clearance of the royal court. At that time the bishops, abbots and clerics of the realm were still very important members of the royal court. Hugh of Lyons excommunicated many of them, hence removing them from office and in the process removing the last magnates from the royal court²³. The flight of the *principes* of the kingdom compounded with that of a good majority of the ecclesiastical orders left Philip with little or no alternative but to choose from the local castellans of the Ile-de-France.

Unfortunately, the royal Capetian diplomas are not without their problems. Firstly, the royal diplomas sealed by the Capetian kings were not very numerous, at least when compared to those of the German kings. From Otto I of Germany to Henry IV, the German kings' output far outnumbered their French counterparts. Although, the gulf between the two chanceries may be attributed to the possible loss of charters in the French kingdom, as it could be that Philip, and the previous kings, sealed many more charters than what we have; many may have been lost or destroyed, especially during the Revolution. After all, the great record keepers of eleventh century France were the monasteries. They would copy the royal charter for future references as a means of conserving their entitlements. Since many monasteries were ransacked during the eleventh century, it is possible that many of the royal diplomas were lost. The Revolution itself, when the division of church lands was agreed upon, was the cause of much destruction, especially when it came to church or feudal matters²⁴. This means that Philip I's itinerary is lacking valuable information as he cannot be precisely identified in a region at a given time on many occasions. Secondly, because the information the

²² M. Prou, *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier roi de France (1059-1108)*, (Paris, 1908), #XXXIII, Geoffrey and Fulk of Anjou and Robert of Burgundy; #XXXIV Geoffrey of Anjou and Baldwin V of Flanders; #XXXV Baldwin VI of Flanders; #'s LXXXIII and LXXXIV Geoffrey of Aquitaine; #XCIV William I of England and #CLVII Geoffrey of Anjou and Fulk junior.

²³ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, pp.146-147.

²⁴ A few examples of lost charters are found for Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, where one of Robert the Pious' charters is mentioned during the reign of Philip I in the 1080's. Prou and Vidier, *Recueil... Fleury*, #s C and CI.

charters tend to mention is administrative and focused on propaganda, the lack of them only adds to the general lack of information in those two fields for Philip's reign. A possible explanation for the gulf between the chanceries is the differences between the two monarchies. Whereas Hugh's reign began as if nothing had changed, at least with regards to his contemporaries, both lay and clerical, the imperial coronation of Otto I in 962 created an air of greatness. Hugh Capet, although a powerful magnate in the French kingdom, was, on his elevation to the kingship, still understood by others as a magnate; he did not inspire the awe of greatness which previous kings had inspired. Meanwhile, it seemed that a new turn in the fortunes of the German monarchy had been witnessed with the accession of Otto I²⁵. Hugh was king, but he was king in a politically divided kingdom, while Otto I was the emperor of the west, his importance and power far exceeded that of the Capetian kings. Otto I was sought out by others across his kingdom to confirm grants, possessions and rights. As for Hugh Capet, we have only fifteen diplomas sealed during his, and most of these were confirmations of previous grants made by the last Carolingians. In addition, the western emperors were able to implement kingdom-wide decrees, or ordinances, while these had become a distant memory in the French kingdom. The political situation in both kingdoms was vastly different. The French monarchs were mediocre players in their own kingdom, with a royal sphere of influence continually diminishing, the emperors' power and prestige, on the other hand, increased. With much more land to govern, the emperors travelled much more and issued more diplomas. Although, the lands governed by the German kings were vast, they could be unruly at times, meaning that the emperor had to be constantly on the move around his kingdom in order to enforce his authority²⁶. A final note concerning the validity of charters was pointed out by both Georges Duby and later Susan Reynolds. They argued that any conclusions governing lay society and its structures based on the evidence found in charters must be approached with an air of caution. The reason for their arguments lies in the nature of the charter evidence. Hardly any diplomas between lay people were sealed, at least from those which have survived. The overwhelming majority were between laymen and ecclesiastical institutions. In short any contract

²⁵ F. Lot, *Études sur Hugues Capet et la fin du Xe siècle*, (Paris, 1903), pp.247-248.

²⁶ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship in Germany*, p.48.

contained in a grant cannot be applied in a general way to the workings of society, or even to any single region. Each case was quite separate and mostly represented the ecclesiastical situations and views of the world. Hence, when forming conclusions on society and governance based on charters, a historian must be cautious and aware of this situation²⁷. Nonetheless, the royal charters of Philip I are still the most authoritative and valuable source in existence to study royal power.

Since there is a void in the charter evidence, all sources must be used to fill the gaps left by the diplomas. This takes us to letters, those written by the papal *curia* to other members of the ecclesiastical institution and those from ecclesiastics to the magnates of the realm. Most of these are found in the *Patrologia Latina* or the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* volumes X-XV. In certain respects, letters are as informative as the royal diplomas. Whereas charters deal almost exclusively with administration and propaganda, letters enlighten us on the history and values of the period and their authors, enriching our understanding of their environment. Letters may, especially in this thesis, inform us about events that occurred for which no record is left of an event, such as royal crown-wearing ceremonies²⁸. If other letters have been lost, they may be quoted elsewhere, as is the case of Urban II's letter to Bishop Ivo of Chartres, for which we have only Ivo's account of the papal letter. Of the surviving papal letters, the most important for this study were those from Gregory VII (1073-1085), Urban II (1088-1099) and Paschal II (1099-1118). These, along with those from certain royal intermediaries acting on behalf of the king, such as Gervais, archbishop of Rheims and Ivo, bishop of Chartres, have enriched the knowledge of the reign of Philip I where his charters have left gaps²⁹. Ivo's letters are some of the most useful evidence in understanding the events of Philip's reign from 1090 onwards until Philip's death in 1108. Ivo of Chartres lived between 1040 and 1116, with all of his writings dating from

²⁷ G. Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, (Paris, 1971), pp.13-14; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, (Oxford, 1994), pp.123 and 167.

²⁸ See Appendix III for the itinerary. Ivo's letters were of significant importance in locating Philip in the 1090's and early 1100's. He mentioned many crown-wearing ceremonies.

²⁹ Apart from the partial translation of Ivo's letters and the full translation of Gregory's register, all the letters have been edited either in the *Patrologia Latina* or the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*.

his episcopate³⁰. He was witness to several events and his views on matters of the times are important because, in certain circumstances, they are the only sources available which mentioned them. He was one of the most learned men of his age, demonstrating remarkable impartiality with regards to events and people of importance. He was, however, in disagreement with Philip over his relations with Bertrada of Montfort, which caused the king to have him imprisoned by the Lord of Puiset³¹. Apart from Ivo's letters, the papal letters were quite important in determining views of Philip as king. Gervais was archbishop of Rheims during the minority years of Philip (1060-1067); he acted as intermediary between the king and the pope³². Because Gervais died shortly after Philip took full control of government, his letters are not a valuable source for the administration of the demesne, they are, however, valuable for the economic aspects of the demesne and equally for Flanders. The papal correspondences are invaluable; they offer detail on the perceptions of Philip as king, they also, in addition, elaborate on his itinerary. During his excommunications, they mention his crown-wearing ceremonies. Both for their historical value and their picturesque descriptions, their value was of the utmost importance for this thesis.

Along with the diplomas and letters, the contemporary narrative sources for the period are also of historical value. They supply information on the personalities, social happenings, battles, conflicts and all manners of interesting historical details. However, in the same manner that both the letters and charters are lacking through their rarity, so too are the narrative sources. Some sources satisfy themselves with more general and localised events, while others record a more universal history. Annals and chronicles are the types of sources which record events on a localised level, only rarely mentioning events on a wider scale, such as the *Chronicles of Clarius*, which recorded the events of the church of Sens and its surroundings. Annals recorded events based on an annual method, marking battles, important meetings or events and even disastrous crops or terrible weather. These records are important for two reasons. Firstly, they will mention royal visits or royal grants to their regions, which aids in determining the royal *iter*.

³⁰ Dom. J. Leclercq, 'introduction', in Yves de Chartres, *Correspondance (1090-1098)*, (Paris, 1949), pp. vii and xvii.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.xv.

³² A. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne I*, (Genève, 1978), p.333.

Secondly, when harvests were bad, or even disastrous, it meant that food prices soared, and when the crops were abundant prices were lower. This will be useful when looking at the *servitium regis* owed to the king and to the resources of his demesne. The validity of the annals is quite trustworthy, they were usually written down at the time of the events or shortly thereafter³³. Chronicles act in much the same way as annals with the exception of delving deeper and elaborating on details, especially with regards to local affairs such as synods or other events of importance. Concerning the use of sources, chroniclers and annalists would very often continue the previous work up to their own times, adding at times quite important details to previous sections. In his study on *Medieval Historiography*, Benoît Lacroix, mentions the openness of the Chronicles in their description of events. "All is recorded, anything of interest, from the local to the international"³⁴. This was the case when Philip, in 1092, abandoned his wife, Betha of Frisia, and took as second wife, Bertrada of Montfort, the wife of Fulk, count of Anjou. This event was universally recorded, and is the only event of Philip's reign which was. Apart from the Annals and Chronicles, a growing interest in narrative history began to take form and develop. This historical writing grew out of a need to preserve the traditions of a community or monastery³⁵. Although not as thorough as our critical history, the medieval historian was nonetheless a learned and relatively critical writer. He wrote for many reasons, to glorify a king or ruler, to describe events of importance such as synods or battles and anything thought of as interesting³⁶. In order to write the events of the past, historians often referred to the masters who preceded them for much of their information, for them, however, the best source was the eye-witness. It is known that the closer a historian was to his time, the more accurate his writings were. Historians of the time often compared a king or ruler to another to illustrate the differences between the two, especially if one was comparing a "bad" king with a "good" king³⁷. The narrative sources would often be used as tools for propaganda for or against someone as was the case against Philip I. When the examination of Philip's personality and kingship is seen through the contemporary sources, a clearer image of

³³ *Chronique de Clarius*, R. Bautier and M. Gilles (eds.), pp.40-41.

³⁴ B. Lacroix, *L'Historien au Moyen Age*, (Montréal, 1971), p.18.

³⁵ M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, (Oxford, 1984), p.109.

³⁶ B. Lacroix, *L'Historien au Moyen Age*, p.55.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.59.

the polemic against him will be understood. To facilitate this, the contemporary sources shall be looked at independently and briefly and will be approached by region.

The sources from the first region to be looked at are those from the royal lands, the Ile-de-France, the region where Philip's influence was strongest. These sources are less numerous than those found in other regions, but they are some of the only sources dealing exclusively with the king. Some of the sources may be biased, but they only counter-balance the works from outside the demesne, especially those from Normandy. These help give a more neutral view of Philip as king. One of the most important, and often cited, works in regards to Philip's life and reign is the *Life of Louis the Fat* by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. Born in 1081, Suger attended the priory of Estrée where he became familiar with the future king of France Louis VI³⁸. With his close ties to the monarchy established early on in his life, Suger would spend a great deal of time with the kings of France. Even though most of his writings were written near the end of his life (1151), he is still one of the more credible sources for the final years of Philip's reign. He was a witness to two important royal achievements, the acquisition of the castle of Montlhéry in 1104 and the meeting between the king and the pope in 1106³⁹. In addition to his close ties to the monarchy, Suger's approach to history is worth mentioning. He quoted sources for the events which he was witness to or otherwise knew someone who had seen or heard of the event⁴⁰. Even though he is very important as a historian, he was not wholly without fault. Because his book was intended to glorify his hero, Louis VI, he tends to exaggerate his role in the running of the government. He saw King Philip as a bad king, at least when compared to his son Louis or to the English king Henry I whom Suger admired and praised as the ideal king. Suger's attitude is explained by the fact that Philip choose Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire as his final resting place over the traditional burial home of the French kings, Saint-Denis. Suger was trying to justify this action by telling of Philip's decision as one of piety. Having lived a sinful life, Philip needed all of the saint's attentions⁴¹. One must also be wary when analysing Louis' merits as opposed to Philip. Suger wished to glorify Louis, which meant

³⁸ H. Waquet, 'introduction' in Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, (Paris, 1929), p.vi.

³⁹ Ibid., p.vi, and below.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.xi.

⁴¹ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.viii, p.84.

diminishing the role played by Philip. Another negative point concerning Suger as a historian is the fact that he did not identify years in his work, which is strange because he often gave a month or a day. Luckily, he tried to follow a chronological order, only without rigour⁴². Even with these flaws, Suger is still one of the more credible historians for the later years of Philip's reign and his work is invaluable for my study. Apart from Suger, a collection of chronicles and annals have been compiled and edited by Bouquet in the *RHGF* volumes X to XIV. In addition to these sources, a recent translation has been made of primary source material dealing with the first four Capetian kings. Two of these have been cited, they are: *Gesta Franciae Regum*⁴³ and the *Chronica Regum Francorum*⁴⁴. The first work, *The Gesta*, is listed by the editors of the *RHGF* that it was well written by learned men, who added extracts to the writings of elder chroniclers. The other source, the *Chronica*, which for our purpose, starts in 987 and continues until 1108 is quite an important source, as its accuracy and thoroughness are without parallel for the Ile-de-France.

In sharp contrast to the scant sources of the royal demesne, a large number of authoritative texts survive from Normandy. With a strong central government and a very prestigious monastic school at Bec, the literary output of the duchy was without equal⁴⁵. Add to this the very impressive achievement of Duke William II of Normandy, a favourite topic of the medieval chroniclers, which attracted propaganda from Normandy and England, and fame from the rest of Western Europe⁴⁶. The first account is that of William of Poitiers. William's work is very authoritative. Unfortunately, however, the work stops in 1071. An early contemporary of King Philip, he served as one of William II of Normandy's chaplains. Having trained as a knight, his accounts of battles and

⁴² Ibid., p.xv.

⁴³ 'Fragments de l'histoire des Français' (translated R. Fougères) in *Chroniques des premiers rois Capétiens: 987-1108*, (Paris, 2003), pp.151-186.

⁴⁴ Hugh of Fleury, 'Chronique' (translated R. Fougères) in *Chroniques des premiers rois Capétiens: 987-1108*, (Paris, 2003), pp.187-221.

⁴⁵ "Ingens in Ecclesia Beccensi liberalium artium et sacrae lectionis sedimen per Lanfrancum coepit et per Anselmum magnifice crevit, ut inde plures procederent egregii doctores et providi nautae ac spirituales aurigae, quibus ad regendum in huius saeculi statio divinitus habenae commissae sunt Ecclesiae." Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica IV*, (ed. M. Chibnall), p.296. On the role monastery of Bec in church politics in medieval England and Normandy see S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034-1136*, (Woodbridge, 1981).

⁴⁶ The view of this event from around Western Europe is well documented and presented by E. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes' in *EHR* 110, 1995, pp.832-853.

campaigns are trustworthy⁴⁷. This work is invaluable for events leading up to 1071, in fact, Orderic Vitalis referred to this work when describing the events between 1066 and 1071⁴⁸. The next source is that of William of Malmesbury, who was a later contemporary of Philip's. Born around 1095 or 1096, he died circa 1142-1143. Although, only the first 13 years of his life corresponded with Philip's reign, his value as a source is certain. William loved truth; he repeatedly declared his utmost caution in relation to facts which he had not seen or heard himself or at least gathered from credible sources⁴⁹. For the events of earlier times, he collected sources from anywhere he could. Even though he was of English background, he also showed interests in the Norman side of his history. The next author is Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, another historian who like William of Malmesbury, used prior histories for periods he had either not witnessed or were prior to his time⁵⁰. Henry, also a late contemporary of Philip's, was born in 1088 and died between 1156 and 1164. His work was begun in 1123, half a generation after Philip's death in 1108⁵¹. His validity as a historian is twofold. Firstly he received men and embassies from around Europe, from Scandinavia and the Holy Land to Spain and France⁵². Secondly, Henry's work is almost entirely copied or translated from other sources. He stated that "Down to this point...from reading the books of the ancients or learned from common report"⁵³. Because of his variety of witnesses and sources, Henry's authority is quite extensive.

Of all the Anglo-Norman historians of the second half of the eleventh century and first half of the twelfth, none are as important as Orderic Vitalis. Orderic was born in 1075, making him a contemporary of Philip. His work remains as M. Chibnall has stated "one of the most valuable and readable of the twelfth century historical works, fundamental to our understanding of feudal society, social customs and monastic

⁴⁷ R. Davies and M. Chibnall, 'introduction' in *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, (Oxford, 1998), pp. xv-xvi.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. xxxv.

⁴⁹ R. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 'introduction' in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, (Oxford, 1999), p. xi.

⁵⁰ D. Greenway, 'introduction' in Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, (Oxford, 1996), p. lxxxv.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. lvii.

⁵² Ibid., p. lii.

⁵³ Ibid., p. lxxxv.

culture”⁵⁴. Orderic’s network of friends and sources was vast. He was closely in touch with people in England, Spain, Apulia and Sicily, Constantinople and the Holy Land. His strengths as an historian are both his attention to detail and his balanced approach to his sources⁵⁵. When dealing with sources, he valued above all others eyewitness accounts⁵⁶. His work is quite important for a study of Philip’s reign. Similar to Orderic, another important and reliable source for the tenth and eleventh centuries is the work of William of Jumièges. His account of the dukes of Normandy is very thorough and extensive. When dealing with events closer to his own time and in his own regions, or those lands held by the monastery of Jumièges his accuracy sharpens⁵⁷. William revised Dudo’s chronicle, and would in turn have his own work revised. He, like any credible historian of the time, relied heavily on the testimony of people with first-hand knowledge of events. Unfortunately, however, his approach to events outside the dukedom of Normandy is a little flawed. As Elisabeth van Houts mentioned: “It is when William describes events outside Normandy altogether that he, no doubt unintentionally, deceives the reader, because of his tendency to telescope several events into one”⁵⁸. Since William’s account is trustworthy until the death of King Henry I of England, his value for this study is equally assured. A source not commonly used in the study of French history is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The *ASC* can be a helpful source as it is derived from several different sources, maintained either systematically year on year or at intervals in sporadic bursts⁵⁹. It chronicles events in Normandy, Brittany and Flanders, and re-counts the moments of conflict between Philip and the kings of England. All in all, since it is contemporary with Philip, and since it describes Norman activities, its value is not underrated. Of all the historians used throughout this work, the latest writer is Roger of Hoveden.

Moving away from the Anglo-Norman historians, a look at some writers from the Empire may help to clarify some aspects of Philip’s reign. They are especially valuable in determining the German view of Philip and how they perceived him. The

⁵⁴ M. Chibnall, ‘introduction’ in Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, (Oxford, 1980), p.1.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.33.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.91.

⁵⁷ E. van Houts, ‘introduction’ in *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, William of Jumièges, (Oxford, 1992), p.li.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.li.

⁵⁹ M. Swanton, ‘introduction’ in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, (London, 1996), p.xx.

majority of the entries concern themselves with events surrounding Philip's affair with Bertrada. The first is Lambert of Hersfeld. Lambert joined the abbey of Hersfeld in 1058 and wrote his chronicle before the year 1080⁶⁰. His work is an important source for the conflicts between pope Gregory VII, the king Henry IV and Rudolf of Swabia. Unfortunately, he ended his chronicle in the year 1077, with the election of Rudolf of Swabia as king by the Saxon nobility, at a time when the outcome of the civil war in the empire was undecided. His importance as a historian was his ability to write with a neutral view. For him, the Church reform was secondary to the history of the empire, he only considered it as important with regards to its repercussions on the empire⁶¹. The next historian examined is Sigebert of Gembloux. Sigebert wrote his chronicle a few years after that of Hugh of Flavigny, which was finished in 1102. His chronicle, however, continued until 13 April 1111 with the treaty adopted by Pope Paschal II and Emperor Henry V. According to A. Fliche, his work was more polemical than historical, Sigebert was an imperialist, and for him the treaty was the end of the conflict between the empire and the papacy which had caused great havoc within the empire⁶². His chronicle was esteemed throughout France, and was utilised by future French chroniclers as an important eye-witness for the period⁶³. Other sources used were the Chronicles of Berthold of Reichenau and Bernold of Constance both edited by I. Robinson in the *MGH* series. Berthold is seen by many as unreliable, in his attempts to support Rudolf against Henry, he may have over-emphasised details in order to justify his claims. Berthold was very papal oriented, in fact, he centred his history around the pope, breaking from the tradition of centralising on the king. His views of Philip will obviously be biased, but are interesting none the less. They are very detailed in their information. The period chronicled by them corresponds more or less with that of Philip I. They have been used because they not only cover German affairs, but also on occasion delve into the world of French politics and affairs.

Another area producing its fair share of histories and chroniclers was Anjou. In the time of both Robert II and Henry I, kings of France, Anjou was a very powerful

⁶⁰ A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne II*, (Genève, 1978), pp.38-39.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.47.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.60-61.

⁶³ Bouquet, 'introduction' in *RHGF* XIII, p.xlvii.

county, rivalling Normandy and often in conflict with her, especially over Maine. Although its influence and power diminished with the civil war, (1060-1067), its literary output remained strong. An important aspect to note about the Angevin literary output is that one of its works originated from a count. Fulk le Réchin wrote a history of his ancestors and of himself⁶⁴. This is one of the most informative pieces for the late eleventh century. His knowledge was based on what his uncle Geoffrey, count of Anjou (1040-1060), told him or from what he had lived through⁶⁵. The history informs us of events that were either glossed over by other historians or simply not written. It is very unfortunate that part of the work has not survived down to this day, this coupled with the lost register of Urban II, means that events surrounding Philip's divorce and attempted re-marriage remain obscure⁶⁶. Another source from Anjou, but linked to the king as it was a royal monastery, was the Chronicle of Saint-Martin-de-Tours, written by a monk of the monastery. It is quite neutral in its accounts of Philip's reign, which is surprising given its situation. Most royal monasteries depended on the king for protection and financial support, and in turn would praise the king's deeds, or at least lessen the burden of his wrongful deeds in their literature. Although a good source, it tends to lack precision in its chronology and has a lackadaisical approach to its sources, unable to distinguish fabulous tales, as written by its predecessors, from reality⁶⁷. An important collection of sources for the study of the county of Anjou was edited and assembled by P. Marchegay and A. Salmon in the *La Société de l'histoire de France* volume 84. they entitles the works as *Les Chroniques d'Anjou*, and within those pages are very detailed historical accounts, both lives and chronicles. This work was important for the information surrounding the acquisition of the Gatinais by Philip I in 1067 and for the affair between Philip and Bertrada of Anjou.

The final area from which sources were used is Flanders. This region was one of the more developed counties. The sources used are very rich and informative, especially in regards to northern France. An important Flemish source is the Genealogy of the Flemish counts. This source was written by a variety of writers. And like other sources

⁶⁴ Bouquet, 'introduction' in *RHGF* XII, p.xxxviii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.xxxviii.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.xxxix.

⁶⁷ Bouquet, 'introduction' in *RHGF* XI, p.lxxxvii.

dealing with events prior to their times, they are very reserved, however, the closer they approach their own periods, the greater detail is encountered⁶⁸. These are a valid source for the events in Flanders and in northern France. One of the richest and most detailed accounts hails from the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens, familiarly known as the Chronicle of Clarius. Basically the chronicle is composed of four elements, the first is the universal history from the incarnation until 1100 and is interwoven with other such chronicles found, and principally dealing with the monastery from its foundation in 675 until 1096. This latter addition was itself enlarged to cover the years of the abbacy of Arnaud from 1096 until 1124. The final part of the chronicle starts from 1129 and continues until the mid thirteenth century. Because of its development as a Chronicle over large periods of time, it is important to note the validity of these as a source. Firstly, until 1068 it is possible to reconstruct the sources used, however, no information is given between 1068 and 1075, annals which may have been destroyed in the fire which consumed the monastery⁶⁹. The positive point is for the years 1075 to 1096 the author was able to use his own memories and experiences. The final annals that are used in this thesis were written in one go around the year 1109. As the editors have stated, this chronicle grouped in one body a multitude of sources including some which have been lost. They are an extremely precise and living example of religious and social life in the last years of the eleventh and first years of the twelfth centuries⁷⁰. In the Chronology of Robert, monk of S. Marian d'Auxerre the principal source for the work was Clarius' chronicle. The closer one approached his own period the more credible and exact Robert's work becomes. The editors of the *RHGF* wrote "one of the best pieces of this volume"⁷¹. Apart from the sources mentioned above, a collection of local chronicles and histories have been very helpful in locating Philip in his travels.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.xcvi.

⁶⁹ R. Bautier and M. Giles, 'introduction' in *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, dite de Clarius*, (Paris, 1979), p.36.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.40-42.

⁷¹ Bouquet, 'introduction' in *RHGF* XII, p.17.

Chapter One: Ideas and views of kingship

This first chapter is an examination of the propaganda of royal power and of the royal personage of Philip I. In order to approach this topic, three factors are considered. The first deals with Philip's own views of himself, or at least those of his chancellors. This was identified through the *arengae* clauses of his charters. In these clauses, royal propaganda was promoted and the king's mission described. In addition to these clauses, the king's behaviour was examined. This is a sure way to know how the king himself understood his title and his position in society. Did Philip I act according to those ideals inscribed in his charters? The focus for his actions will concern his crown-wearing ceremonies. The king would confirm his royal status in these grandiose ceremonies. They were propaganda tools utilised by other monarchies, notably during times of trouble. This is true for Philip I as the vast number of his crown-wearing ceremonies took place during these moments; they were clear reactions to the events. The second factor deals with the views of others towards Philip. Essentially, this means how his contemporaries viewed him and rated him as a king and as a person. The majority of the examination for this part deals with the papal perceptions toward Philip I. The polemic used against and for Philip will be of interest, as the perceptions of royal power were different amongst the church elite. Since no polemic exists in favour of Philip I, other pro-royal sources were utilised, such as the treatise on royal power by Hugh, monk of Fleury, who was a younger contemporary of the king. Apart from the polemical sources, the information from narrative sources was also of interest. Although no biographies focused on Philip I, there were general histories that cover the events of his reign. These were mostly, however, from the other duchies and counties of the kingdom. These historians often painted Philip I as deficient and consumed by greed and desire. The majority of accounts concerned the events surrounding Philip's marital difficulties. In fact, it is these perceptions of Philip I that have influenced modern historians. They have seen the last years of Philip's reign, from 1092 until his death in 1108, as a period of laziness and inactivity, that if not for his son and co-king Louis VI, the situation may have been worse for the monarchy⁷². The third and final approach is an examination of

⁷² A. Fliche, *Philippe I*, p.528; J. Dunbabin, *The Making of France*, p.148; I. Gobry, *Philippe I*, p.39, 239; C. Bouchard, 'The kingdom of the Franks to 1108' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV-II*, p.120.

Philip's Carolingian links. That section will analyse the links that may have existed between Philip I and the Carolingians. The first part focuses on the perceptions held by Philip's chancery, and other contemporary writers, of his descent from the great Charlemagne. Whether or not an actual link existed forms the argument of the second part.

Part 1-Section i: Sacrality

Of all the royal ideals discussed below, the spiritual aspect of the kingship is very important to understand Philip's power and authority. Modern historians have examined the importance of this idea to understand the later development in the power of the monarchy⁷³. Although Philip I is not understood as adding to the debate, important contributions were made during his reign, most notably by the imperial historians who argued for Henry IV (1056-1106) against the papacy. Regardless of the arguments for or against the king, Philip I was elevated above all others in his kingdom⁷⁴. During Philip's coronation of 1059, the bishops consecrated him with a royal unction. This ceremony not only blessed the king but also set out the guidelines to rule. Thankfully, the *ordo* of this ceremony has survived⁷⁵. A further study of this will help unfold the sacral power of the king. Before analysing the *ordo*, however, it is important to understand the development of the sacral king and his authority in France.

The first writer examined is Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres. Fulbert, even though he lived during the time of Robert II (996-1031), had grandiose ideas in regards to kingship. His letters are an important source for the promotion of the king above the other princes of the kingdom. The most important aspect of kingship, for Bishop Fulbert, was the defence of both kingdom and Church. In order to defend these, the king

She argues that this weakness was only apparent as the entire fabric of society was changing at the same time.

⁷³ The best analyses are from F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Médiévales Françaises au Moyen Age II*, pp.1-47; and P.E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich, Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, pp.145-162.

⁷⁴ See below.

⁷⁵ The *ordo* has been collected and edited by Jackson, "Ordo XVIIa, Memorandum of the Coronation of Philip I", *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and ordines for the coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, Vol I, ed. R. Jackson, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1995, pp.217-232; 'Procès verbal du sacre de Philippe Ier à Reims' in *Chroniques des premiers capétiens: 987-1108*, Sources de l'histoire de France, ed. F. Guizot and R. Fougères, (Paris, 2003), pp.223-227.

had to be the summit of justice. In a letter dated 1008 to Fulk, bishop of Orléans, Fulbert stated that because of his (Robert's) position as king, he was the highest summit of justice⁷⁶. Fulbert believed it was through his position as king that Robert would gain his salvation. He claimed, in a letter dated 1015, it was the king's duty to enforce justice and protect Christians. He further added that Robert II acted rightly when he aided Christians and harmed heretics, and that in this he must be aided by his vassals because it is his duty, his office, and through it he wins his salvation⁷⁷. Fulbert, in his letter to the king, dated 1025, promoted the idea of Robert II as the keeper of justice and the saviour of Christians. He wrote: "On you (Robert) alone, after God, totally depends our consolation and recovery from the troubles with which we are afflicted"⁷⁸. Throughout Fulbert's letters, the themes of justice and protection emerge most vividly. Two other letters to Robert II illustrate Fulbert's views with greater clarity. In the first letter, dated mid 1008, Fulbert stated that if the king wished to act for justice, peace, and the welfare of the kingdom and the honour of the church then he would have Fulbert's help⁷⁹. In the other letter, dated 1025, Fulbert re-stated that the king was the defender of the Church because holy church had been entrusted to his guidance⁸⁰. It is clear from the above letters that as king, Robert II had certain duties to uphold, namely the protection of the church and the enforcement of justice. For Robert II to fulfil his duties, it was necessary that the church aid him. This aid came in many forms, but the two most utilised were in guiding the king in his decision-making and administration and in helping him militarily. The military aid was for Bishop Fulbert, however, only through the help of his vassals and not through the bishop himself⁸¹. It became the king's role as defender of

⁷⁶ "Quin etiam dominus noster rex, cui summum iusticiae caput incumbit..." Fulbert of Chartres, Ep. #7, p.18. *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, edited and translated F. Behrends, (Oxford, 1976).

⁷⁷ "sciatis fratres, quia rex R(obertus) benefacit cum Christianos adiuvat et hereticos dampnat, et ad hoc debent eum comfortare et adiuvere mecum omnes sui fideles, quia hoc est ministerium eius per quod salvus esse debet." Ibid., Ep.#27, p.50.

⁷⁸ "quorum a vobis solummodo post Deum in his quae ingeruntur molestiis consolacio et respiracio funditus pendet." Ibid., Ep.#100, p.182.

⁷⁹ "Si ergo de iustitia, de pace, de statu regni, de honore ecclesiae vultus agere, ecce habetis me parvum satellitem pro viribus opitulari paratum." Ibid., Ep.#17, p.34,

⁸⁰ "sanctam ecclesiam vobis regere commissam tueri." Ibid., Ep.#100, p182.

⁸¹ F. Behrends, 'Kingship and Feudalism according to Fulbert of Chartres' in *Medieval Studies XXV*, 1963, pp.98-99.

the Church which gave Philip I certain protections and support against the papacy during his excommunications⁸².

The next writer examined is much closer to Philip I's time; in fact, he is a younger contemporary. Hugh of Sainte-Marie, monk of Fleury, who in 1102, amongst other works, such as the continuation of the *Miracles of St. Benedict*, wrote a treatise on the power and authority of the king⁸³. This work originated from the arguments forwarded in the Investiture Contest. In his work, written for king Henry I of England (1100-1135) the ideas of a churchman in the royal lands were identified. Fleury was a royal monastery, it was also the favoured monastery of Philip I who chose it as his final resting place⁸⁴. His ideas on kingship are important for this study as they originated from a royalist centre. Hugh of Fleury argued that the king was a holy ruler, one who must be obeyed and one who was above the regular masses, adding that the royal dignity emanated from God himself, and that no one can make kings, save for God. Using both historical and biblical examples, Hugh filled his treatise with such arguments. Statements as: "... the power of the king on earth is ordained or disposed by God"⁸⁵. By using biblical allusions to the kings of Israel, Hugh of Fleury strengthened his arguments demonstrating that kings owed their powers and titles to God and not to their merits. Such statements as: *non utique merito suo, sed ordinis sacerdotalis gratia, qua Dei iusto certoque fruebatur iudicio*⁸⁶, and *per me reges regnant et principes obtinent potestatem*⁸⁷. Hugh wished to demonstrate that no matter how powerful a person was, it was still God rather than men whom one must obey⁸⁸. Hugh wanted to strengthen the authority of the king. This meant giving examples of obedience, regardless of whether or not he was considered a good king or a tyrant. Arguments such

⁸² See the chapters on the royal demesne and the royal itinerary of Philip I.

⁸³ E. Sackur, 'introduction to Hugh monk of Fleury' *MGH Libelli de Lite* II, p.465.

⁸⁴ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xiii, p.84.

⁸⁵ "sed a Deo potestatis regia in terris est ordinate sive disposita." Hugonis Monachi Floriacensis, 'Tractatus de Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate' in *MGH Libelli de Lite* II, edited by E. Sackur, p.467.

⁸⁶ Hugh of Fleury, 'Tractatus de Regia', p.470 where he describes the actions of Nabuchodonosor and Caiphas and how they owed their power to no one but to God.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.471, which was quoted from Proverbs 8:15.

⁸⁸ "quia obedire Deo oportet magis quam hominibus", Ibid., p.494. This was quoted from Acts 5:29.

as “we must honour those in positions of power”⁸⁹. To strengthen his arguments, Hugh used the imagery of the kings of Israel who were obeyed⁹⁰.

One of the most potent arguments used by the Reform Papacy was the power of the pope, as Peter’s vicar, to bind and to loose both on earth and in heaven. This argument was used to support the Gregorian claims of the supremacy of the papal office⁹¹. Hugh of Fleury, wanted to demonstrate that kings deposed popes because of their failures⁹². He argued that it was the king’s duty to defend the church, as was ordained by God. Citing Hugh of Flavigny heavily⁹³, who was, however, a pro-papal chronicler and contemporary of Hugh of Fleury, Hugh of Fleury stated *debet esse sanctae defensor aecclesiae*⁹⁴. Looking at examples in history, Hugh of Fleury strengthened his arguments of the king’s duty to protect the church, even against popes. “Constantine closed the temples of the pagans and erected many churches in Rome”⁹⁵. When “the magnificent Charlemagne came to Rome, he lavished the churches of Saint Peter with many gifts in gold and silver”⁹⁶. Lastly, he commented that the Roman Emperor Otto I, in 955, substituted a pope with another⁹⁷. Hugh of Fleury argued for the king’s special role as defender of the Church and keeper of justice. Hugh believed that it was the king’s duty to serve justice when he stated *denique regia potestas spernenda non est; quia regis officium est totum sibi subiectum populum ab errore corrigere et ad aequitatis atque iusticiae semitam revocare*⁹⁸. This was a key duty of the king for Hugh of Fleury: he must be the right defender of the church and its members as he is also the right keeper of justice; it is his duty to govern and to judge. Hugh stated: *Porro legitimi*

⁸⁹ “Honorandi etiam sunt omnes, qui in potestate positi sunt...” Ibid., p.470.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.470.

⁹¹ For the papal claims to supremacy see I.S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century*, (Manchester, 1978), pp.22-26; p.107.

⁹² This was a common theme in imperial panegyrics of the time. Many treatises were written with regards to this point. See I. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, pp.77-79; p.120.

⁹³ E. Sackur, ‘introduction’ in *MGH Libelli de Lite II*, p.465.

⁹⁴ Hugh of Fleury, ‘Tractatus de Regia’ in *MGH Libelli de Lite II*, p.493. The idea was taken from Hugh of Flavigny, p.436.

⁹⁵ “Constantinus Romanorum clementissimus imperator...templa gentilium claudi, et aedificavit in eadem urbe plures aecclesias.” Ibid., p.486. Cited from Hugh of Flavigny, pp.298-299.

⁹⁶ “Karolus rex Francorum magnificus Romam veniens...multaque auro et argento aecclesiae beati Petri largitus est munera.” Ibid., p.488. Cited from Hugh of Flavigny, p.352.

⁹⁷ “Othone Romano imperator iubente a suo sede expulsus est, et Iohannes septimus ei est substitutus.” Ibid., p.489. Cited from Hugh of Flavigny, p.364.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.493.

*regis officium est populum in iusticia et aequitate gubernare et aecclesiam sanctam totis viribus defendere*⁹⁹. In order to maintain peace and justice, it would be necessary for the king to use force, and, if need be, terror¹⁰⁰. What arises from Hugh of Fleury's writings is a concept of hierarchy and order centred on the king. For him, the good order of the kingdom depended on a king who was obeyed and who acted as both enforcer and protector for the church¹⁰¹. This is very similar to the second factor of Philip's consecration identified in the *ordo* of 1059¹⁰². The *ordo* identified the protection of the church, either financial or military, and its subjects, as the most important element of the kingship. In other words, to be a good king one must protect and defend the church. This purpose, however, was not a new idea. It had been the purpose of all the kings of France since at least Clovis. King and Church would work together for the salvation of all Christians. By stating these ideals of kingship in the *ordo*, the church set down Philip's guidelines by which to rule and by which to be a good king. As an example to follow, Archbishop Gervais of Rheims would have Philip I confirm, following the example of his predecessors, the privileges in favour of St. Remigius of Rheims and its other possessions¹⁰³. If Philip I followed these edicts, then he would have the support of the French church and its members. More of the king's duties towards his subjects and the church are examined below.

L. Halphen pursued the above idea of the king as the summit of justice as promoted by both Fulbert and Hugh in his discussion of the king's position in the French feudal hierarchy. He argued that when a king acquired lands that owed fidelity to an abbot, a bishop or other lord, the entire structure of the oath was changed. He argued, from his interpretation of the sources, that the king owed fidelity to no one. If, however, acquired lands were granted to anyone else but the king, then fidelity would have to be

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.473, quoted from Hugh of Flavigny, p.436.

¹⁰⁰ "Per terrenum quipped regnum celeste tunc proficit, dum quod sacerdos non praevallet efficere per doctrinae sermonem, regia potestas hoc agit vel imperat per disciplinae terrorem. Decet igitur, ut unicuique potestati suae auctoritatis privilegium sibi semper saluum et incolume perseveret." Ibid., p.493.

¹⁰¹ This was identified with Philip's contemporary, the emperor Henry IV. See the contemporary literature examined by I. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, pp.89-109.

¹⁰² See below.

¹⁰³ M. Prou, *Philippe Ier*, #I.

sworn once more to the previous holder; all rights once held would be retroactive¹⁰⁴.

The same idea must have existed during Philip I's reign. The acquisition of the Vexin by Philip I in 1074¹⁰⁵ changed the system in place. The count of the Vexin owed fidelity to the Abbot of Saint-Denis. Because of a lack of information, the feudal relations between Philip I and the Abbot of Saint-Denis are unknown, so we must turn to the reign of Louis VI to find the answer. In his commentary on the *Life of Louis VI*, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis related the story of Louis VI's preparations for Henry V's, the German emperor, invasion of the kingdom in 1124. In this story, Abbot Suger mentions Louis approach and lamentations to the patron saint and defender of the kingdom Saint-Denis. Louis took the standard of the Vexin from the monastery to aid his cause and to have the protection of the Saint. According to Suger, the standard was at Saint-Denis because the Vexin owed fidelity to the monastery. He wrote: *Rex autem, vexillum ab altari suscipiens, quod de comitatu Vilcassini, quod ad ecclesiam feodatus est, spectat*¹⁰⁶. It seems from this text that the king, as lord of the Vexin, owed fidelity to Saint-Denis for the Vexin. In a further reading of Abbot Suger's treatise on the administration of his abbey, however, it is found that this was not the case. Suger argued that Louis VI should have owed fidelity for the Vexin, but as king, he did not owe fidelity¹⁰⁷. Through this study it is noticed that the king had a special advantage that no other prince in the kingdom had, he owed fidelity to no one. When he held lands, all feudal services were suspended. In the feudal system of the French kingdom, the king was the only person able to expand his possession to the detriment of others, in other words, it was inevitable that the king would come to dominate the kingdom. Halphen's argument demonstrates the special position that the king was privy to, and the gap between king and lord was an immense one¹⁰⁸. The *ordo* of 1059 will illustrate that Philip I not only believed in this idea but that it was promoted by the French Church.

¹⁰⁴ L. Halphen, 'La place de la royauté dans le system feudal' in *Anuario del derecho espanol* IX, 1932, pp.313-321.

¹⁰⁵ See the chapter on the royal demesne, pp.73-122.

¹⁰⁶ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xxviii p.220.

¹⁰⁷ "professus est ab eo (comitatum) habere, et, si rex non esset, hominium ei debere." Suger, 'De rebus in administratione gestis' in *Oeuvres de Suger*, edited by A. Lecoy de la Marche, pp.161-162.

¹⁰⁸ "C'est assez dire qu'entre un seigneur, quel que soit son rang, et le roi, il y a, du point de vue féodal même, un écart considerable." L. Halphen, 'La place de la royauté dans le système feudal' in *Anuario del derecho espanol* IX, p.321.

During the ceremony, celebrated at Rheims by Archbishop Gervais, the archbishop turned to the king, “explained the faith to him, and enquired of him if he believed and would defend it.” Philip professed: “I, Philip, soon to be, by the grace of God, king of the French...promise, in the presence of God and His saints, to conserve to each of you, my subjects, the canonical privilege, justice and law which are due; and, with God’s help, as much as I am able, to attach myself and defend them with the zeal that a king must duly show in his Estates in favour of each bishop and church committed to him...”¹⁰⁹. In this oath, two factors would later come to dominate the monarchy. They were, firstly, that only God appoints the king and that all royal power and dignity emanate from Him. This made the king subject to no one, unlike counts and dukes. This point, as examined in Hugh of Fleury’s writings, was a point Philip tried to enforce. It was a very important point in Hugh’s polemic on the “independent” power of the king. The invocation and intitulation clauses of royal diplomas are a prime example of the king as ordained by God, and owing his elevated position to no-one else but to God. The vast majority of his diplomas begin with either: “In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. I, Philip, king of the French by the grace of God”¹¹⁰. Alternatively, a derivative of the same formula exists: “In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Philip merciful king of the French by divine providence”¹¹¹. This idea was not new as it was used in other European chanceries throughout the Middle Ages. Even some of the more powerful dukes and counts of the kingdom during this period used similar intitulations in their *acta*. Even though Philip I based his title on his royal lineage, he still needed to demonstrate that he was God’s anointed in order to strengthen his authority. After Philip I, however, this clause became more of a royal prerogative, until eventually only the

¹⁰⁹ “Inchoata missa, antequam epistola legeretur, dominus archiepiscopus vertit se ad eum et exposuit ei fidem catholicam, sciscitans ab eo utrum hanc crederet et defendere vellet...Ego Phillipus, Deo propitiante mox futurus rex Francorum, in die ordinationis mee, promitto coram Deo et sanctis eius, quia unicuique de vobis commissis, canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque iustitiam conservabo et defensionem quantum potuero, adiuuante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesiae sibi commissae per rectum exhibere debet” R. Jackson, “Ordo XVIIa”.

¹¹⁰ “In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Philippus, gratia Dei Francorum rex” Prou, #s IV, V, IX, XII-XVI, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXVI, XXXVII-XLVI, LIV, LV, LVII, LVIII, LXI, LXII, LXIV-LXVII, LXXI, LXXI, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXXIV, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XCII, XCV, XCVII, XCIX-CI, CVII-CX, CXII-CXVI, CXXII, CXXIX, CXXXII, CXXXVIII, CXLVII, CXLIX, CLI, CLII, CLIV, CLVI, CLXI, CLXII, CLXVIII-CLXXI.

¹¹¹ “In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Philippus divinae providentiae clementia rex Francorum” Prou, #s X, XXIII, XXIX, XXXI, CXX, CXXXI, CLIX.

king could claim such a title¹¹². This idea, although, in its infancy in the France of Philip I, was subsequently confirmed and given reality by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) when describing king Philip II's elevated position¹¹³. He stated, in a bull addressed to the count of Montpellier, that in temporal matters, Philip II had no superior¹¹⁴.

The crowning ceremony of 1059 was also accompanied by a royal anointing, which gave the king his spiritual aspect. This was very important in the image making of the king and in his ability to wield power and authority. It also gave him certain benefits and rights that were unparalleled by any other prince in the kingdom. This anointing was accomplished by pouring special oil on the king. It was claimed that God gave this oil, through the means of a dove, to St Remigius of Rheims during Clovis' baptism. This unction separated the king from the other lay magnates of the kingdom, as only the king was consecrated. Not only did the making of a king differ from that of a count or duke, but, and this is an important point, the royal anointing was quite similar to the ceremony to make a bishop. Marc Bloch stated: "This similarity invariably linked royal consecrations with the church"¹¹⁵. The king, crowned in such a way, was elevated above those of secular society and placed on the same level as a member of the church, granting Philip access to the spiritual world. Percy Schramm dealt with this subject in detail and he concluded that the king was indeed more than a mortal, but that he was also less than a bishop. He used the term *halbgeistlicher*, or half clerical, to describe the French king's status¹¹⁶. This special position in society made him more glorious than any other lay lord in his own kingdom. No matter how powerful they were, they were still inferior to the king. The importance of this ceremony to the ordinary people, those whom the king was to defend, has been largely ignored. For the monarchy, it was the belief of the everyday people that Philip was something greater than they were which mattered. As J-F Lemarignier identified, the king's circle of influences and his royal court grew smaller and smaller, but it also relied more on localised knights and counts.

¹¹² F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions médiévales françaises II*, pp.21-22.

¹¹³ R. Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique*, p.279.

¹¹⁴ Bulle 'Per venerabilem' in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums und des römischen Katholizismus*, edited by Mirbt, 1924, p.175, cited by R. Folz, *Le souvenir de Charlemagne*, p.279.

¹¹⁵ M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p.113.

¹¹⁶ P.E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, p.157.

He noticed that Philip had become a local king, dealing with local matters¹¹⁷. This meant that he was present in the everyday lives of the lower nobility and even with the lower classes of the demesne. As I will show in the third chapter, Philip spent a great deal of time in two cities, indicating that the locals could not escape the royal person.

In addition, a contemporary writer from the Western Empire commented on the special attribute of the unction and the powers it gave the emperor. Wido of Osnabrück, although commenting on the special position of Henry IV in his treatise against pope Gregory VII, made a relevant point. Because Philip I, similarly to Henry IV, received the holy unction, Wido's comments are appropriate for the argument. He stated that the unction with the holy oil separated the king from the lay masses and placed him on the same plane as the sacral servants¹¹⁸. Hugh of Fleury also commented on this when he stated, "the whole world is set in certain grades and powers just as that celestial court in which only God the omnipotent father has royal dignity, then come angels, archangels, thrones and dominions"¹¹⁹. He continued with *Principales etiam potestates, quibus hic mundo regitur, duae sunt regia et sacerdotalis. Quas duas potestates in sua sola persona ipse dominus Iesus Christus sacrosancto mysterio gestare decrevit. Qui rex simul est et sacerdos*¹²⁰. Through the ceremonial of royal unction, the French king became a sacred being, "the Lord's anointed, protected from all machinations of the wicked"¹²¹. This ceremony became very important to the monarchy, and even to the performing bishop. Arguments between bishops ensued over the right to anoint the king¹²². With every new reign, the site of the ceremony differed. During the later Carolingian period, both Sens and Rheims battled for the glorious distinction. The claim

¹¹⁷ More of this will be further discussed in the chapter dealing with royal government and administration, pp.162-204.

¹¹⁸ "Unde dicunt nulli laico umquam aliquid de ecclesiasticis disponendi facultatem esse concessam, quamvis rex a numero laicorum merito in huiusmodi separetur, cum oleo consecrationis inunctus sacerdotalis ministerii particeps esse cognoscitur" Wido of Osnabrück, 'De controversia inter Hildebrandum et Heinricum imperatorum' in *MGH Libelli de Lite I*, p.467.

¹¹⁹ "sed et totum mundum certis gradibus ac potestatibus, sicut illa caelestis curia cognoscitur esse distincta, in qua ipse solus omnipotens regiam optinet dignitatem, et in qua post ipsum angeli, archangeli, throni et dominations..." Hugh of Fleury, 'Regia Potestate' in *MGH Libelli de Lite II*, p.467.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.468.

¹²¹ M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p.38.

¹²² When Louis VI was crowned at Orléans, the archbishop of Rheims voiced a vociferous protest about his rights in crowning the king. Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.xiv, p.86. For more on this development see P. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, pp.113-118.

made by Rheims dates back to the *Life of St Remigius of Rheims*, which mentioned the anointing of Clovis, with the holy oil, performed by the archbishop of Rheims¹²³. Even with the changing of dynasties, the situation was unresolved as Rheims and Sens continued to argue their points. It seemed that the situation was resolved by the time of Philip I as both he and his father had been crowned at Rheims. Even Bishop Ivo of Chartres recognised the right of the archbishop of Rheims to crown the king¹²⁴. P. Schramm argued the point that the debates for the right to crown the king were caused by the power struggle between the archbishops for the primacy of France which led to their strong support for the French kings. This may explain the support received by Philip I from the French Church and clergy during his excommunications¹²⁵. The spiritual aspect of the monarchy was a very potent force for the king in the Middle Ages. In a time when the spiritual and material worlds were closely bound, the mystical abilities of the king were a sign of favour and power. This belief strengthened the power of the monarchy, and in the early years of the Capetians, it proved to be a redeeming quality. When others in the kingdom, such as dukes, counts or other magnates were materially as powerful as or even more so than the king, they were never able to surpass his royal dignity. How did this idea develop and how did Philip use it?

The idea of royal sacrality had long existed in *Francia*. For the Capetians however, it was from Philip's grandfather, Robert II, that the idea developed in a particular direction. In his *Life of Robert the Pious*, written around 1033, Helgaud, monk of Fleury, died in 1048, mentioned the healing of a blind man by Robert through the royal touch¹²⁶. This was not very surprising as it was popular for the writers of the time to describe laymen along the lines of warrior-bishops. They were the ones who dealt out justice, defended the helpless and protected the church. In the comparison of the different

¹²³ P.E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, p.113.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.118.

¹²⁵ More on the support given by the clergy below.

¹²⁶ "Cumque aquam ad abluendas manus praesto haberet, adest caecus quidam inter pauperum multitudinem coram eo assistentium, qui illius errant memoriale continuum, qui ut illi aquam iaceret in faciem, humillimam effert precem. At ille continuo, velut pro ioco ducens pauperis precem, dum primum in minibus accepit aquam, illius proiecit in faciem. Qui mox, videntibus cunctis Optimatibus qui adstabant, cum respersione aquae emissa oculorum caecitate, congratulantibus cunctis in Domino..." Helgaud, 'Vita Roberti Regis' in *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* IV, ed. by Duchesne, p.66; See also, 'La Vie du Roi Robert' in *Chroniques des Premiers Rois Capétiens*, ed. F. Guizot, p.100 and p.142.

saints' lives with Robert's *Vita*, a striking similarity occurred; the healing power of the main character. The power to heal is a common occurrence in many hagiographical works. In order to promote their subject, the author considered it necessary that he heal. Although it was common for the previous kings to demonstrate the ability to heal, Helgaud had an especial reason to laud his king. He wanted to show Robert II as pious and holy. To achieve his goal, he described Robert II as an accomplished judge along Carolingian lines, even along Roman lines. He ascribed the founding and patronage of churches and monasteries across the kingdom by the king. Lastly, he mentioned the fact that Robert II healed on many occasions. This was not new, however, his ability to heal focused more on a single disease, that of scrofula. It seems that under Philip I, this healing power was still in its infancy as a concept, as it was rarely mentioned in the sources. In fact, after Helgaud's mention of the ability by Robert II, it was not until Guibert, abbot of Nogent, identified the touching for scrofula as performed by Louis VI. He wrote, in his critical work on holy relics, that the power to heal, as Louis practised it, was also exercised by his father Philip, stating *Cuius gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater eius alacriter exerceret*¹²⁷. Guibert mentioned that the power to heal by Louis VI was for the affliction known as scrofula¹²⁸. He described the process which Louis VI would undertake to complete the miraculous healing. Not much was done by the king, he would simply touch the afflicted and make the sign of the cross over him¹²⁹. The process was an imitation of Christ.

If we are to believe Guibert of Nogent, then no other monarch demonstrated this ability during Guibert's lifetime¹³⁰. His statement is quite confusing: why would he specifically mention the lack of the ability to heal scrofula by the English monarch? It is known that Henry II touched for scrofula¹³¹ but did the ability pre-date him? Although

¹²⁷ Guibert of Nogent, 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum' in *PL* 156, [col.616A].

¹²⁸ "Ludovicus Grossus seu sextus, scrophas curat." and further "qui scrophas circa jugulum" Ibid., [col.615D-616A].

¹²⁹ "ad tactum ejus, superaddito crucis signo, vidi catervatim, me ei cohaerente et etiam prohibente, concurrere." Ibid., [col.616A].

¹³⁰ "Super aliis regibus qualiter se gerant in hac re, supersedeo; regem tamen Anglicum nequiquam in talibus audere scio." Ibid., [col.616A].

¹³¹ "Fateor quidem, quod sanctum est domino regi assistere; sanctus enim et christus Domini est; nec in vacuum accepit unctionis regiae sacramentum, cuius efficacia, si nescitur, aut in dubium venit, fidem eius

other historians from England claimed that the power to heal scrofula was practised by Edward the Confessor, they all wrote during the reign of Henry I. This seemed to be a political ploy by Henry I to legitimise and strengthen his rule¹³². Henry I married a woman from the Anglo-Saxon royal line in order to bind him to his English subjects. When a son was born of the union, Osbert of Clare claimed, in his *Life of Edward the Confessor*, that this son represented the fulfilment of a prophecy linking the new line of kings with the previous dynasty¹³³. M. Bloch argued that Edward the Confessor did not touch for scrofula, that it was promoted by the court of Henry I¹³⁴. M. Bloch summed up the English rite by concluding that Henry II, without a doubt, exercised this power, and that it was very probable that Henry I did and in order to strengthen or justify his ability he associated it with Edward the Confessor¹³⁵.

The sacral ability to heal scrofula was not, however, due to his royal lineage, but related to his pious behaviour. Guibert of Nogent wrote that for some reason, of which he was unaware, Philip I had lost the ability to heal¹³⁶. This might have been caused by Philip's problems with the church after his marital situation took a turn for the worse and he was twice excommunicated. This coincides with certain descriptions of Philip as unhealthy and rotting away in disease¹³⁷, as no holy king could fall ill. Fortunately for the monarchy, Philip mended his ways and was welcomed back into the arms of the Church. I believe that the healing touch wielded by Philip was one reason for the support from both his subjects and the French clergy. The power to heal was a direct sign of God's favour, and if Philip could wield this power then he must be God's appointed¹³⁸. There were many counts and many dukes but only one king, and this king's power was not derived from another lord, or even the pope, but from God and his divine will. This is what separated Philip I from his contemporaries, his kingship elevated him far above the

plenissimam faciet defectus inguinariae pestis, et curatio scrophularum." Peter of Blois, Ep.#105, *PL* 207, [col.440D].

¹³² M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, pp.47-48.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.47.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.48.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.49.

¹³⁶ Guibert de Nogent, 'De Pignoribus' in *PL* 156, [col.616A].

¹³⁷ See below, pp.149-153.

¹³⁸ P.E. Schramm, *Der Könige von Frankreich*, pp.154-177, where he argued that it was this belief in a spiritual king who could heal that was part of the belief system of the French kingdom of the period that was not found in any other territory.

magnates, and when he decided to act as suzerain, the magnates accepted his authority¹³⁹. King William I of England, one of the most powerful monarchs in all western Christendom, could not boast of this special gift. Even the Western Emperor Henry IV lacked such powers, although, his burial ground witnessed some miracles, but none during his lifetime¹⁴⁰.

Part 2-Section i: Royal perceptions of royalty

How did Philip I visualize his title and position? Due to a lack of sources, only two methods of approach can be used. The first will be an examination of his diplomas, and the second will be a look at his crown-wearing ceremonies. As noted above, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres wanted to promote the king as the defender of justice, the one who could, by his position, defend the kingdom. Hugh, monk of Fleury, also added that the king was above all men; that all owe fidelity and loyalty to him. These ideas, although not promoted by Philip I, were a reality which the king used to his advantage¹⁴¹. Apart from the intitution clauses, the *arengae* are a great way to understand how Philip perceived his power. The *arengae* were the main propaganda tools used by the chancery to promote royal ideals. They ascribed the duties of the king, such as watching over and protecting the church, to rule justly and to remember to honour God¹⁴². However, not much can be detected from Philip's diplomas outlining his authority or power. When compared to the chancery of the Western Emperor, which was very prominent in outlining royal power and its authority, especially during the Investiture Contest, the French royal chancery was very silent. Of his charters, only a small number specified, or outlined, his authority, his power and his duties as king. A certain notary described the kingship as divided in two parts, one to protect and the other to prohibit¹⁴³. He continued *protegerendi scilicet bonos prohibendi vero malos, utriusque tamen effectus videtur*

¹³⁹ J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.140.

¹⁴⁰ I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV*, p.344.

¹⁴¹ J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.140; J. Chélini, *Histoire religieuse de l'Occident médiéval*, (Hachette, 1991), p.127-128. See also P.E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich* where he discussed the evolution of the royal intitution, which he stated was already being used by the king in the 8th century. p.156.

¹⁴² A. Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions françaises : Période des Capétiens directs*, (Paris, 1892), pp.460-461.

¹⁴³ "Cum omnis sollicitudo catholicorum regum duas principaliter habeat partes, unam protegerendi, alteram prohibendi." Prou, # LXXVIII.

*divinis auctoritatibus convenire*¹⁴⁴. This notary identified that the proper working of the kingship relied on the ability of the king to protect the good from the machinations of the wicked, who should be chastised. This identifies the king as the peacekeeper, or peacemaker, the pinnacle of authority in the kingdom. This was a theme depicted by another notary who claimed that it was because he was the highest dignity in the kingdom that the king was honoured to elevate all the things of the kingdom¹⁴⁵. With this honour, the king must develop justice, he must judge rightly and correctly¹⁴⁶. In his duties, the king must follow the justice of the Creator, which means that justice could not be denied from those with a just cause¹⁴⁷. From these charters it is the theme of justice, and the image of Philip as its defender, that was elaborated. However, one charter was quite explicit in its approach, it was the only charter to outline the authority of Philip I. In the charter dated 1102, the scribe quoted Luke 22:29 when he wrote: *et ego dispono vobis sicut disposuit mihi pater meus regnum*¹⁴⁸. He wanted to elucidate the point that the king is the chosen of God and that he is made to govern. In using this quote, he hoped to promote this notion. The charter described that none can oppose His church, which was given to kings and dukes to protect, watch over and govern¹⁴⁹.

The majority of the charters, however, outlined Philip's duties concerning the church. The main point for the kingship was in its defence of the Church. For example, it was noted, "the king will govern moderately with justice and the highest dignity the secular possessions of the church and he will protect what was conceded as his ancestors had done in order to keep his kingdom in good order"¹⁵⁰. In that charter, many of the points indicated in the *ordo* of 1059 were mentioned; these points would be indicated throughout his *arengae*. Another such virtue identified to make a good king was charity. It was written that the king should lavish with devotion of spirit the areas of worship,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., #LXXVIII.

¹⁴⁵ "quod ad regni fastigium regum rex et omnium dominus dignatus est attollere." Ibid., #XL.

¹⁴⁶ "...justitiam colere, recta judicare..." Ibid., #XL.

¹⁴⁷ "nulli petenti quod justum est praecipit denegare." Ibid., #CXXIX.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., #CXLV; Luke 22:29.

¹⁴⁹ "Claret et nullo refragante constat quia Dominus et salvator noster ecclesiam suam... postea regibus et ducibus protegendam, custodiendam et regendam." Ibid., #CXLV.

¹⁵⁰ "Iustum quidem ac regia serenitate constat dignissimus secularia dominacionis moderamine gubernare, ecclesiasticis vero longe amplius clementer religionis ac pietatis oculo providere, quatenus in sua republica nichil inordinatum remaneat recte siquidem a suis predecessoribus et a se ipso stabilita custodiendo concedere et concedendo custodire" Ibid., #CVIII.

and those who care for those places, because through charity the world will flourish in tranquillity and prosperity¹⁵¹. For the scribe of this charter, the most important aspect of the kingship was charity: *primitivae virtutis, scilicet caritatis*¹⁵². It was also written that it was the duty of the royal magnificence to aid the demands of the monks and the faithful¹⁵³. In helping and fostering the Church, Philip I would inevitably elevate his own stature and glory, at least that is how one notary understood it. He claimed:

*Quincunque regiae dignitatis culmine efferrī desiderat, merito eum prae oculis semper habere debet cujus gratia praeferatur*¹⁵⁴. He continued by claiming that it gave Philip great joy to augment and to protect the possessions of the Church¹⁵⁵. An interesting charter described that it was the king's duty to sponsor the work of those in the church. He claimed *Sicut est regiae celsitudinis ac majestatis statum regni emendare moribus... ita etiam et eo studiosius ecclesiasticis negotiis et personis in ecclesiis*¹⁵⁶. He claimed that these people were a special group, that they had obtained their positions directly from God. They could reconcile the king despite his excessive abuses¹⁵⁷. To comply with this duty it was necessary that Philip *debet tuendo servare et servando tueri*¹⁵⁸ the possessions and the members of the Church.

Lastly, it was claimed, "Philip must dispose of titles rightly, wisely and without ignorance of moderation for as it is written all power comes from God"¹⁵⁹. Here another biblical quotation was used to re-enforce the prestige of the king. It was needed when Philip I was in trouble with the papacy for his marital affairs. Having just left his wife, Bertha of Frisia, for Bertrada of Anjou, Philip probably wanted to emphasise the idea of his divinely ordained kingship. This was a common theme among the royalist

¹⁵¹ "Cum in exhibitione temporalium rerum, quas humana religio divino cultui famulando locis (sanctorum) et congregationibus fidelium ex devotione animi largitur... per quem (caritatis) et mundi prosperatur tranquillitas et felici remuneratione eternal succedit felicitas." Ibid., #XIII.

¹⁵² Ibid., #XIII.

¹⁵³ "Regalis munificentie debitum est suorum fidelium et maxime religiosorum petitionibus condescendere." Ibid., #XX.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., #LXXVII.

¹⁵⁵ "... quia nos res ecclesiarum... tueri atque augmentari gaudemus." Ibid., #LXXVII.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., #LXXXVI.

¹⁵⁷ "ipsi (clericis) namque pro statu regni nostri sine intermissione Deum exorant eundemque pro nostris excessibus offensum nobis repropitiando conciliant." Ibid., #LXXXVI.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., #CVI.

¹⁵⁹ "Disponente ac moderante omnia prout vult auctore et ordinatore omnium Deo, quicumque aliis precellimus et recte sapimus, disponi nos ac moderari ab ipso non ignoramus, sicut scriptum est, quia omnis potestas a Deo est" Ibid., #CXXXII.

propagandists across Europe as illustrated in the literature from the Investiture Contest. This was similar to another diploma that stated it was the Almighty Creator who disposes to humans the right to rule¹⁶⁰. However, there were too few allusions in Philip's charters to biblical representations of his power to make any claim as his ideas and sources of his power. An important theme that resounded throughout the charters was the just governing of lands and possessions. This seemed for Philip's chancery to form the essential of a "good" king. This was the idea promoted by a notary who stated that Philip I should "unshakeably serve without controversy and not violate ecclesiastical or secular things, the public or the private." He further added that the king "is to authorise those serving the royal dignity both present and future to achieve his aims"¹⁶¹. In accordance with his coronation oath, Philip seemed most aware of his duties to the Church. His *arengae* transmit the idea of the king as justice incarnate and the defender of church and kingdom. Since little detail was arrived at from his charters as to ideas of power, an examination of his crown-wearing ceremonies will help to develop the view of how Philip understood his title and power.

Part 2-Section ii: Crown-wearing ceremonies

Crown-wearing ceremonies were an important aspect in the image of kingship. The term coronation, in the widest sense of the word, often referred to the different symbolic and ritual acts that served both to legitimate and to present kings¹⁶². Although mostly identified with a major event, such as a succession or a funeral of a ruler, other moments were also apt for these ceremonies¹⁶³. During such a ceremony, the king would partake in the mass, sing songs of praise, the *Laudes regiae* and he would be placed under the crown or coronated. He would receive the emblems of power, and in France, be covered with the holy oil, first used to consecrate Clovis¹⁶⁴. These ceremonies were very

¹⁶⁰ "Quoniam universes in orbe regibus, quibus omnipotens creator humanam rem publicam regendam distribuit." Ibid., #XL.

¹⁶¹ "Instituta regia de rebus ecclesiasticis aut secularibus, publica vel private, sine ulla iuris controversia, priorum regum iussu et auctoritate firmata, non violare sed inconcussa servare, nostra quoque, nulla iuris parte reclamante, presentibus ac posteris servanda mandare regii culminis est opus implere" Ibid., #XCIV.

¹⁶² J. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, 1990, p.1.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.9.

¹⁶⁴ For more on the ceremony, in France and in Europe see: *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos Bak, (Berkeley, 1990); E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A study in Medieval Political Theology*, (Princeton, 1957); P.E. Schramm, 'Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik, Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert' in *MGH Schriften* 13:1-3,

important occasions in the Western Empire, unfortunately, the information concerning the Frankish kingdom is rather limited. Compared to the Western Empire, very little information regarding the crown-wearing ceremonies is known. This is mostly due to the lack of sources and the evidence within them. The chancery output of the first Capetians was far smaller than that of the imperial chancery¹⁶⁵. In addition, the literary sources from the empire far outnumber those from the French kingdom. With these sources, far much more is known concerning the royal itinerary of the German kings, his crown-wearing ceremonies and his important court dates¹⁶⁶. A. Fliche, who was the first historian to deal exclusively with Philip I, disagreed with comparisons between the French kings and the German kings as both were separate kingdoms. He believed that the situations in one kingdom were different from those in the other. Although this is a valid point, certain influences could not help but infiltrate the French kingdom. With the importance of propaganda in both kingdoms, and the important role of the crown-wearing ceremonies in Germany, it is very likely that the same events influenced the French kings, especially Philip I. It is unsure how and when the idea arrived to France, but its role as a propaganda tool was very important, as it strengthened his authority and his prestige, even during his most difficult times.

Certain aspects exist to identify crown-wearing ceremonies, such as the identification to the ceremony in the sources. Statements such as *nostrae coronationi, coronam imponens, utendi corona praeuimus*, etc... With this criteria, only a few dates were identified, which is unfortunate. Since we have very little of the first factor, the other factors necessary for identifying crown-wearing ceremonies are important. According to P.E. Schramm in his work on the French kings, crown-wearing ceremonies only occurred on the great feast days of the Christian calendar¹⁶⁷. Even with this

(Stuttgart, 1954-1956); C. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning. The development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the coronation of the Emperor before the XIIth century*, (Groningen, 1951); E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, (Berkeley, 1946); M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, vol.19, (Strasbourg, 1924).

¹⁶⁵ See the chapter on administration, pp.162-204.

¹⁶⁶ For Henry IV's crown-wearing ceremonies and important court days, see I. Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp.14, 80, 149, 150, 151, 174, 242, 351-352.

¹⁶⁷ P. Schramm, *Der Konige von Frankreich*, pp.121-122.

qualification, little can be identified from the charters and the letters. The royal chancery of the first Capetians, as mentioned, was vague in its dating clauses¹⁶⁸, meaning that many diplomas either have no date or no location, or sometimes neither. The charters proved especially difficult to date in an exact way, even M. Prou, the editor of Philip's charters, had difficulties in dating them. This was mentioned most clearly by A. Fliche in his study of Philip I when he discussed, at a rather basic level, the royal itinerary. His dating was based on Prou's edition and on the primary sources without trying to date them more accurately. In addition, the fact that a good number of Philip's charters were simple confirmations made by others rather than by his chancery augments the difficulties. A possible third requirement mentioned by Schramm, which I will put forward as very important, is the attendance of many great men; those royal courts assembled to deal with matters of importance. These courts were called throughout the reign and give us the best opportunity to place Philip in his travels. When combining the date given in the diploma coupled with the witness list of the same *acta*, an approximate date can be guessed. For example, if we have a charter dated in Senlis, in the fourth year of the reign of Philip I and many magnates present on this day, then the chances are it occurred on a feast day, probably at Easter or Whitsun, since Philip's regnal year is either dated from 23 May, the date of his consecration, or 4 August, the date of his elevation. Even though we may date a court on a feast day, there is hardly any proof that this meant that it was also a crown-wearing ceremony. For this reason, I have only chosen those great courts that can strongly be associated with a crown-wearing ceremony if it also corresponds to an important event or to a centre of importance for the king.

These events could have included a royal wedding for example. Since a great number of the magnates would gather to celebrate, and a queen was crowned, it would correspond that the king also would be. There were two such weddings during Philip's reign, his first in 1075 to Bertha of Frisia and his second in 1092 to Bertrada of Anjou. I will explain more about these days in the appropriate place. But for the moment, I believe that these dates warranted a possible crown-wearing ceremony. Other dates possibly associated with the crown-wearing ceremonies are those on which Philip wanted to re-

¹⁶⁸ See below, chapter 4 on the administration, pp.162-204.

enforce his authority after certain problems or revolts had occurred against him or against his authority. Two such events which shall be examined are the revolts at his accession and his excommunications in the late 1090s and 1100s¹⁶⁹. Each was a challenge to the king's authority and I believe that Philip replied to both with this tool of propaganda. This was, for A. Fliche, the main reason for his crown-wearing ceremonies¹⁷⁰. Even though he only mentioned this as Philip's reply to the excommunications pronounced against him, it would be a fitting reason to explain the above situations. Lastly, I believe that the ceremony would be in one of Philip's major centres, those where his authority was strongest. These centres were spread throughout northern France, some were in the lands of others, such as Tours, Rheims and Amiens, but the king had rights over these and they belonged to his demesne possessions¹⁷¹. In fact, of all the crown-wearing ceremonies that are a certainty, they all took place in a royal centre of importance, on a major feast day and, supporting my idea, with a large gathering of the magnates. It is with these factors and prerequisites that the following arguments are based.

The first mention found during Philip I's reign of a crown-wearing ceremony was 25 December 1071. Luckily for us, this date is known through a later charter, one dated a few days after the event in *Mareolum* where it stated that the king had been crowned on Christmas day in Laon. Not only do we have the proof from a charter with the necessary wording: *episcopis qui in die Natalis Domini nostrae coronationi in praedicta Laudunensi ecclesia affuerunt* to assure us of the occasion, but the composition of the court and the date all correspond to the necessary points¹⁷². Firstly it was on Christmas day. The year had been quite active for Philip I, he had been involved in the Flemish succession, which was not a complete success for him¹⁷³. He may have felt a need to be re-crowned. Secondly, the composition of the assembly is also large and witnessed by many of the important people of the kingdom such as: Archbishop Manassès I of Rheims, bishop Elinand of Laon, bishop Theobald of Soissons, bishop Roger of Châlons, bishop Rolland of Senlis and bishop Radbod of Noyon, bishop Geoffrey of Paris, bishop Guido

¹⁶⁹ For the first see below, and for the latter, also see below.

¹⁷⁰ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.94.

¹⁷¹ See the chapter on the demesne below, pp.73-122.

¹⁷² Prou, #LXI.

¹⁷³ See the chapter on the royal demesne, pp.73-122.

of Amiens and bishop Guido of Beauvais. Also present were: the count Raoul, who could be Raoul of Crépy, the father-in-law of Philip I and close adviser to the king, Hugh, Roger and Urson along with Guido of Montlhéry¹⁷⁴.

The next date was 25 December 1097 as two sources identify a crown-wearing ceremony. The first was a letter by Ivo, bishop of Chartres, to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons and papal legate. In the letter, Ivo complained that despite Hugh's interdict towards the king, the archbishop of Tours placed the crown on Philip's head, the day of the Lord's birth¹⁷⁵. A clearer example than this cannot be found to identify a crown-wearing ceremony. All the necessary details are present, a feast day, a major centre, the words identifying the ceremony, all that is missing is the year and the gathering of the magnates. The second source was a letter written by Amatus, bishop of Oloron to the archbishop of Bordeaux. Further information was identified in this letter; a precise date. It stated that: Raoul II, archbishop of Tours, crowned Philip the day of the Lord 1097¹⁷⁶. This second source identified one of the missing characteristics, the exact date. It is also known from the above letters that Philip was placed under an interdict; caused by his illicit wedding to Bertrada of Anjou in 1092. Since that date, Philip's relations with the papacy became sour. However, his relationship with the French clergy was unchanged; they supported their king, as we can see from the above example. The archbishop of Tours crowned the king despite the legate's interdict. This shows that even though Philip was under a papal ban, he was still the king of the kingdom as the majority of the archbishops and bishops of northern France supported him. These crown-wearing ceremonies were, as Fliche argued, the propaganda tools used by the king to demonstrate to everyone that he was the king and that he had the church's support.

Sometime after 8 May 1098 is when the next crown-wearing ceremony occurred. This ceremony was very difficult to identify precisely. No mention of the location where

¹⁷⁴ Prou, #LXI.

¹⁷⁵ "Turonensis enim archiepiscopus praedictae ecclesiae pedagogues et incubus, in Natale Domini, regi contra interdictum vestrum coronam imponens." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.65, p.282.

¹⁷⁶ "eo (Radulfo II Turonensis archiepiscopo) quod Philippo Francorum Regi coronam, in Natali Domini anni 1097." 'Epistolae Amati Ellorensis Episcopi, Dein Archiepiscopi Burdegalensis, A.S. Legati' in *RHGF* XIV, p.763.

it took place and no year was mentioned either. The information for the event was identified in a letter from Pope Urban II to Manassès II of Rheims. It basically states that Urban absolved the king and granted him permission to use the crown¹⁷⁷. No further mentions were identified in the sources to help date and localise the event more precisely. The next ceremony took place on Pentecost in 1100. Unfortunately, the exact location is unknown, but was somewhere in the Belgian Provinces. This date was identified in a letter by Ivo bishop of Chartres to John, cardinal priest. It stated: it was permitted by certain bishops of the province of *Belgica* to pose the crown on the king, on Pentecost, against the cardinal priest's interdict¹⁷⁸. The final crown-wearing ceremony was identified on 1 December 1104 in Paris. This was a simple entry from the *Annals of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* which stated that after his father Philip I, Louis VI was also crowned¹⁷⁹. The place and date are supported by a royal charter¹⁸⁰. This last date was shortly after Philip had been absolved from his excommunication. The reason for the ceremony was to demonstrate to all that he was once again the legitimate and true king, absolved of his sins and permitted to rule once more. This list of ceremonies illustrates the methods used by Philip I to demonstrate to others his title and position. He was, despite circumstances, the king. When signs were present that his authority was tested such as in 1062 or in 1071, Philip would stage crown-wearing ceremonies in order to strengthen his rule, or at least the perception of it. Also, these ceremonies were very important in demonstrating to the people that Philip was supported by the French church, even during his excommunications. This was a powerful propaganda tool for Philip to use in displaying his authority and *grandeur*. Despite the papal claims and judgements, Philip was supported by the French church and his authority was rarely challenged by others in the kingdom.

Beyond these certainties, some dates may have been plausible crown-wearing ceremonies. The points mentioned above, a royal wedding, court assembly and feast date

¹⁷⁷ "vinculo absolvimus, et utendi pro more regni corona auctoritatem ei (Philippus I) praebuimus... Data... VIII Idus Maii." Pope Urban II, Ep. #285 in *PL* 151 [Col.0538C]; JL 5774.

¹⁷⁸ "licet quidam Belgicae provinciae in Pentecostem contra interdictum bonae memoriae papae Urbani coronam ipsi regi imposuerint." Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 84 in *PL* 162, [Col.0105C].

¹⁷⁹ "Anno MCIV. Post patrem suum Philippum, Ludovicus rex coronatur." 'Annales S. Benigni Divionensis' in *MGH SS V*, ed G. Waitz, p.43.

¹⁸⁰ Prou, #CXLVIII.

were used to argue for the following dates. The first date argued for as a crown-wearing ceremony is 31 March 1062. This date has never been identified as a stop in the royal itinerary, let alone as a crown-wearing ceremony. Let us look firstly at the source for this date: Clarius, in the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivensis: Anno M L XII, obit Mainardus archiepiscopus...cui successit in archiepiscopatu domnus Richerius...qui ordinatus Parisius in die sancto Pasche ab episcopo Gotfrido et aliis, presente rege cum principibus*¹⁸¹. This source is reliable as it is contemporary and the events described throughout the history are, at the most, accurate. It is strange that no other historian has recorded this journey, since they use Clarius for so many other details. This ceremony occurred in Paris, one of the prerequisites mentioned above. Also, the date given is a feast date, Easter. We are told that it was a gathering in the presence of the king and of the princes. Three requisites have been given, however it is the fourth point which indicates this is a possible crown-wearing ceremony; it was after an event that threatened Philip's authority. We have no other dates from this year, so we have to trust the events of the first two years and this one source for 1062. Firstly, it is known that Philip had revolts on his accession as king, since he was a minor it was an optimal time for many to revolt against the king and his regent. Unfortunately the sources for this event are rather scarce and incomplete. However, the *Miracles of Saint-Benedict* relate that count Baldwin V of Flanders had to suppress the tyrants who inflicted France with troubles¹⁸². This was also confirmed by the *Miracles of Saint Agile, abbot of Rebais*, which added that Baldwin's Flemish troops were needed to suppress the revolts, meaning that they were serious enough¹⁸³. These sources are supported by two very reliable sources. The first is a letter by Gervais, archbishop of Rheims to Pope Nicholas II in 1060. He wrote: *Praeterea multo gravior angit me tristitia de obitu domini regis... Scitis enim quantum infrenens et indomniti sunt nostrates: timeo regni nostri fore desolationem...*¹⁸⁴ Even Philip I mentioned this event in two charters, the first to Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1061 when he

¹⁸¹ Clarius, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. R. Bautier, p.126.

¹⁸² "Qui (Balduinus Insulanus V) prudentissime regni administrans negotia... tyrannos per totam pullulantes Franciam tam consiliis quam armis perdomuit, et pacem maximam teneri fecit." Raoul Tortaire, "Miraculi Sancti Benedicti", *PL* 160, c.24, [col.1212A].

¹⁸³ "qui (Balduino) cum militari usu Philippo regi Francorum utpote palatinus comes deserviret... ad quorum convincendam rebellionem praedictus comes accitus, cum apparatus Flandrensis militiae..." "Ex Miraculi S. Agili Resbacensibus", *MGH SS XV*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, p.866.

¹⁸⁴ *RHGF* XI, p.498.

stated that it was the demands and claims either just or unjust made by certain lords and their ingratitude towards the king which caused him displeasure¹⁸⁵. The second to Saint-Médard de Soissons in 1075 when he again mentions events of his youth and those who were supposed to be loyal to him were not¹⁸⁶. A. Fliche described these events in greater detail¹⁸⁷; my purpose is to demonstrate that a serious enough threat occurred to justify a crown-wearing ceremony. In order to re-enforce his rule after the suppression of the revolts, it would seem logical to have the king re-crowned. Philip would use this method later on in his reign during his problems with the papacy; it was propaganda.

The following date for a possible crown-wearing ceremony was after 23 May 1075. This date has proven very difficult to date precisely. I do believe that it is a crown-wearing ceremony for two reasons. The first is that I believe this, along with M. Prou, is a royal wedding, between Philip I and Bertha of Frisia¹⁸⁸. This is her first mention as the queen of France, she subscribed the charter as: *domnae Bertae, Francorum Reginae*¹⁸⁹. Also a large assembly of magnates such as the archbishop of Rheims, Manassès I, the bishop of Soissons, Tetbald, the bishop of Laon, Elinand, Radbod, bishop of Noyon, Guy, bishop of Beauvais, Agano, bishop of Auxerre, Engelard bishop elect of Senlis and lastly Geoffrey bishop of Paris were present. In addition the king's brother, Hugh, is present along with the count of Soissons, William, and two other counts, Stephan and Ivo. Two later subscriptions are significant to mention, those of Louis VI of France and Landric bishop of Mâcon¹⁹⁰. The assembly points to an important gathering and the fact that Bertha is identified as queen accords strongly with a crown-wearing ceremony. If Bertha were crowned then Philip would have also been. If a more accurate date could be

¹⁸⁵ "...coeperunt insisterer plura a nobis exigentes, incertum est quae iuste vel quae iniuste: illis autem visum est omnia iuste; pater meus tamen haec omnia tenuerat pacifice; inter quos Odo comes, filius praefeti Manassetis, villam totiens dictam Cumbis exigebat, dicens eam sibi deberi hereditario iure, eo quod avunculus patris eius, Hilduinus scilicet, tenerario ausu, sicut iam diximus, ipsam villam usurpaverat." Prou, #XIII.

¹⁸⁶ "Quocirca nos quoque, transactis pueritiae nostrae annis, in quibus alternaverunt et labores regni, propter infidelitates quorundam, et prosperitates nostrae, propter solam benignitatem Dei, considerantes quia, si tantus quis fuerit re ac nomine, quantus et orbis, omni stamen morti mundane gloria cedat, placabilem nobis fieri Dominum ac salvatorem nostrum misericorditer speramus..." Prou, #LXXVIII.

¹⁸⁷ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.27-30.

¹⁸⁸ Prou, #LXXVIII. Note number 1.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., #LXXVIII.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., #LXXVIII.

identified, possibly during a feast day, maybe even All Saints Day, since, judging from his itinerary, Philip spent the end of the year in the northern regions of the kingdom, so it is possible that the date was 1 November, but this is speculation¹⁹¹. Lastly, the ceremony was celebrated in Soissons, another royal possession. All the necessary points needed for a crown-wearing ceremony are identified making this a very likely crown-wearing ceremony.

No further dates were identified until Philip's controversies over his marital affairs after 1092, when after 15 May 1092 a possible crown-wearing ceremony may have taken place. This date is also based on a wedding ceremony. Even though we have no charter evidence for this date, or for those of the later ceremonies, this celebration caused an outcry of fury amongst the chroniclers because of the nature of the crime, that it was mentioned in a variety of sources¹⁹². A little background of the events is necessary. Philip, claiming his wife was too fat, abandoned her and took the wife of the count of Anjou, Fulk, shortly after meeting her in 1092¹⁹³. This action caused many complaints from the papacy and from the reforming clergy. We are aware of this date and its purpose through the letters of Ivo, bishop of Chartres. In the first letter he claims that the archbishops and bishops were invited to the royal wedding¹⁹⁴. In the following letter he wrote that the ceremony was to be held in Paris¹⁹⁵. Ivo was unsure if he should attend, writing to the pope to hear his judgement on the matter. Ivo was one of the few northern Bishops not to attend the wedding, as we shall see later on. This ceremony took place in Paris, was a royal wedding and many magnates were in attendance. It is unfortunate, however, that no clearer date could be arrived at from the sources. Either way I strongly believe this to be a royal crown-wearing ceremony.

Part II-Section iii: Views of Philip

Of the Capetians, Philip's was the longest reign and remarkably, during his 48 year kingship, he was hardly mentioned by sources outside his own demesne, and even

¹⁹¹ See the appendix dealing with the itinerary.

¹⁹² See below, part 2, section iii.

¹⁹³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.40-45.

¹⁹⁴ "Archiepiscopis et episcopis ad regales nuptias invitatis." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.14, p.60.

¹⁹⁵ "Nunc vero quia absolute vocor ut Parisium cum uxore vestra veniam." Ibid., Ep.15, p.62.

less so outside the kingdom or in the south of France. During the greater part of his reign, at least until 1092, outside sources would mention Philip only when it was relevant to their events, such as conflicts or encounters with their leaders. Everything changed, however, after 1092 when Philip repudiated his wife Bertha of Frisia. She had borne him two children, Louis, the future king, and Constance. The reason for his actions is somewhat unclear, as the sources tend to contradict each other¹⁹⁶. Orderic Vitalis, monk of Saint-Évroul, (born around 1075) claimed that Bertrada of Anjou made the first move and approached Philip¹⁹⁷. Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis on the other hand, claimed that Philip had acted through his lustful desire for the woman¹⁹⁸. Whatever the reasons, their actions caused uproar within the Catholic world. It was not only Philip's actions that angered people but also Bertrada's as both were married to others when they began their relationship, whereas Philip abandoned Bertha for desire and lust as the sources tell us, Bertrada on the other hand left Fulk le Réchin, count of Anjou, for fear of herself being abandoned by him¹⁹⁹. For a reform minded papacy, these actions were simply unacceptable. These views influenced modern scholarship and led to a general misrepresentation of Philip²⁰⁰. In an age of when the church reform movement required morality from secular rulers, any laxity in this view led to harsh criticisms and unfavourable commentary.

In general, the descriptions of Philip I by others were unanimous in their condemnation. We begin with Normandy where the most numerous, and historically important, sources for the period were produced. These sources were hostile to the king, with one exception, that of William of Préaux, monk of Poitiers and chaplain to William I of England, whose work was finished before the eruption of conflict between the king and duke. Because of this reason, he is ignored for this study. Orderic Vitalis was quite descriptive of Philip I, which is why this analysis begins with him. Throughout his *History*, comments pertaining to Philip were unflattering, mostly because he was the

¹⁹⁶ A. Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.40-45.

¹⁹⁷ OV, VIII, c.xx, p.260-264

¹⁹⁸ "neque enim post superductam Andegavensem comitissam quicquam regia maiestate dignum agebat, sed raptè coniugis raptus concupiscentia, voluptati sue satisfecere operam dabat" Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xiii, p.82.

¹⁹⁹ OV, VIII, c.xx, pp.260-264.

²⁰⁰ See above for the view of modern scholarship.

enemy of the kings England, William I, William II and Henry I. His *History* glorified their actions and deeds, and when comparing their actions and deeds to Philip I, he made every attempt to make them seem better than Philip. Orderic, describing Philip after he had refuted his wife and taken another, attacked the person, character and royal dignity of Philip I. He stated, “that after taking the wife [Bertrada] of Fulk, [Philip] grew hardened in his wickedness, like the deaf adder which blocks its ears to the voice of the charmer, spurned the arguments of the fathers who corrected him, and continued to wallow in his shameful adultery...”²⁰¹. Orderic makes the point here that Philip was unwilling to leave his new wife regardless of the advice given to him by the Church. He continued: “King Philip, however, obstinately remained deaf to their exhortations to amend his life and continued to rot in his wickedness. As a result he fell prey to decaying teeth and many other infirmities and ignominies according to his merits”²⁰². Describing Philip I as ill and physically unappealing may represent an attempt by Orderic to diminish the king’s influence in the kingdom. If he was deformed or infirm it would lessen the aura of power of the royal dignity. This theme was again pursued by Orderic when he remarked on Philip’s weight and inability to defend the kingdom. “He [Philip] was indolent, fat and unfit for war”²⁰³ that he was “burdened with age and sickness, he rotted away shamefully in the filth of adultery”²⁰⁴. Orderic obviously disapproved of Philip’s union with Bertrada, and considered that the poor condition of his health was a direct result of God’s disapproval of his actions. It is interesting that Orderic mentioned Philip’s inability to defend the kingdom, which was a direct attack on his worth as king. As seen, Philip was meant to defend and protect the kingdom. If he was unfit for this duty, then he had failed at a core task of his kingship.

Moving to another narrative source of importance, William, monk of Malmesbury, who was educated with the reform ideals of the time and more important he belonged to the Anglo-Norman world, was born near Somerset around 1095 and

²⁰¹ “Ceterum in flagitio graviter obduratus ad instar surdae aspidis quae opturat avers suas ad vocem incantantis corripientium hortamenta patrum sprevit, et in adulterii fetore diu putridus iacuit...” OV, VIII, c.xx, pp-260-264.

²⁰² “Rex tamen Philippus eorum admonitionibus de corrigenda vita procaciter obstitit, adulterioque putidus in malicia perduravit ideoque dolori dentium et scabiei multisque aliis infirmitatibus et ignominiis merito subiacuit” OV, VIII, c.xx, pp.260-264.

²⁰³ “Philippus enim rex piger et corpulentus belloque incongruus erat” OV, X, c.v, p.214.

²⁰⁴ “senior et aegritudine tabidus in adulterii tercore flebiliter computruit” OV, IX, c.ii, p.10.

began the *History* before 1118; it was completed it by 1125. Both these traits influenced his views of Philip I. William of Malmesbury was vehement concerning Philip's marriage, blaming the affair on Philip's age and weakness; because of these he was unable to resist Bertrada. He stated: *Philippus accedente senior, libidine gravis, comitissaeque Andegavensis specie lusus, illicitis ardoribus defoeneratus famulabatur*²⁰⁵. William placed the blame solely on the shoulders of Philip I. Although, this description is not very flattering, it was not as harsh as those from Orderic. William focused mainly on Philip's attitudes toward the Church. He wanted to demonstrate that the Church was against Philip and his illicit marriage. He related the story of how Church ceremonies would stop whenever the couple entered a town or city²⁰⁶. William then described Philip's attitude to the sanctions, describing how Philip mocked the Church and its punishments²⁰⁷. William had certain ideas as to what made a king good. Writing for Henry I (1100-1135), William's ideas of kingship were based on justice and authority. It was important for the king to maintain his authority and to consolidate his rule²⁰⁸. Authority in his eyes was meant to be the enforcement of justice. It was imperative for the king to act justly²⁰⁹. Although he did not directly attack Philip for his lack of justice or authority, he did attack his piety. This was another important feature of William's concept of good kingship. The king had to respect the Church, participate in the prescribed rituals, contribute generously to the religious establishments and honour the authority of the Church²¹⁰. In relating the above story of Philip and Bertrada's response to Church sanctions, he demonstrated the lack of respect held by Philip for the Church. Aside from these two sources, Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon's description of Philip I is of interest. He wrote his work between 1123 and 1130, so some time after Philip's reign. Following a similar approach to Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon attacked Philip's obesity and laziness. He described both Philip and his son Louis as fat. He claimed they were ruled by their stomachs: "They ate so much that they lost their

²⁰⁵ Willelmi Malmesburiensis Monachi, 'Gesta Regum Anglorum' in *PL* 179, [col.1360].

²⁰⁶ "Quocirco ab apostolico excommunicatus, cum in villa qua mansitabat nihil divini servitii fierit..." Ibid., [col.1360].

²⁰⁷ "exprimebat: Audis, inquires bello quomodo nos effugant!" Ibid., [col.1360].

²⁰⁸ J. Haahr, 'The concept of kingship in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*' in *Medieval Studies* 38, p.369.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p.352.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p.358.

strength in obesity and could not stand up”²¹¹. He continued: “Philip died of obesity long ago”²¹². Henry made it a point to illustrate Philip’s failures to defend the kingdom: “Was not Philip often defeated by his own men? And was he not often put to flight by the vilest of people?”²¹³. This was an attack on the person of the king, describing him as unfit to rule and generally lacking in the royal dignity. These views are very unflattering, and although William of Malmesbury did not attack the person of the king as directly as had both Orderic and Henry, he still described him in an unflattering picture. These historians wanted to illuminate the goodness and valour of their leader, the duke and king of England, either William or Henry. All this however was common practice in medieval historiography; to compare a good person with a bad one in order to make the good seem superior. Describing Philip as lazy, unfit and incapable of defending his kingdom was to attack directly his authority as king.

I believe it is important to note the opinion of Philip I by Hugh, monk of Flavigny. Even though he was closer to events in Lorraine and the Empire more so than to the French kingdom, he was quite independent in thought from the northern French church and he was a staunch supporter of the papal reform. His writings are quite factual and accurate; however, he did tend to make mistakes and inaccuracies when upset with those whom he would attack in his writings. Nonetheless, his account is of interest. In his passage regarding Philip, three comments were argued, each in increasing severity. Firstly, Hugh began simply by denouncing the affair with the usual criticism of Bertrada claiming that Philip’s actions were “the most shameful adultery”²¹⁴ and that Bertrada was a “second Jezebel, a poison to truth and justice”²¹⁵. The action was “lamented by not only all of France, but of the entire West”²¹⁶. Afterwards, Hugh moved on to describe the shameful action that the king had done out of lust for that woman. He had not only broken the bonds of marriage between two people, but also fractured the bond

²¹¹ “Quid de Philippo rege Francorum et Ludoveo filio eius, qui temporibus nostris regnarunt, quorum deus fuit venter” Henry of Huntingdon, *De Contemptu Mundi, Letter to Archdeacon Walter*, ed. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996), p.607.

²¹² “Ut se ipsos pinguedine defunctus est” Ibid., p.607.

²¹³ “Nonne Philippus a suis sepe victus est? Et a personis vilissimis sepe fugatus est?” Ibid., p.607.

²¹⁴ “impudicissimum Philippi Regis Francorum adulterium”, Hugonis, monachi Virdunensis et Divionensis, ‘Chronicon’ in *MGH SS VIII*, ed. G. Pertz, p.492.

²¹⁵ “secundae Ihezabelis veneficiis a vero et iusto”, Ibid., p.492.

²¹⁶ “si sileat scedula, tota conclamabit Francia, immo totus Ocidentis una intonabit fama”, Ibid., p.492.

of fidelity between himself and his loyal aid. It seems that for Hugh, the shattering of both these bonds was a serious crime as he wrote it in two different passages, one more severe than the other²¹⁷. The last reference used by Hugh against Philip was his comparison to Lothaire (840-855) who he had claimed had also refuted his wife. Although, for Hugh, Philip's actions were worse because of whose wife he had "stolen"²¹⁸. Hugh's views were based on his attitude towards church reform and to any actions counterpoint to these. He made colourful and extreme, but often biased, points. The next examination deals with the views of the royal historians and chroniclers.

Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, who wrote his work on Louis VI between the years 1138 and 1145²¹⁹ was quite condemning of Philip's behaviour and weaknesses as king. He began by stating: "Since he took as concubine the countess of Anjou, he did nothing worthy of the royal majesty, but carried by his violent desires for the woman which he stole, he occupied himself only with the satisfaction of his voluptuous passion"²²⁰. He continued by attacking Philip's failures in his office and person: "He cared not for the interests of the kingdom, nor did he care for his health and body"²²¹. Abbot Suger was rather harsh in his judgement, but he had his reasons. One was to glorify Louis VI, Philip's son and heir to the kingdom. Suger wanted to exalt him, to make him the model for kingship, in order to do this he had to contrast his behaviour with that of Philip, who he saw as a bad king. Throughout his work, this continuously appears. Suger's world was one of black and white, good and bad. In his descriptions of kings, Emperor Henry V (1106-1125) was the worst king while Louis VI was the model of what a king should be. In addition, he created an apology for Philip's choice of Fleury as his final burial

²¹⁷ "quod rex legitimo abdicato matrimonio, regiae stirpis uxore repudiata, thore fide violata, regii cubilis decore obnubilato, regii germis splendore obfuscato, comito suo Andegavensis uxorem subripvit, militi utique suo cui fidem promiserat, et carnis consanguinitate propinquo" and then later he continued the same theme "si reginae innocentis deiection, si legitimi thori divortium, si pelicis exaltatam intra regales aulas prostibulum, non illa tamen viro iuncta, non a latere viri, consanguinei et militis rapta, non in ea nuptiarum utrimque sunt federa violate" Ibid., p.492.

²¹⁸ "Nequius hic aliquid video, quam in tempore beati papae Nicholai in Tietberga regina repudiata et Waldrada adultera subintroducata a Lothario, Lotharii imperatoris qui monachus factus est filio, quia etsi ibi fallax episcoporum iudicium..." Ibid., p.492 where he continued as above about the bonds of fidelity.

²¹⁹ H. Waquet, 'Introduction' in *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, p.xi.

²²⁰ "neque enim post superductam Andegavensem comitissam quicquam regia maiestate dignum agebat, sed rapte coniugis raptus concupiscentia, voluptati satisfacere operam dabet" Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xiii, p.82.

²²¹ "Unde nec reipublice providebat nec proceri et elegantis corporis sanitati" Ibid., c.xiii, p.82

place instead of the traditional home of Saint-Denis. Suger described Philip's choice in a speech claiming that he needed all the support of the monks in order to gain salvation for his sinful life²²². Suger's comments concerning Philip were not completely negative as he did have positive statements. When Suger began the discussion of the reconciliation between Philip and the pope, Pascal II, he described the close relationship now forged, just as in the days of Charlemagne²²³. Suger was a contemporary witness to the latter events of Philip's life; in fact, he was present at the meeting between the pope and the king. His recording of the conversation was accurate. Whether he stated it as praise for Philip or Louis is of little importance. What matters is Suger's attempt to glorify and elevate the king, regardless of who he was. So even the harshest critic was able to see some good in Philip as king and to glorify what little he did find.

One of the more reliable sources for the later years of Philip's reign is Bishop Ivo of Chartres. Although Ivo was a prolific writer, his letters have been the focus of this study. Ivo was a very important figure in the relations between the papacy, the French church and the king²²⁴. He was a staunch papalist, a defender of papal rights and ideas. He was the central figure of the northern clergy who did not support the king's marriage to Bertrada. In a letter to the king, Ivo clearly stated that he could not sanction the royal wedding because his marriage to Bertha of Frisia had not been cancelled legally by a council²²⁵. In addition, he was very vehement in his attacks on the clergy who protected and supported the "erring" king²²⁶. His letters treated topics such as primacy, obedience and the proper services given to the king. These were the principal themes of two of

²²² "dicebant siquidem qui ab eo audierant quod a sepultura partum suorum regum, que in ecclesia Beati Dionisii quasi jure naturali habetur, se absentari deliberaverat, eo quod minus bene wrga ecclesiam se habuerat et quia inter tot nobiles reges non magni duceretur ejus sepultura." Ibid., c.xiii, p.84. This statement was probably never made by Philip, but, it was important for Suger to justify such a decision. This was a period where royal customs were in the mists of being formed. We have already mentioned the arguments for the right to crown the king. Suger may have believed this to be a change in royal policies in regards to royal burials which would have diminished Saint-Denis' importance in the kingdom.

²²³ "sicut antecessorum regum Francorum Karoli Magni et aliorum mos inolevit, tyrannis et ecclesie hostibus et potissimum Henrico imperatori audacter resistere." Ibid., c.x, p.54.

²²⁴ See the chapter on the demesne, pp.73-122.

²²⁵ "Ad quod cum respondissum non ita oportere fieri, quoniam nondum esset causa diffinita inter eum et uxorem ejus." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.13, p.58; see also Ep.15, pp.60-64.

²²⁶ "In quibus hoc egregie laudabile intellexi, quod te a communione regis abstinuisti, quoniam in hoc et famae tuae et legationi tibi commissae sane consulisti, licet quidam Belgicae provinciae episcopi in Pentecosten contra interdictum bonae memoriae papae Urbani coronam ipsi regi imposuerint, tanquam mortuo praecone iustitiam mortuam esse crediderint." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.84, *PL* 162, [Col.0105C].

Ivo's letters. They were addressed to Philip I where he states: *Sicut enim est regiae potestatis civilia iura servare et eorum transgressores debita poena multare...*²²⁷ and then in the second letter he continued: *fateor me post Deum pro posse meo cuncta vobis debere quae vestro congruent honori et saluti*²²⁸. Since his letters to Philip I were minimal, in comparison to his other receivers, an in-depth understanding of his views is difficult to outline. However, Ivo regarded Philip with respect, but he was not blind to the king's behaviour. He openly criticised Philip for his actions, especially concerning Bertrada²²⁹. His goal was not chastisement, he was more concerned in correcting Philip's behaviour, and his ultimate goal was for the reconciliation between Philip and the papacy²³⁰. When addressing the king, Ivo was full of praise and worthiness, entitling him as the pious king, magnificent and most serene²³¹. Even during Philip's difficulties with the papacy, Ivo showed the dignity owed to Philip I when addressing and advising him. When he wrote to the pope, or to the papal legates in France, he would criticise the clergy who lent their support to Philip, he did not criticise Philip directly. This was the theme of his letter to the archbishop of Lyons, Hugh, formerly bishop of Die, when he outlined the attitude of the archbishop of Tours in regards to the papal sentence pronounced against the king when the archbishop crowned the king²³². Lastly, Ivo respected Philip's authority and even made a call to Philip to enforce his royal rights to stop Hugh of Lyons from holding a third council in a year, which Ivo thought intolerable and against church custom. Ivo urged Philip to resist the request by Hugh of Lyons to summon the bishops of the royal demesne. The significance of this letter to Philip is Ivo's quotation of Matthew 22:21 stating: *sic ut quae Dei sunt Deo reddunt et quae Caesaris sunt Caesari reddere*²³³. This was the only mention in his entire letter

²²⁷ Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 9, p.38.

²²⁸ Ibid., Ep. 22, p.92.

²²⁹ For an analyse of the views held by Ivo of Chartres with regards to the king's marriage see Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.46-60.

²³⁰ "Sicut de excommunicatione regis graviter dolumus, propter Christianae religionis detrimentum, ita de absolutione eius, si ad honorem Dei et sanctae sedis apostolicae fieri posset, granditer gauderemus, propter eiusdem sanctae religionis incrementum." Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 141, PL 162, [Col.0148B] to Richard of Albano; A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* 8, pp.351-352.

²³¹ "Philippo piissimo Francorum regi" Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 22, p.90; "Philippo, Dei gratia magnifico Francorum regi"; Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 28, p.116; "Philippo, Dei gratia serenissimo regi Francorum" Ep. 56, p.226.

²³² Ibid., Ep. 65, p.282.

²³³ Ibid., Ep. 56, p.228.

collection, during Philip's difficulties with the papacy, of a biblical allusion in favour of the royal dignity. In matters of importance, Philip's authority was supreme, or so it seems with this letter.

Above all, however, Ivo was harshest in his attacks against Bertrada of Anjou, whom he believed to be the single greatest threat to Philip's salvation. Before Philip's rupture with the papacy, Ivo forewarned that this woman would lead to the king's ruin, both spiritual and temporal. He compared her to other women who had ruined men and kingdoms²³⁴. Ivo imagined Bertrada to be a second Jezebel, the one who would bring about the ruin of the salvation of the king²³⁵. He added further allusions from the bible such as Matthew 6:15 describing the beheading of John the Baptist in order to please Hérodiade²³⁶. Ivo believed that for Philip to fulfil his duty as king he must abstain from her presence, which Philip later promised the pope. Even though Ivo was pleased with the reconciliation between the king and the pope, based on Philip's promise to leave his wife, Ivo was still wary of Philip's motivations. He hoped that the king would remain on the right path and steer from evil. By this Ivo meant that Philip must keep his promise to stay away from Bertrada²³⁷. Again, Ivo expresses a very unflattering view in regards to Bertrada, using the biblical allusion of the dog returning to its vomit²³⁸, Ivo compared Bertrada to the dog's vomit, a very unflattering comparison. Ivo interested in the well-being of the church, supported reform and openly criticised Philip for his stubbornness and ruinous behaviour both to himself and to the kingdom²³⁹. Regardless of his criticisms, Ivo was proud of his king, and rejoiced over the news of his reconciliation. He wrote: "Just as the excommunication of the king greatly hurt us, thus

²³⁴ "Mementote quia primum parentum... mulier in paradiso seduxit, et ita uterque a paradise exsulavit (Gen III). Samson quoque fortissimos per mulierem seductus, fortitudine amissa qua hostes superare solebat, ab hostibus est superatus (Judges, XVI). Salomon sapientissimus propter mulierum concupiscentiam a Deo apostatavit, et ita sapientiam qua praecebat amissit (III Book of the Kings, XI). Ibid., Ep.15, p.64.

²³⁵ "Licet enim... in Gallico autem altera Iezabel." Ibid, Ep.24, p.98.

²³⁶ "Licet ad placitum Herodis saltet Herodias, petat caput Iohannis, concedat Herodes..." Ibid, Ep.24, p.98.

²³⁷ "Si rex a sanctitate vestra, seu per se, seu per alios poenitentiam acceperit, et, ut pro certo credimus, ad vomitam reversus fuerit, qualiter me habere debeam" Ibid., Ep.#105, PL 162, [Col.0124C-D]; "Et si forte absolutas fuerit, et ad vomitum, sicut iam contigit, reversus fuerit, e vestigio eisdem clavibus recludatur, eisdem catenis religetur" Ibid., Ep.104, PL 162, [Col.0123C].

²³⁸ (Proverbs, 26:11).

²³⁹ "... regis Francorum... sacrae religioni pernicioosa et ignominiosa pertinacia" Ibid., Ep.105, PL 162, [Col.0123D]; Ivo's letters in regards to situation of the disputed election of Beauvais, between the elected candidate and the one chosen by Philip, refer to Ep. 87, 89, 92, 95, 97, 98, 102, 104, 105, 138, 139, 144, 145, 146. For an explanation of these events and their outcome see the chapter on the demesne below.

his absolution was greatly pleasing”²⁴⁰. Their relationship, as understood by Ivo, was similar to a parent and child; it was Ivo’s duty, as well as the other churchmen, to guide and aid the king. Worried by the king’s actions and regardless of his promises, Ivo was a faithful servant to the king, as he himself expressed it²⁴¹.

Part 2-Section iv: Papal perceptions

Papal relations with Philip ranged from outright excommunication, under Urban II, to familiar friendship, with Paschal II. The examination of their letters to the king, or concerning the king, will underline their often changing views regarding Philip I. The church reform movement caused some friction between the king and the pope, however, it was Philip’s marital indiscretions which caused the increased distance between the two. Since Gregory VII had problems with the emperor, it meant that most of his reform zeal was directed towards the Empire. It was with Urban II’s pontificate that relations between Philip I and the pope were at their lowest, ending in Philip’s excommunication. During the papacy of Paschal II, however, Philip ingratiated himself with the papacy, and the two forces joined together. It is with these factors that we shall examine the papal view of Philip. Of the first pope examined, Alexander II (1061-1073) two letters concern Philip I. The first deals with a case of simony in the church of Chartres by a certain H. This letter was sent to Gervais, archbishop of Rheims. In the letter, Alexander declared Philip to be “our dearest son”²⁴². The second letter is of no importance to this study. His address to Philip I was kind, mostly because he needed something done, such as the extirpation of simony from Chartres, so this may account for Alexander’s kind words about Philip. Either way, it seems that they were on amicable terms, which may be in part due to Gervais’ influence on the young king²⁴³. Nonetheless, no harsh words were exchanged.

It was with Gregory VII that matters changed. Of all the complaints directed to and against Philip, none were more passionate nor descriptive than those of Gregory.

²⁴⁰ “Sicut de excommunicatione Regis graviter doluimus... ita de absolutione eius... granditer gauderemus...” “Ivo of Chartres”, Ep.141, *PL* 162, [Col.0148B].

²⁴¹ “fateor me post Deum pro posse meo cuncta vobis debere quae vestro congruunt honori et saluti” Ivo of Chartres, Ep.22, p.92.

²⁴² “charissimo filio nostro, Philippo”, Alexander II Papa, ‘Epistolae et Decreta’, Ep.#23, *PL* 146, [Col.1300D].

²⁴³ For Gervais’ influence on Philip see Chapter 4 the administration, pp.162-204.

Gregory's attacks were, with one exception, restrained and unconcerned with a confrontation²⁴⁴. Gregory was greatly opposed to lay investiture and clerical marriages, and these were the focuses of his relations with Philip, not the *regnum* and *sacerdotium* dispute that was raging in the Western Empire²⁴⁵. However, when Philip I went against these wishes, or acted in a way unbecoming of a king, in Gregory's understanding of a good king, he was criticized severely in a number of scathing attacks, and, was even threatened in his position as king. The first sign of Gregory's attack on Philip was identified in a letter dated in 1073. In this letter, to Bishop Rodin of Châlons-sur-Saône, who was both companion to the king and friend to the pope, Gregory was fearful that Philip would have demanded payment from Landeric, the newly elected archdeacon of Autun, before permitting him to occupy his see²⁴⁶. Gregory denounced Philip for claims of simony. He began: "Amongst other princes of this our time who from perverse cupidity have destroyed the Church of God by putting it up for sale, and, who by the precept of the lord they ought to honour and revere, have utterly trampled under foot and subjected it as a slave-girl, we have been told by sure report that Philip, king of the French, has so greatly oppressed the Gallican churches that he seems to have climbed to the highest peak of this most detestable outrage"²⁴⁷. Although, there were no signs of a royal intervention in the election, Gregory was worried for the king's behaviour. Philip was still in his youth, his early twenties, and rumours had reached Gregory about Philip's involvement in the election²⁴⁸. Philip's reputation was salvaged however, and Gregory's view altered, by the sending to Rome of his chamberlain Alberic to promise better behaviour on the king's behalf²⁴⁹. This seemed to appease Gregory.

The next set of letters was a more precise attack against Philip's kingship; however, it came to nothing. The incident was, apparently, sudden and unheralded. It

²⁴⁴ H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.331.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.333.

²⁴⁶ 'Das Register Gregors VII' in *MGH Epistolae Selectae in usum scholarum*, ed. E. Casper, Reg.I.35, 36, pp.56-58; I.76, pp.107-108.

²⁴⁷ "Inter ceateros nostris huius temporis principes, qui ecclesiam Dei perversa cupiditate venundando dissiparunt et matrem suam, cui ex dominico precepto honorem et reverentiam debuerant, ancillary subiectione penitus conculcarunt, Philippum regem Francorum Gallicanas ecclesias in tantum oppresisse certa relatione didicimus, ut ad summum tam detestandi huius facinoris cumulum pervenisse videatur..." Reg.I.35, p.56-57.

²⁴⁸ H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.335.

²⁴⁹ Casper, Reg. I.35, pp. 56-57; I.36, pp.57-58.

occurred between September and December of 1074 and is known through three letters from Gregory. The first was intended for the archbishops and bishops of France, the second to William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine and the third was to Manassès I, archbishop of Rheims²⁵⁰. In these letters, Gregory declared that Philip must act as a king or lose the title granted to him by God. In the first letter, to the archbishops and bishops of France, Gregory had complained about Philip's failure to protect the weak, the poor and travellers. It is clear from the above letters that the travellers mentioned were merchants from Italy. They had complained to Gregory about being taxed in Philip's kingdom. Gregory had been aggravated by this act for he had granted the Italian merchants free passage to the fair. "Of these things, your king, who is not called king but a tyrant...has polluted his whole life with infamies and crimes, and has served uselessly the government of the kingdom wretchedly and unhappily; he has not only by an excessively weakened magistracy softened to commit wicked acts the people subject to him but by the example of his own deeds and concerns he has incited them to everything that is wrong to be spoken or done. Nor has it seemed to him enough to have deserved the wrath of God by the devastation of churches, by adulteries, by the most wicked plundering, by perjuries, and by deceit of every kind, for which we have often reproved him, but also after the fashion of a robber he has extorted money without limit from the merchants who have lately assembled from many parts of the world at a certain fair in France"²⁵¹. He continued "and he who should have been the defender of laws and justice has been most actively their depredator"²⁵². Gregory, not quite finished his lambasting of Philip, added "and if he shall not repent at a sanction of this kind, we wish

²⁵⁰ H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.336.

²⁵¹ "Quarum rerum rex vester, qui non rex sed tyrannus dicendus est... Qui omnem etatem suam flagitiis et facinoribus polluit et suscepta regni gubernacula miser et infelix inutiliter gerens subiectum sibi populum non solum nimis soluti imperio ad scelera relaxavit sed ad omnia, quae dici et agi nefas est, operum et studiorum suorum exemplis incitavit. Nec satis visum est ei in dispersione ecclesiarum in adulteriis in rapinis nefandissimis in periuriis et in multimoda fraude, unde saepe eum redarguimus iram Dei mervisse, quin etiam mercatoribus, qui de multis terrarum partibus ad forum quoddam in Francia nuper convenerant, quod antehac a rege factum fuisse nec in fabulis refertur, more predonis infinitam pecuniam abstulit..." Reg.II.5, pp.129-133.

²⁵² "...et qui legum et iustitiae defensor esse debuit, is potissimum depredator extitit..." Reg.II.5, pp. 129-133.

it to be unknown or in doubt to no one that, with God's help, we shall attempt by all means to withdraw the kingdom of France from his possession"²⁵³.

In the two further letters, Gregory continued his criticism of Philip. In the first he stated that along with "manifold destructions of churches"²⁵⁴, an allusion to simony, he continued: "he has despoiled merchants of Italy."²⁵⁵ In the second letter addressed to Manassès, he described Philip in these terms: "the un-heard of evil and detestable crime which Philip, king of France-no, ravening wolf, unjust tyrant, enemy of God"²⁵⁶. He further mentioned the despoliation of the Italian merchants²⁵⁷. This crisis apparently came to nothing. There is no evidence to suggest Philip had been excommunicated. Nothing more is known about this situation. There are no surviving letters from the above recipients to Gregory's demands and threats. This may have demonstrated to Gregory that he did not have the leverage necessary to implement his sentences. More importantly, this problem was not central to his main aims in regards to simony, so maybe Gregory backed down in order to win support for his real aims²⁵⁸. It seems from Gregory's letters that when he had the time to deal with Philip as an erring king, he did. However, Gregory was very involved in the politics of the Western Empire, most notably the Investiture Contest, and the efforts he was able to make towards Philip were rare²⁵⁹. When preoccupied with the emperor, Henry IV (1056-1106), Gregory would make friendly overtures towards Philip. In his search for allies, Gregory sent two letters in which he praised Philip with statements as "your eminence"²⁶⁰ and "the things that are proper for royal government"²⁶¹. He then continued: "Therefore we urge your highness on behalf of blessed Peter"²⁶², and added "that for the greatness of your name

²⁵³ "... Quodsi nec huiusmodi districtione voluerit resipiscere, nulli clam aut dubium esse volumus, quin modis omnibus regnum franciae de eius occupatione adiuvante Deo temptemus eripere." Reg.II.5, pp. 129-133.

²⁵⁴ "... post ecclesiarum... varios destructiones..." Reg.II.18, p.150-151.

²⁵⁵ "... Italiae negotiatores... depredatus fuerit..." Reg.II.18, pp.150-151.

²⁵⁶ "Malum inauditum scelus detestabile, quod Philippus rex Franciae, immo lupus rapax tyrannus iniquus Dei..." Reg.II.32, pp.168-169.

²⁵⁷ "... Italis... mercatoribus... fecit..." Reg.II.32, pp.168-169.

²⁵⁸ H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.337.

²⁵⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.422.

²⁶⁰ "quod eminentia tua..." Reg.I.75, pp.106-107.

²⁶¹ "... prona reverentiam, que regiae administrationis sunt" Reg.I.75, pp.106-107.

²⁶² "Unde obilitatem tuam ex parte beati Petri ammonemus..." Reg.I.75, pp.106-107.

and honour”²⁶³. In his other letter of praise, Gregory asked Philip to remove his support for the now deposed archbishop of Rheims, Manassès I. Gregory began: “Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, the glorious king of France, greeting and apostolic blessing”²⁶⁴. He continued, “We have often heard from envoys of your Excellency that you wish for the favour of blessed Peter and for our friendship, which you are thus minded, is still most pleasing to us”²⁶⁵. Two different faces are depicted from Gregory, one that attacks the royal person in a very threatening manner and the other as a friend with nothing but exaltation for the king. Gregory’s perception of Philip I is best understood in a letter addressed to the king. He wrote: “Act, therefore, and now that you have become a man in years, see to it that we should not seem without avail to have spared the sins of your youth, or in vain to have expected your admendment”²⁶⁶. If Philip followed the proper procedure for episcopal elections, which was for Gregory, the acceptance and the implementation, without a ceremony of lay investiture, the free and preceding decision of clergy, and people, as confirmed by the authority of comprovincial bishops, then Gregory was prepared to be restrained and flexible in dealing with the “shortcomings” of the king²⁶⁷.

It is with Urban II (1088-1099) that the relationship between king and pope was at its lowest, and would remain so for the entirety of his pontificate. Urban II was a staunch Reformist, he defended the ideas of church reform zealously. It was for his marital misadventures that Urban excommunicated Philip I at the council of Clermont in 1095. Their strained relations began in 1092 shortly after Urban was notified of Philip’s abandonment of his wife Bertha of Frisia for Bertrada of Anjou. A letter addressed to the archbishop of Rheims, Rainald, and his suffragans summarises Urban’s reactions to Philip’s actions. He stated: “the king of the glorious kingdom heinously joined to himself, with love, his neighbour’s wife, relinquished his own wife against justice,

²⁶³ “... pro magnitudine tui nominis et honoris...” Reg. I.75, pp.106-107.

²⁶⁴ “Gregorius episcopis servus servorum Dei Philippo glorioso regi Francorum salutem et apostolicam benedictionem” Reg. VIII.20, pp.542-543.

²⁶⁵ “Sepe per nuntios tuae celsitudinis audivimus te gratiam beati Petri nostramque amicitiam cupere, quod et tunc nos libenter accepisse et adhuc, si eum animum geris, noveris admodum nobis placere” Reg. VIII.20, pp.542-543.

²⁶⁶ “Age igitur et iam eate vir factus in hac re procura, ut non frustra tuae iuventutis culpis pepercisse nec in vanum te ad emendationem expectasse videamur.” Reg. VIII.20, p.543.

²⁶⁷ H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.340.

divine law, canonical sanctions and all the customs of the Catholic church”²⁶⁸. In this letter, Philip was criticised for his unkingly behaviour, acting against Church doctrine, even though by this period in history the Church had not finalised its views on marriages and separations. In the following letter, addressed to Richard, archbishop of Sens, Urban “declared him [Philip] excommunicated until he makes amends to God and the Church”²⁶⁹. In the above letter, Urban still mentioned Philip as “king of the French”²⁷⁰ and showed some reverence to him by using the conventional term “our son”²⁷¹. The relationship between the two was, however, quite complex. After his excommunication, Philip I made half-hearted attempts to mend his ways; he promised Urban II to leave Bertrada. With these promises, Urban had the hope that Philip I would become a better king. These attempts to appease the pope by Philip had the effect of changing the papal perception of Philip as is noticed in an undated letter to Manassès II of Rheims. The letter mentions Philip’s “absolution of the bonds of the interdict”²⁷² Urban called Philip “our dearest son Philip, king of the French”²⁷³. He also “returned power to Philip to govern the kingdom as is fitting”²⁷⁴. In his dealings with Urban II, Philip dealt with a very strong character both in his ideals and in his approach. Urban was a staunch Gregorian, his views were promoted by like-minded individuals such as Hugh archbishop of Lyons or Ivo bishop of Chartres. Throughout his pontificate, Urban had travelled widely across France, and had won over a large number of clergy and laymen alike. This helped him gain the support needed to promote his sentences and interdicts against the king. The clergy, however, did not respect all of Urban’s decisions and in particular the northern clergy were opposed to Urban’s policies. They supported Philip in his behaviour by crowning him and attending his courts, which led Philip to break his promise to refrain from his wife. Urban’s policies were unsuccessful in France for a few

²⁶⁸ “Ut tam incluti regni rex... contra ius, contra fas, contra legum et canonum sanctiones, contra totius catholicae Ecclesiae consuetudines, et suam uxorem inordinate relinqueret, et propinqui sui coniugem amore sibi nefario copularet...” B. Urbani II, ‘Epistolae et Diplomata’ #68 in *PL* 151, [Col.0354B]; *JL* 5469.

²⁶⁹ “donec Deo in nobis et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae satisfaciatur, excommunicatum asserimus”, #187, *PL* 151, [Col.0461A]; *JL* 5636.

²⁷⁰ “... Francorum regem...” #187, *PL* 151 [Col.0461A]; *JL* 5636.

²⁷¹ “... filium nostrum...” #187, *PL* 151 [Col.0461A]; *JL* 5636.

²⁷² “... regem ab interdictionis... vinculo absoluimus...” #285, *PL* 151 [Col.0538C]; *JL* 5774.

²⁷³ “Charissimi filii nostri Philippi Francorum regis...” #285, *PL* 151 [Col.0538B]; *JL* 5774.

²⁷⁴ “... et utendi pro more regni corona auctoritatem ei prae buimus” #285, *PL* 151 [Col.0538D]; *JL* 5774.

reasons. The first was that since 1095 he had been preoccupied with planning the Crusade. Secondly, when Urban had returned to Italy, his presence and authority practically disappeared in regards to the “royal” bishops of the north. Lastly, his difficulties and concerns with the Empire consumed the majority of his time and effort.

It was during Paschal’s papacy that a change in policy occurred. Paschal, having serious problems with the German monarchy, needed a secure region in which to travel and take refuge. He needed the backing of a monarch to call upon for aid in his struggle against the Empire. When looking for allies, he turned his attention to the French king and hoped to develop a new relationship with Philip. Paschal hoped that by creating a new relationship with the French king he could concentrate solely on the German problem. The turn of fortune for both parties was helped along by Bishop Ivo of Chartres, who worked ceaselessly to solve the main point of contention, that of investiture. His solution pleased both parties. His solution was conceived during the pontificate of Urban II with the election of Archbishop Daimbert of Sens. The idea formulated and promoted by Ivo was that the king can grant the secular possessions of the bishopric to the one chosen by the clergy and people, but he could not confer any spiritual titles. Accordingly, shortly after Philip’s death, the conflict of investitures ended in the French kingdom. Even after the amicable meeting between Paschal II and Philip I in 1107, the situation of investitures remained unresolved. Philip continued his hard line in regards the situation of the see of Rheims; it was only the fact that Paschal needed the French king’s support in his growing conflict with Henry V and the Western Empire, that he tolerated the situation in Rheims. Not until Philip’s death did the Investiture Contest end in France, when Bishop Ivo of Chartres finally resolved the matter between Gervais of Rethel, the former king’s favourite, and Raoul the Green, elected archbishop of Rheims by Paschal II, when Bishop Ivo convinced Raoul to lend fidelity to the king as prescribed in the council of Clermont. Paschal II agreed to these terms, ending the question of investitures in France²⁷⁵.

²⁷⁵ For the whole situation see A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de L’Église* 8, pp.347-348; 352-356.

A few letters reveal Paschal's views of Philip. The first concerns his absolution of Philip. In it, he uses the conventional term "our son the king of the French"²⁷⁶. In a second letter, dated 1107 and addressed to Abbot Nicolas of Corbie, Paschal upheld Philip's grant to the said monastery and adds that no one shall harm or disturb these possessions or they shall suffer an interdict²⁷⁷. Here he enforces Philip's grants with spiritual condemnation for disobedience. Once again, the Church worked alongside the monarchy to enforce and strengthen royal rule. This helped Philip to change perceptions of his person and increase his prestige and authority. Aside from his letters, a papal statement has been recorded illustrating Paschal II's view of Philip I. Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis was an eye-witness to the meeting between the pope and the king in 1107 at Châlons. He recorded in his *Life* of Louis VI some forty years after the encounter that: "France, and the king, now became the favourite sons of the church, while the Germans had become its bitterest enemy and foe"²⁷⁸. This is clearly a move away from the previous papal-royal relationship seen above. With papal approval, the role of the monarchy took a slightly different turn from simple defenders of the Church in France, to defenders of the universal Church. Paschal seemed to be a medium point between two periods, the non-visiting, or rarely visiting pontiffs to France and the numerously visiting popes. Certainly Urban spent a great deal of time in France, but hardly any in royal lands or in the northern limits of the kingdom whereas Paschal travelled throughout the royal demesne and was housed and fed by the royal monasteries²⁷⁹. They even travelled together to meet the emperor and discuss Investitures²⁸⁰.

Paschal's pontificate was very important in legitimising Philip's rule. In addition, Paschal managed to increase support for the papal cause, in France, against the western

²⁷⁶ "... filius noster Francorum, rex..." Paschalis II Romani Pontificis, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', #116, *PL* 163 [Col.0128C].

²⁷⁷ "Praesentis ergo decreti litteris interdicimus... aliquas inurias irrogare... multetur" #217, *PL* 163 [Col.0216A-B].

²⁷⁸ "cum amore Francorum, quia multum servierant, et timore et odio Theutonicorum..." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.x, p.60.

²⁷⁹ I. Robinson, *The Papacy: Continuity and Innovation*, p.285.

²⁸⁰ "Qui amicitie, auxilii et consilii dextras dederunt, regnum exposuerunt, et qui cum eo Catalaunum imperatoris legatis occurrere festinent... cum quo et nos fuimus." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.x, pp.54-56; "Rex collectis principibus quam plurimus, versus papam tendit, in itinere pleraque castella capit, Claremoz et Brieth, finitimos depredantia, in deditionem accepit... infecto colloquio super quo rex Franciae legatos sibi direxit", 'Annales Coloniensis Maximi' in *MGH SS XVII*, pp.746-747; B. Monod, *Essai sur Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, pp.53-54.

emperor. W. Kienast, in his work on Franco-Germanic relations, elaborates on the importance of this meeting for the relations between the king of France and the Western Empire. He stated that prior to this time a strong solidarity existed between the two monarchs, a sign of mutual respect, whereas, the relationship between the French crown and the papacy was not always a positive one. This meeting changed the nature of both relationships and placed them at opposites by placing the king of the French and the papal court against the Western emperor²⁸¹. Although the cooling of relations between Philip I and Henry IV was already present before Paschal II's pontificate, he certainly solidified this fact. It is difficult to say exactly how Philip I and Henry IV viewed each other because no correspondences between the two exists, with one exception, the letter from Henry IV to Philip I in 1104 asking the king for help against his rebel son Henry V²⁸². There is no certainty if the letter ever reached its intended target. Either way, throughout his reign, Philip was the first French monarch not to be in contact with the emperor. Philip's reign is the crossroads in the changing relations between the two.

Part 3-Section i: Royal Genealogies and Carolingian connections: Propaganda

The last argument for this chapter deals with Philip's Carolingian connections. Although, it was an old custom to associate oneself with this great dynasty, a new and innovative approach was developed by Philip I to enforce the belief that the Capetians were a continuation of the Carolingians. This idea was already flourishing in the Western Empire, especially during the Investiture Contest, when Henry IV utilised the symbolism of Charlemagne in his charters²⁸³. The practice of associating the current king with Charlemagne and his family as direct successors was very limited during the reign of Philip I. In his work on the legend and memory of Charlemagne in the Germanic kingdoms, R. Folz mentioned that even in the early twelfth century, the identification with Charlemagne in the sources was still very isolated. He described that the historiography in the French kingdom did not identify their kings as direct successors from the great Charlemagne, for them, the German kings were the direct

²⁸¹ W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich*, p.188.

²⁸² C. Erdmann, 'Die Briefe Heinrichs IV' in *Deutsches Mittelalter MGH*, 1937, Ep.#39, pp.52-58.

²⁸³ R. Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire Germanique médiéval*, p.121.

descendants and continuators²⁸⁴. In his studies, Folz uncovered only two sources in the French kingdom dating from the reign of Philip I. The first source, that found in Abbot Suger's *Life of Louis VI*, was the most obvious and important for the future propagation of the Carolingian connection. Folz examined the implications of the meeting between Paschal II and Philip I recorded by Suger. It is best to examine the meeting between the two and what was said before analysing its impact on French royal perceptions. Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis related that Paschal II ventured to France to consult the king and his son concerning the investiture problem he was currently waging with the Western Emperor Henry V²⁸⁵. Suger recorded Paschal's statements to the king and his son. The pope told the king of the problems afflicting the Church and beseeched his help in maintaining it in its surety. He then continued with the statement that Paschal II requested the help from the French king as was the usage established by Philip's ancestors, the previous kings of France, Charlemagne and the others, to resist the evil machinations of tyrants and enemies of the Church²⁸⁶. This meeting was, at first, political. Paschal II needed allies in his conflict against the emperor, and for him, no better one could be found than the French king. His proximity and past relations, which was what Paschal mentioned when associating Philip I to Charlemagne, seemed both ideal. However, the meeting, and the pope's comments, would serve an altogether different purpose. By linking the king with the *stirps regia* of Charlemagne and his family, Paschal II inaugurated a movement that would develop and grow throughout the twelfth century²⁸⁷.

The second source identified by R. Folz was from Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach who, in his *Life of Saint Willibrord* written in 1103, wrote a treaty on the transference of the Empire. He claimed that through Pippin, the transference of the Roman Empire to

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p.206.

²⁸⁵ "ut regem Francorum et filium regem designatum Ludovicum et ecclesiam Gallicanam consuleret super quibusdam molestiis et novis investiture ecclesiastice querelis, quibus eum et infestabat et magis infestare minabatur Henricus imperator." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.x, p.50.

²⁸⁶ "beato Petro sibi que eius vicario supplicat opem ferre, ecclesiam manutenere, et, sicut antecessorum regum Francorum Karoli Magni et aliorum mos inolevit, tyrannis et ecclesie hostibus et potissimum Henrico imperatori audacter resistere." Ibid., c.x, p.54.

²⁸⁷ R. Folz, *Le souvenir de Charlemagne*, p.206.

the lands of Gaul was made²⁸⁸. He further stated that it was Pippin who fathered the future Charlemagne, whose fame and power was spread across Western Europe. Through him the defence of the Church was guaranteed and peace established. This right, and duty, was passed down from him to his successors until this present day²⁸⁹. Although, this last source had nothing to do with Philip, it does indicate that Charlemagne was being identified with Gaul within certain circles, be it Germanic or Gallic²⁹⁰. The idea and legend of Charlemagne as a French monarch had not been totally eclipsed by the propaganda efforts of the imperial monarchy and system identified with the Ottonian and Salian kings. The fact that the French monarchy was in no position to act on these statements, due mostly to their weakened position and quite enclosed political policies, does not mean that they themselves did not understand their title to be a rightful continuation from the royal line of Charlemagne. This leads to an examination of Philip's charters for any evidence to strengthen this argument.

It seems, at least judging from Philip's charters, the idea that he was a continuation from the Carolingians and from the Merovingians was present in his perception as king. When Philip I dedicated or confirmed gifts and grants that were made previously by the other kings of France he made sure to mention that they were his ancestors and that the grant was confirmed for the good of his and their souls. In total, 11 of 171 charters mention Philip's ancestors, and of these, the Carolingians figure among the most numerous. In the first charter, a grant made in 1061 by Philip of a *villa* to the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Philip mentioned that Dagobert was king of the French²⁹¹. This charter was not very clear in linking Philip with previous kings other than those from his own family, the Robertianians and Capetians, however, the following charter is a clearer example. In a confirmation of privileges to the monastery of Saint-Denis, Philip lists a long number of his predecessors. Names such as Clovis, Dagobert, Childebert, Pippin, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald all

²⁸⁸ "quod primus omnium Romanum in Galliam transtulit imperium." Thiofrido, 'Ex Vita S. Willibrordi' in *MGH SS XXIII*, ed. L. Weiland, p.25.

²⁸⁹ "quod parante Domino lucernam Christo suo genuit magnum Karolum, qui gloriae magnitudine maiestatis suae potentiam oceano et famam terminans astris, quasi recenti memoria in id temporis per orbem terrae celebratur ore omnium, et caesaris augusti meruit et throni sui ac dignitatis heredibus reliquit nomen augustale ac imperatorium." Ibid., p.25.

²⁹⁰ R. Folz, *Le souvenir de Charlemagne*, p.123.

²⁹¹ "quod Dagobertus, olim rex Francorum" Prou, #XIII.

appear as Philip's ancestors²⁹². In addition, the diploma continued to mention "and all the others up to our time"²⁹³. There is no real surprise in the names chosen, Saint-Denis was the patron saint of the French, the site itself was the burial place for almost every king, but the fact that Philip continued the list of kings until himself is a sign of a belief in continuation. The next two diplomas only mention Henry I and Robert II as his ancestors, so these charters are of little value to this study. The next charter focuses solely on Charles the Great and Louis the Pious. When Philip confirmed Saint-Philbert of Tournus' liberty in 1075, he mentioned that the said liberty was granted by his ancestors, especially Charles and Louis²⁹⁴. In the diploma granting the right of usage in the wood of Crépy to the monastery of Saint-Vincent de Laon dated in 1072-1080, an interesting statement was noted. It was: "Following the customs of our predecessors, notably, the emperors and kings of the French"²⁹⁵. Since the only emperors who were kings of the French were Charlemagne and his son Louis, this seems yet another statement linking Philip to the house of Charles. In addition, it claims that the emperors were Franks; what this means is unclear and needs further study.

The following charter, 1085, was a judicial summary held by Philip to confirm the exemption of the church of Compiègne from all bishops. This charter mentioned the founding of the church by the very illustrious and noble Charles, king of the French and emperor of the Romans²⁹⁶. It further adds that he was Philip's predecessor²⁹⁷. The next three charters, dated 1092, all for the canons of Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, develop this idea and strengthen the idea that Philip was very aware of his ancestry and of his continuation from the previous dynasty. The first, a confirmation of all its possessions, claims that the monastery had been founded by the emperor Charles and Philip's own ancestors²⁹⁸. It further claims that Charles and his successors were Philip's ancestors²⁹⁹.

²⁹² "sicut antique et gloriosissimi Francorum reges Dagobertus, Hludovicus, Theodericus, Childericus, Pippinus, Karolus magnus imperator, Hludovicus pius, Karolus calvus...", Ibid., #XL.

²⁹³ "...et reliqui quique usque ad nostra tempora...", Ibid., #XL.

²⁹⁴ "...privilegia, olim ab antiquis Francorum regibus, Karolo scilicet et Ludovico, loco Trenorciensis sublimiter facta", Ibid., #LXXVIII.

²⁹⁵ "morem predecessorum nostrorum, Francorum scilicet imperatorum ac regum sequimur" Ibid., #XCVIII.

²⁹⁶ "fundatam quidem a domno Karolo, illustri ac nobilissimo rege Francorum ac imperatore Romanorum", Ibid., #CXVII.

²⁹⁷ "predecessore nostro", Ibid., #CXVII.

²⁹⁸ "ab imperatore Karolo et nostris antecessoribus pia devotione fundata", Ibid., #CXXIV.

The second is the grant of the royal right to oppose any construction of a castle in the region without the permission of the canons. The introduction clause of this charter is the same as the previous one, it mentions the foundation of the church by Charles and Philip's ancestors³⁰⁰, and, as above, that Charles was his predecessor³⁰¹. The third charter gives them the right of tax and justice of a market during Lent. In this charter, Philip confirmed a grant made by Mathilda, queen of England, to the said church. He mentions that the place was a royal church from the time of the emperor Charles, who "is a very Christian man and the most magnificent king of the world"³⁰². The final charter in which Philip mentions his ancestry is irrelevant to this study, as it only mentions his father and grand-father, Henry I and Robert II. The evidence from the charters, although limited, demonstrates an acknowledgement by Philip and his chancery that he was a direct continuation from the Carolingians. This idea would not be lost on the future generations of French kings. The above idea, coupled with the sources identified above, sowed the seeds of the myth of Charlemagne as a French king and of the continuation of his dynasty through the Capetians. This only gathered momentum in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries³⁰³.

Part 3-Section ii: Genealogy of Philip I³⁰⁴

Moving away from the ideology and the propaganda, exactly how related was Philip I to the Carolingians? Attention is now directed to the Capetian and Robertian genealogical tables to help answer this question and determine whether Philip could rightfully claim descent. As the appendix clearly shows, Philip's claim to Carolingian

²⁹⁹ "quam prefatus antecessor noster Karlous vel successores ejus", Ibid., #CXXIV.

³⁰⁰ "ab imperatore Karolo et nostris antecessoribus...fundatam", Ibid., #CXXV.

³⁰¹ "predecessor noster Karolus", Ibid., #CXXV.

³⁰² "qua imperator Karolus, vir xpistianissimus et totius orbis monarcha magnificus", Ibid., #CXXVI.

³⁰³ R. Folz, *Le souvenir de Charlemagne*, pp.287-288, where he mentions the growth of the idea as the French as direct heirs to the empire during the reign of Louis IX and his brother Charles of Anjou, demonstrating that even the papacy understood it in the same way.

³⁰⁴ Although the majority of contemporary literature on the subject of royal French genealogies focus on the reign of Philip II and later kings, some work has been done on the Carolingian link with the early Capetians, and in addition, they have also tried to identify the earliest ancestors of Hugh Capet and Robert the Strong, see: B. Guenée, 'Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être capétien, en France, au Moyen Age' in *Annales: ESC* 33, 1978, pp.450-477; J. Ehlers, 'Die *Historia Francorum Senonensis* und der Aufstieg des Hauses Capet' in *Journal of Medieval History* 4, 1978, pp.1-26; K.F. Werner, 'Die legitimität der Kapetinger und die Entstehung des *Reditus regni Francorum ad stirpem Karoli*' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 12, 1952, pp.203-225; J. Calmette, 'La famille de Saint Guilhem et l'ascendance de Robert le Fort' in *Annales du Midi* 39, 1927, pp.225-245.

descent is rather weak and limited, even non-existent. He was evidently not through his mother's side; she was of Slavic blood, hailing from the kingdom of Kiev, thereby eliminating that entire side of the family. Following the table, it was not until we reach Hugh the Great, Philip's great-great-grandfather where a semi-direct line is substantiated. Hugh the Great (897-956) was count of Paris and duke of *Francia*. His first wife, Rohaut was the granddaughter of Charles the Bald, hence the link. Moreover, his second wife, and mother of Hugh Capet, was Hedwig of Saxony, sister of the emperor Otto I, who also claimed descent from the Carolingians. In order to strengthen the argument, Philip could also claim descent through his great-great-grand aunt, Emma, daughter of Beatrix, herself the great-great-great-granddaughter of Charlemagne³⁰⁵. Even this is not enough to claim that Philip had Carolingian ancestors, but in an age where the science of family heritage was in its infancy and many facts were distorted with myth and belief, it is not surprising that Philip assumed he was a descendent of the great Charlemagne. Many of the records used by the monarchy were based on church records, such as documents, confirmations and grants made by previous kings. This was the foundation for genealogical science, not very reliable nor accurate, but it suited the monarchy at the time, giving them greater prestige then otherwise would have been the situation. In addition, Philip's chancery was dominated by ecclesiastical personal who were faithful to the crown. They transcribed his charters and they were influenced to a great deal, not only by church usages, but also from prior kings' diplomas and chancery usages. For them it was normal to use such methods to emphasise royal authority.

Although Philip was powerless in these circumstances, he would later apply them in a new fashion, greatly strengthening the idea of the bond between Carolingian and Capetian. Philip decided to name his first-born son, and heir to the throne, in the Carolingian tradition. After 100 years, France would once again be ruled by a familiar name, as Louis was chosen. Prior to Louis, Philip had been the only non-Robertinian name used; it had been of Greek origin and introduced into the family nomenclature through his mother Anna. Previously, there were seven Roberts, three Odos, four Hughs and two Henrys. After Philip I, we have four Louis and three Philips, clearly marking a

³⁰⁵ See the appendix at the end.

change in the naming of the first-born son.³⁰⁶ It is ironic that the ascendancy of the Capetians occurred at the same time when the Carolingian nomenclature was in its full stages. Such a break in tradition could not have gone unnoticed by his contemporaries. It was a clear sign that the Capetians were a continuation of the Carolingians. What is clear from Philip's reign is that it had been very fruitful in developing the image of continuity with the Carolingians, which only helped to enforce the special image of the king.

Of all the arguments advanced above, a few points need mentioning. Firstly, although the idea of a divinely ordained king was established, it was still in its infancy. The power to heal was developing in a new direction, and seems to have been growing in belief throughout the kingdom. Philip I had no clear ideas of his divine power; as his charters contributed very little to its development. The single most important point expressed in his charters dealt with justice and the preservation of the Church. It was left to outside sources to develop the idea of the king. His marital difficulties could have been a weak point, but since Philip was seen as the protector of the churches and because of the rivalries between different metropolitans and bishops coupled with the friction caused by the papacy against the bishops all led to a general *laissez-faire* attitude towards the king. Philip had twice been excommunicated, and even so, he practically enjoyed all his privileges as before. He found clergy willing to perform his marriage, and in addition, they would also perform the crown-wearing ceremonies, even against staunch protests from Bishop Ivo of Chartres, Archbishop Hugh of Lyons and the pope himself. When the Western Empire was torn apart by civil war and internal strife, the French kingdom was relatively peaceful, meaning that no one challenged the position or title of the king. In some respects, although militarily and financially less powerful than the emperor, Philip was more secure and rooted in his kingdom and position. The French monarchy's Carolingian connections were in their infancy, however, steps were taken by Philip to further the idea and enforce the belief. Although the majority of claims to Carolingian descent prevailed from the Western Empire, Philip, in naming his eldest child after a Carolingian, seemed aware of his connection with the previous dynasty. The naming of his heir with a Carolingian name was original, and continued by

³⁰⁶ See the appendix at the end

his successors. A stronger sense of legitimacy was born out of Philip's reign, through his identification with the Carolingians. Lastly, Philip strengthened his authority and prestige by ingratiating himself to the papacy. He sowed the seeds for further friendship and alliance between the two.

Chapter 2: The Royal Demesne of Philip I

This chapter deals with the royal demesne of Philip I: his royal rights and possessions and the resources he was able to access from these rights. Philip I's reign stands at the cross-roads of major changes in society, both in France and in Western Europe as a whole. The growth of a new mercantile class illustrates one of many rapid changes to socio-economic structures. This was particularly apparent in northern France and especially in the Ile-de-France. This chapter will outline the positive influences reaped by Philip I during these changing times. Alongside these movements, a fundamental shift was occurring in ideas of governance and social order. This is expressed in the church reform movement, which, begun by Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), found its clearest and loudest voice in the pontificates of Gregory VII (1073-1085) and Urban II (1088-1099). Prior to the reform movement, church and kingdom were one and the same, with the king, or emperor, electing and placing his candidates in their ecclesiastical offices. The fundamental creed of the Reform Church was to remove lay investiture from the Church and to create a "pure" institution free from lay influence. As this chapter will illustrate, Philip I was keen to protect his rights over the French Church. It gave him economic and military services and resources greater than his own lay demesne could. A table has been included at the end of this chapter outlining Philip's demesne lands and possessions to ease the understanding of this chapter. The chapter will provide a clear and updated list of Philip's possessions and rights, with an explanation of both the heartland and peripheral lands question. The first section deals with his heartland and why it was chosen, while the second section deals with his peripheral lands of the demesne. This is followed by an examination of his ecclesiastical demesne and the rights and authority of the king over the French Church. Afterwards, the evolution of the demesne, with a detailed outline of the acquisitions made by Philip I, will be outlined. The chapter concludes with an examination of Philip's demesne resources, both economic and military.

Part 1: The Royal Demesne

i) The heartland of Philip I

The difficulty in listing Philip I's demesne lands and properties is that only through grants and donations is it known what Philip I possessed or held. Since W. Newman's work on the royal demesne historians no longer think of the royal demesne as a geographic bloc or unit³⁰⁷. The nature of demesne lands in eleventh-century France was a constantly fluctuating series of rights and possessions scattered across a broad region. Even within a certain region, different lords shared different responsibilities and rights. This in itself makes the identification of the royal demesne under Philip I very difficult. However, certain key possessions can be classified with certainty. These include his properties, those palaces, castles and houses, which the king owned or constructed throughout his reign³⁰⁸. Of these properties, the most important were the royal palaces. They permit one to identify, with certainty, places and areas where Philip I was most influential. The vast majority of the palaces were all found within cities or large urban centres concentrated in the Ile-de-France. These were probably the most important possessions in determining Philip's "heartland" and henceforth, his strongest areas of royal influence. Because of a deficiency of sources for this period, a complete inventory of his palaces, or any other possession for that matter, is far from complete. The attached table gives a full list of the palaces identified in Philip's acta and from the contemporary literary sources. As will be seen in chapter 3 on the royal itinerary, the great majority of Philip's travels were to areas where a royal palace was located³⁰⁹. As is noticed from the table, most of the palaces were in royal towns, places such as Sens, Soissons and Compiègne, former Carolingian centres and important Episcopal towns. The majority were inherited from his ancestors, although Philip did undertake some new constructions such as Melun³¹⁰.

The list of palaces was enlarged to encompass the palaces that had been identified under Philip's ancestors. Since a palace had not been granted or given away by Philip I,

³⁰⁷ W.M. Newman, *Le Domaine royal sous les premiers capétiens (987-1180)*, (Paris, 1937).

³⁰⁸ I have chosen to identify these properties as Philip's heartland for the reason that they were unchangeable and were constant throughout the reign. Also, they accord strongly with the royal itinerary and Philip's most visited regions.

³⁰⁹ See below.

³¹⁰ "... novum palatium..." Prou, #CXXXVIII.

and since a comparable list of palaces is identified for the previous Capetians, it could be that if a palace existed at an earlier date, then it might still have been part of the royal lands by the time of Philip's accession. A royal palace at Compiègne belonged to the Capetians since the beginning of the dynasty and it has been identified in the charters of all four kings³¹¹. It was the only palace identified by W. Newman to have been used by all four kings. Paris was identified with Philip I's grand-father, Robert II, and father, Henry I³¹². Vitry-aux-Loges was identified and confirmed as a palace in a diploma of Henry I³¹³, as was Sens³¹⁴. Based on this, the list of palaces held by Philip I is enlarged with the following three locations, Senlis, Verberie and Quierzy. As for Senlis, this should come as no surprise. It was an important ecclesiastical centre and formed part of the royal *fisc* ever since the Carolingian epoch. In addition, Robert II constructed a royal palace in the Episcopal city³¹⁵, and since there is no mention of it being granted away, which was not custom anyway, it is very probable that it remained in the possession of Philip I as it was identified under Louis VI³¹⁶. Less convincing, but still probable is the case for Verberie. Although it was identified under Robert II³¹⁷, it was not identified in any other reign for the first Capetians. The debate concerning Quierzy is: what kind of possession was it exactly? It was identified as a royal palace under Henry I³¹⁸, however, with Philip I it was identified as a castle³¹⁹. Had the palace been downgraded to a castle? A similar situation occurred with Melun. It was a castle under Henry I and was later upgraded to a palace under Philip I³²⁰. The examination of palaces held by the previous Capetian kings has identified a list of palaces more numerous under Philip I than any of his predecessors. Whether this is because of the greater information available or not is irrelevant. The important factor is that it does point to a "wider" community of centres which Philip I could depend upon.

³¹¹ For Hugh Capet, Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.103; for Robert II, Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.106; for Henry I, Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.116.

³¹² Newman, *Le Domaine*, pp.106 and 115.

³¹³ *Ibid*, p.115.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.116.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.106.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.137.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.106.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.116.

³¹⁹ Prou, #XXX.

³²⁰ Newman, *Le Domaine*, pp.109-110; 118; Prou, #CXXXVIII.

Apart from his royal palaces, Philip I had castles. The royal castles, probably more numerous than his palaces, were rarely mentioned in Philip's charters. This makes a complete listing of them problematic. The importance of the castle in the eleventh century was twofold. Castles acted as centres of justice and administration in a region; they protected the local community. In addition, they were influential in keeping the peace in the surrounding regions. The regions most likely to possess a castle, or a stronghold, were those directed by a provost. Since the provost was the king's agent, he enforced the royal will and collected his dues and rights. Although the list of provosts is limited, those identified were from royal centres possessing castles. Since castellans were not identified in the service of Philip I, it may be that the provosts were associated to the royal castles. Another reason that Philip I may have had a large number of castles is because of the growth and development of the castle in eleventh-century France. Throughout the century, the castle was developing apace across northern France in both the cities and the countryside³²¹. The process of castellation, in Normandy and Flanders, was minimised as the dukes and counts controlled their erections³²². Because of the higher levels of de-centralisation in the region the same cannot be said of the royal lands. It is known from saints' lives and from documentary evidence that the royal lands were unsettled meaning that Philip I spent a good deal of time trying to enforce his authority and to quash rebel lords³²³. It was the growing numbers of independent castellans and lords waging war against each other, and against the king, which led to an increase in castle development, furthermore, in the Vexin, a territory divided by the river Epte between the duke of Normandy and the French king, we read of constant troubles and conflicts. As Orderic Vitalis related, there was so much conflict in the Vexin that anyone who desired to enjoy a peaceful and contemplative life was unable to do so³²⁴. The conflicts between the dukes of Normandy and the French king often took place in this

³²¹ J. Boussard, 'Services féodaux, milices et mercenaires dans les armées, en France, aux Xe et XIe siècles' in *Settimane di Studio* XV, 1968, p.146.

³²² For Normandy, M. Bouard, 'Le duché de Normandie' in *HIF* I: IS, p.15; see Flanders see F.-L. Ganshof, 'La Flandre' in *HIF* I, pp. 343-426.

³²³ I. Gobry, *Philippe I*, (Paris, 2003) pp.45-46.

³²⁴ "Quod omnes qui in Normannia vel confinio eius religioni servire concupierunt tempore Roberti ducis et Philippi regis Francorum nimis experti sunt." OV, VIII, c.18, p.256; J.F. Lemarignier, *L'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, (Lille, 1945), pp.20-21, 36-37; M. Chibnall, *The world of Orderic Vitalis*, (Oxford, 1984), pp.27-28.

region. Philip did not have the same control over the castellans of his demesne in the early years of his reign as had William of Normandy or Baldwin of Flanders. The situation, however, was changing by the end of Philip's reign. Through the combined efforts of his son's, Louis VI, wars against the rebel castellans and Philip I's use of local counts as enforcers in his demesne coupled with his increased presence in the region helped stabilise the demesne³²⁵. Nonetheless, the castles identified are few. The same methodology used above to identify palaces does not work for castles, mostly because, compared to the palaces, castles were granted away. This means that if a castle was identified in the reign of Robert II or Henry I does not necessarily mean that it was still part of Philip's demesne. Another difficulty lies in establishing the differences between a castle and a home, which is why I have separated the two forms of "residences" and made a separate category whereas W. Newman made no distinction between them³²⁶. It is known that the function of the house in the eleventh century, at least for the higher nobility, was mostly served by the castle. That was where they lived, enforced their rule and governed their lands. It might be that for Philip I, the houses mentioned in his charters were small fortified residences, a chalet or even a royal retreat, however, this cannot be identified in the charters. In total, two houses were identified in the diplomas of Philip I.

The above list of properties held by Philip I equates to his "heartland". They were identified in the places most frequented by Philip³²⁷, in regions where the royal presence was strongest felt. To this list may be added the areas where minting was identified. Minting coins and moneys was localised and specific, usually in the regions where Philip I had a palace or a castle, with some exceptions such as Dun-sur-Auron, Pithiviers and Château-Landon. Although the above three centres seem surprising, they were added by Philip I throughout his reign. It is known through numismatic evidence and supported for by the documentation that Episcopal centres had, since the days of the Merovingians, been the homes of minting³²⁸. The dislocation of royal power from many regions placed

³²⁵ See the chapter on administration below pp.162-204.

³²⁶ See the list of royal possessions found in W. Newman, *Le domaine royal aux premiers temps capétiens*, pp.102-130.

³²⁷ See the itinerary below for this discussion, pp.123-161.

³²⁸ F. Vercauteren, 'Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France du VIe au XIe siècle' in *Settimane di Studio* VIII, p.279.

these minting houses in the hands of the princes. The Robertinians also participated in this phenomenon; they acquired and controlled minting throughout the Ile-de-France, but more specifically around Paris, Orléans and Tours. When they acquired the kingship, they also acquired the minting houses under royal influences, those from the royal abbeys and churches. This explains the majority of the identified centres, but what of the above three exceptions? It is known that Philip I acquired Château-Landon from Fulk count of Anjou³²⁹, which was on the outer *limes* of Angevin territory. Minting rights were often granted to border centres where trade on an international or inter-county level took place³³⁰. This also makes sense in regards to the increasing trade that was occurring in both Flanders and Champagne. This could be the reason for the identification of minting rights in the other two regions mentioned above. By the middle of the eleventh century, an active circulation of money was present in Flanders³³¹ which must have been becoming more of the norm in the rest of northern France, especially with the Conquest of England by the Normans and the growing North-Sea trade³³². It could be argued that where minting money was identified indicates a region where the usage of money was becoming common and trade developing.

It was within his heartland that Philip I held the majority of his royal rights. These encompassed rights on property, men and customs. These possessions came in all shapes and forms, with the most common being forests and woods, lakes and ponds, inhabited regions, or lesser towns and villages and farms known as *villae*. These possessions, quite numerous, accounted for the majority of Philip's demesnes and revenues. The difficulty in mapping them is that not only were they spread throughout the Ile-de-France and beyond, but that were granted away either in part or as a whole. This makes listing them in full near to impossible³³³. A few of these properties were identified through other documentation such as letters, charters to ecclesiastical institutions from previous and future kings and church cartularies. The royal churches, for example, were developed from a myriad of sources. They were either those founded by Philip I or his predecessors,

³²⁹ See below.

³³⁰ F. Vercauteren, 'Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France du VIe au XIe siècle' in *Settimane di Studio* VIII, p.296.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p.303.

³³² *Ibid.*, p.296.

³³³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.125.

either Capetian or Robertinian, or those founded by the prior dynasties, both Carolingian and Merovingian. These churches were part of the royal demesne, which is demonstrated by Philip's ability to grant them or donate them as he wished without the consensus of the leading ecclesiastical figure of the church³³⁴. In using the above requisite mentioned by A. Fliche six royal churches and three royal chapels were identified. It is certain that the number of churches belonging to the royal *fisc* fluctuated greatly over time. As the Carolingians founded a number of churches and monasteries, these had become the property of the kings, and they disposed of them as they wished. Although the list of churches under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious must have been quite large, the deterioration of their kingdom to more and more localised rule meant that the kings had to give and grant more and more of their personal property as payment for loyalty. Research on royal travels and diploma dispersions has identified that the direct lands of the last Carolingians were much smaller and localised then it had been with the previous kings³³⁵. When Hugh Capet was elevated to the kingship, however, he added his lands, as duke of *Francia*, to those of the Carolingians; thereby increasing the number of "royal" churches. Although this list could be increased by using those of the last Carolingians and first Capetians, only the ones found in Philip's charters were used because they were sure possessions whereas the others may have been granted away or lost over time. Also, I refused to use the charters and acta of Louis VI and Louis VII for the simple reason that it is unknown if those churches and chapels were already in their possession when they came to the throne or whether they had erected them themselves.

The right of justice deserves special mention since A. Fliche identified it as the pre-eminent of all the royal rights. His idea of Philip's royal demesne was based on justice and the *taille*. Fliche's arguments are based on three diplomas when Philip specifically stated the *tolta* as a very important right. At the request of the bishop, archdeacon and canons of Orléans in 1090-1091, he conceded the right of justice and also that of the *tolta*³³⁶. Another example found by A. Fliche was in the diploma of Philip I who intervened in the difference between the church of Compiègne and Nevelon of Pierrefonds in 1106. Philip confirmed that the canons were to impose the *taille* on all men

³³⁴ Ibid., p.125.

³³⁵ W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Kaiserzeit*, pp.33-34.

³³⁶ Prou, #CXXIII.

and to exercise all justice and all power in the territory³³⁷. However, A. Fliche also stated that the *taille* was not as important to Philip as he granted away that right but never had he granted away justice³³⁸. His argument claimed that justice determined the royal demesne of Philip I³³⁹. It is likely that Philip I held the right of justice in Bourges, since he was the immediate lord of the region. When Philip purchased the viscounty in 1101, he acquired all the rights and prerogatives of the former lord, Odo Arpin, including the right of justice. In addition, the royal right of justice for Bourges was identified under Louis VI³⁴⁰, and with Louis VII³⁴¹. A similar situation occurred when the Capetian kings assumed direct lordship over Paris when the last count, Bouchard, died without heirs.³⁴² Although the right of justice is very important in determining the royal demesne, it is not the only point on which to focus. Where Fliche focused solely on identifying the demesne, he failed to realise that the demesne should be separated the heartland and peripheral lands. As seen above, those regions where a royal palace, castle or house were identified closely relate to the heartland, and in fairness to A. Fliche, justice may be added as it helps to determine the king's authority.

Section ii: Peripheral demesne

This section analyses the royal rights and possessions that Philip I held outside the heartland. It is fair to state that Philip's rights were much more numerous than the compiled list in the table indicates as only those granted away are known³⁴³. From the list of donations, it does seem that a large enough number of privileges and rights were enjoyed by Philip I. The rights were far-reaching and are identified in areas quite removed from the heartland, although, the majority were located in the Paris-Orléans-Soissons region. W. Newman has drawn up a list of the rights of Philip I using his charters and those from other institutions³⁴⁴. The majority of Philip's rights dealt with monetary matters, these were not, however, the sole rights enjoyed by the king. Philip I also held customs, and these will elucidate on Philip's "peripheral" lands, those where the

³³⁷ Ibid., #CLIX.

³³⁸ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.131-133.

³³⁹ Ibid., p.123.

³⁴⁰ See W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, pp.133-134.

³⁴¹ A. Luchaire, *Louis VII*, #307.

³⁴² F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Françaises II*, p.372.

³⁴³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.125.

³⁴⁴ See the appendix at the end of *Le Domaine Royal aux premiers temps Capétiens*, pp.120-130.

authority of the king was felt but his power limited. The problem with customs is that they could be cancelled or revoked because they had been used so little and infrequently. These were known as bad customs, those which the king, in theory, could impose but had not for a long period of time and the people decided that it would be a bad thing to do. Since they were not used, it is difficult to place them as part of the rights of Philip I. Philip I also had properties and lands that were either uncultivated, such as forests, or cultivated, such as vineyards. The period of Philip's reign corresponds roughly to the beginnings of the great land clearances occurring across France, which during this period, was largely covered by forests. Since hunting was a past-time of the higher classes, monarchs and princes took great care to ensure their rights on a forest. They enjoyed the exclusive rights of hunting, grazing and land development so it was important for Philip to possess certain regions of forested lands. In addition to these uncultivated lands, Philip also possessed many cultivated lands, which, in the eleventh century, were turning greater attention to the production of wine. In fact, the use of these lands for viticulture was immense in the late eleventh century, and the vast number of donations of vines and vineyards is staggering³⁴⁵. It is unfortunate that our records for the royal demesne are as limited as they are, because only two examples of royal vineyards were identified.

The most difficult right to describe was the toll, *tonlieu*, as it encompassed a variety of different rights. Although related to the rights and duties associated with travel, either by land or water, no precise detail was found regarding this right in Philip's charters. The list of those regions where Philip benefited from this right were quite numerous, but the majority were identified in the Ile-de-France. Since Philip I rarely granted away this right, it is probable that he held a larger number of tolls than that which is dressed below. From the table it seems that the toll corresponded closely to the areas of Philip's heartland, with a few exceptions. Similarly to minting, it was quite localised and centred round the region of strong royal power and authority. It had to be if the revenues were to be collected and the rights enforced³⁴⁶. If the toll is a representation of authority and power, then it would seem that both Bourges and Tours, which were quite far removed from either Paris or Orléans, appear as centres where Philip was quite effective.

³⁴⁵ The importance of vineyards and wine in eleventh century France will form part of a discussion when dealing with the resources and revenues of the royal demesne below.

³⁴⁶ On Philip's ability to enforce this right, see below.

Although, the Bourges toll was only a confirmation of what the prior viscount held when Philip I acquired the property, it does demonstrate that Philip had completely assimilated the rights of the former lord and that Bourges was part of the royal demesne³⁴⁷.

Lastly, Philip I also had rights in a myriad of places, these encompassed rights on mills, fishing, or transit but to name a few. These rights were scattered throughout the kingdom, although the majority were focused in and around the Ile-de-France. Even though they were royal rights by nature, they did not always form part of the royal demesne. The mixture of lands and rights in the eleventh century was quite separate from one another. Philip may have possessed rights on a mill or the right of *spolia* in a region that was out of his power. An example is the rights held by Philip on St-Martin de Tours. This church found itself in the demesne of the counts of Anjou; however, it was a royal possession³⁴⁸. The right to travel, although available to all, was different for the king. He was able to control, in theory, those who could travel throughout the kingdom. This is known as the right of safe passage and Philip used this royal prerogative on a notable occasion. In 1078, Bishop Hugh of Die had sent a notice to all the bishops to attend his council to be held in Poitiers. Philip knew that this was going to be against him, so he sent out a decree that all who desired to attend would not benefit from the royal protection whilst travelling. He then asked the duke of Aquitaine, William VIII, to molest as many as possible, an order which the duke followed as best he could³⁴⁹. The above rights demonstrate that although Philip held the majority of his rights in the Parisis, he was able to effect larger areas of the kingdom. These rights took many forms and they accounted for a vast majority of the income disposed by Philip I. The list of rights is based on Newman's researches, this list is, unfortunately, lacking because it was based on those rights and possessions granted away by Philip I.

Section iii: The ecclesiastical demesne

The above analysis does not conclude the study of Philip's possessions, as he also enjoyed rights over churches and monasteries; this is considered Philip's second demesne. The ecclesiastical possessions and rights that Philip I enjoyed were intermittent

³⁴⁷ More on Bourges and its assimilation to royal administration will be described below.

³⁴⁸ See below.

³⁴⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.416.

sources of great wealth and power³⁵⁰. In addition, the ecclesiastical demesne was larger than his secular demesne. The ecclesiastical demesne granted the king a wider sphere of influence than his other properties and rights. Although the heartland of the royal demesne was quite restricted and limited, the same is not true for the king's ecclesiastical demesne. These were scattered throughout the kingdom, some far removed from the heartland. The advantage of the ecclesiastical demesne was that it acted as outpost for the king in the lands of the princes; they were islands of royal influence and authority³⁵¹. Whereas the authority and control over churches and monasteries of the dukedom were maintained by the count, his rights were only limited to his own county or dukedom, meaning they did not expand beyond the borders of his territories. The king was the only lay leader capable of reaching beyond the frontiers of his demesne lands into those of another legally and rightfully. This was an exceptional right to have and marks a clear distinction between count or duke and king³⁵². The king's right over churches and monasteries arose through the belief that he was the defender and protector of the Church, an idea fostered in France since the days of Clovis³⁵³. The Capetians, as kings, continued this tradition. The difference between the first Capetians and Carolingians, however, was that control and authority over the Frankish Church had greatly diminished with the last of the Carolingians. Even so, the authority and power demonstrated by Philip I over a large section of the northern French Church, and even some southern holdings, illustrates the renown still held by the Church for the kings as their protectors and defenders. This ecclesiastical demesne was inherited through two sources: those founded by the previous dynasties' and those created and fostered by the Robertinians as dukes of *Francia*. The Carolingians had built on the tradition of founding and fostering churches and monasteries and these would be considered their royal property since it was they who founded them. The ecclesiastical royal properties of the Carolingians, which were focused mostly around the Senlis, Laon and Rheims regions, with a few in the south, were coupled to those founded by the Robertinians which were focused in the Paris-Orléans regions. When the Robertinians assumed the title of king, they acquired all

³⁵⁰ W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.67.

³⁵¹ R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France*, p.73.

³⁵² F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Françaises* II, pp.101-102.

³⁵³ W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.67.

the properties that went with it; those founded by the Merovingians and Carolingians. This strengthened the power and authority that the king wielded. The royal bishoprics were not the only ecclesiastical institutions where Philip I enjoyed rights; he also had rights on monasteries. Since the time of Robert II, the increase in their numbers in the Ile-de-France developed apace, and in the royal demesne a heavy concentration of monastic houses has been identified. The majority of these, with the de-centralisation of power, were founded by others, but they wanted the king's confirmation of their rights and possessions. The growth of monasteries in the Ile-de-France led to centralisation in authority through a heavy concentration, in a smaller region, of monastic houses loyal to the crown³⁵⁴. The monastic houses became important tools for Philip I to maintain his authority and power in a region.

Section iv: The royal rights over the Church

The medieval organisation of the world did not distinguish between the secular and spiritual worlds; it was believed that state and church were one and the same. The hierarchy of the world was headed by the king, who would govern and protect both secular and ecclesiastical properties. During the time of the first Capetians, the French church was the largest property holder and administrator of the kingdom; it commanded vast amounts of resources and vassals³⁵⁵. Holding property and rights meant that the church was invariably linked to the material, or secular, world and because of this, it looked to the king as its protector and defender. To help him in his duties it offered its resources, spiritual protections and administrative advice and governance. In order to make sure that its services were beneficial and helpful in the right ordering of the kingdom, Philip I was able to exercise the rights of nomination and investiture³⁵⁶. These rights were unchallenged, at least until they came under severe attack by the reforming papacy³⁵⁷. These rights will be the focus of this section. The secular nature of the church meant that it held properties and managed them in order to finance itself and generate the necessary funds to aid in the salvation of humanity. Since lands were governed by secular

³⁵⁴ J.-F. Lemarignier, 'Structures monastiques et structures politiques dans la France de la fin du Xe et des débuts du XIe' in *Settimane di Studio* IV, pp.396-397, where he identified this process in Normandy and England near 1027.

³⁵⁵ R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France*, p.69.

³⁵⁶ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Settimane di Studio* IV, p.357.

³⁵⁷ For more on the Papacy's attempts to remove secular control from lay control see A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne* III vols, (Louvain, 1924-1926).

authorities, homage had to be paid, or services rendered, to those granting the lands or properties. These services are to be examined in the next chapter. Having to owe services to the king meant that bishops became very important figures in secular matters, often acting on behalf of the king or enforcing his will when the king was absent. Kings believed that they could only guarantee this situation by selecting and then investing the archbishops, bishops and abbots in their offices, thereby guaranteeing their control of the selected offices and enhancing their prestige and authority³⁵⁸.

The number of ecclesiastical institutions with which Philip I was able to invest his own candidates was rather limited in comparison to that of the Western emperor or to the English king. However, in his own kingdom, as seen from the table, Philip I was able to influence a wide number of churches and abbeys more so than any other prince in the kingdom. Even during the height of the Investiture Contest in France, the years from Gregory VII to Paschal II, Philip I was able to demonstrate his intent in enforcing his rights of investiture³⁵⁹. The aim of the papacy was to purify the church from lay influences at all levels of the clergy, which meant removing the secular aspect of spiritual investiture, e.g. the granting of the pastoral staff and ring³⁶⁰. This was the goal of Gregory VII (1073-1085) as it was under his pontificate that the right of investiture took centre stage in the kingdom of France. Gregory VII wrote to Archbishop Gebuin of Lyons forbidding the see to those who achieved it through the secular powers³⁶¹. This, however, did not stop Philip I, as he invested the bishop of Châlon-sur-Saône³⁶². Gregory VII's response was to nullify the election and depose the bishop. He later ordered Bishop Hugh of Die, his legate, to excommunicate those who ignored his decree³⁶³. It was partially due to the energetic activity of Bishop Hugh of Die and partially on the reluctance of the

³⁵⁸ J.-F. Lemarignier, *Settimane di Studio* IV, p.358.

³⁵⁹ The best studies for Philip's relations with these popes are found in Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.335-450; Fliche, *Histoire de l'Église* 8; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* 3 vols; H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, B. Monod, *Philippe Ier et Pascal II*.

³⁶⁰ H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, (Oxford, 1998) p.403.

³⁶¹ "... qui nullo interveniente munere electi vel promoti fuerint, videlicet a manu ab obsequio et a lingua... qui per secularem potestatem ad hanc dignitatem pervenerint..." E. Casper, *Registrum* VI.34, p.448.

³⁶² H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p.406.

³⁶³ Gregory VII, *Epistolae Vagantes* #30, (ed. H. Cowdrey), (Oxford, 1972), p.78.

French ecclesiastics to form a united front that Gregory VII was successful in France³⁶⁴. Bishop Hugh of Die was able to remove and replace a vast number of clergymen who had received their titles through secular means. The influence of the reform papacy was felt after 1077 when a large number of Philip I's royal advisers and court attendees were excommunicated and removed from office³⁶⁵. Those removed were replaced by those considered close to Gregory VII and would support his aims³⁶⁶. In the Western Empire Gregory VII's objectives were less successful and met with stronger resistance by the king and clergy, for example, he encountered resistance from former close associates such as Wibert of Ravenna. Similarly in the kingdom of France, Philip I also had his royal friendship network, although it was less successful.

The clearest example of this royal friendship network is found in the relationship between Manasses I of Rheims (1069-1080) and Philip I. Of all the challenges against Gregory VII's views, Manasses I's were the staunchest. The problem between the archbishop and the pope began with the death of Herimar, abbot of Saint-Rémi, in 1071, when Manasses I tried to hold the office vacant and enjoy its property³⁶⁷. This situation lasted two years as Manasses I and Pope Alexander II (1061-1073) exchanged letters. It was the advent of Gregory VII and his desire to end the situation that the two collided. Gregory wrote to Manasses I requesting he hold an election and stop harassing the monks³⁶⁸. The matter was resolved with the election of Walo of St-Arnulf at Metz. Needless to say, problems between the new abbot and the archbishop arose soon afterwards. It was decided that a new abbot should be elected³⁶⁹. This first problem was solved without any dispute between the two; however, the relationship would deteriorate

³⁶⁴ In a letter to Hugh of Die, Gregory VII mentions that he has heard of the deposition and excommunication of Robert from the bishopric, a decision which Gregory VII fully supported. "Pervenit enim ad aures nostras te excommunicasse et inrecuperabiliter deposuisse quondam iuvenem (Robert) illuc indigne appositum pro episcopo. Quod quidem, si ita est, nobis multum placet et presenti auctoritate confirmamus." Casper, *Registrum* V.11, p.364.

³⁶⁵ See the chapter on administration, pp.162-204.

³⁶⁶ I. Robinson, 'The friendship network of Gregory VII' in *History* 63, 1978, pp.1-22.

³⁶⁷ H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p.376.

³⁶⁸ "sed, ut multorum relatione comperimus, de die in diem venerabilem locum illum asperius ac miserabilius tractas et, ut detrimenta bonorum temporalium taceamus, religiosas quoque fratrum personas crudely ac contumeliosa captione coartas." Casper, *Registrum* I.13, p.21; "Noverit sanctitas vestra hos fraters monachos monasterii sancti Remigii esse; quibus apud sedem apostolicam pro consolatione loci sui, quem Manasses Remensis archiepiscopus cotidie dissipare hac confundit..." Casper, *Registrum* I.14, p.22; H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.377.

³⁶⁹ J.R. Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII' in *AHR* LIV #4, 1949, pp.808-811.

even further. It began as Gregory was seeking the archbishop's aid in correcting the behaviour of Philip I. Gregory VII was unhappy with the king around the year 1074, so he wrote to Manasses I to treat with the erring king³⁷⁰. Nothing was done on the archbishop's behalf however, and the king remained un-chastised for the time being. This deference towards Gregory VII in his dealings with Philip I may be due to Guibert of Nogent's claim that his election (Manasses I) had been simoniacal³⁷¹. Manasses' simoniacal activities would come under more severe treatment later in his pontificate as others would also claim that he had paid for his elevation to the see. This occurred around the same time that Manasses I was accused of complying with Roger, bishop of Châlons, in pillaging church properties³⁷². Unfortunately, not much is known until 1077 when Manasses' simoniacal career returned to haunt him. He was accused by certain clerics of Rheims of simony at the council of Autun³⁷³. This was coupled with the presumed attack on the traditional primacy of Rheims by the see of Lyons³⁷⁴. Manasses I wrote to the pope requesting that he re-grant the prior papal privileges for Rheims. He also requested that he was to answer only to the pope himself for his actions³⁷⁵. Manasses I continued to show deference towards the papal legate's authority, and in 1080 his case was examined by Bishop Hugh of Die, now Archbishop of Lyons. The archbishop was called to Lyons in 1080 to explain himself. He refused to attend and asked the king to hold a council instead either in Rheims, Soissons, Compiègne or Senlis. The pope was not of the same view, as he saw this as a direct challenge to himself and to his authority. He proceeded to depose Manasses I of his office. Gregory VII wrote to Philip I confirming the decision and asking his help in removing the tyrant bishop. Philip I seemed indifferent to the papal

³⁷⁰ Casper, *Registrum* II.5, p.129-133; H. Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.378.

³⁷¹ "Manasses quidam, post Gervasii famosissimi archiepiscopi decessum, praedictae urbis regimini simoniace se intrusit..." Guibert de Nogent, "Autobiographie", ed. E. Labande, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age* 34, p.62.

³⁷² "Sed quoniam neglegentia tua (Manasses I) et episcopo predicate civitatis (Roger III) inobaedientia hucusque protracta est, necesse nobis fuit clericis tandiu afflictis succurrere et inobaedientis contumaciam apostolicae auctoritatis vigour contundere." Casper, *Reg.* II.56, p.209; A. Fliche, *Histoire de l'Église 8: La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1037-1123)*, p.100.

³⁷³ A. Fliche, *Histoire de l'Église* 8, p.100; A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* II, pp.221-222 and 251-252.

³⁷⁴ This was the argument forwarded by Williams in his study on the relationship between Gregory and Manasses, J. R. Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses I Rheims and Pope Gregory VII' in *AHR* LIV, p.823.

³⁷⁵ The letter is preserved by Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon' in *MGH SS VIII*, pp.419-420; Cowdrey, *Gregory VII*, p.382; J. Williams, *AHR*, p.815.

plea and did nothing to remove Manasses I³⁷⁶. It was only through the interference of the nobles and clergy of Rheims that Manasses I was deposed. After these events, the see of Rheims remained empty until 1083, meaning that Philip I was able to enjoy regalian rights over it.

Another similar situation occurred in Orléans. When in 1096 the bishop of Orléans, John, died, the archbishop of Tours, who had usurped the functions of provost and archdeacon, along with the sub-dean of the chapter of the church, nicknamed *Pejor Lupo*, tried to elevate John as bishop³⁷⁷. The problem was that John met neither the age requirement nor the morals for the office, either way the king gave his consent to these activities³⁷⁸. The trouble occurred when the people and clerics chose Sancion as their bishop. This was fine since Philip I also agreed to his elevation, however, because of the problems between the archbishop of Sens and the papal legate Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, Bishop Ivo of Chartres decided to defer the election. During this time, accusations of simony were made against Sancion. In the presence of the bishops of Chartres, Paris and Meaux, Sancion was absolved of the crime of simony and consecrated³⁷⁹. The problems did not end there for the bishopric of Orléans. No doubt having lost his favour with the archbishop of Tours, the said archbishop had the king place John in Sancion's stead. Since the people and clergy were frightened by the king, they accepted John³⁸⁰. Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, in order to settle the differences between the parties, requested that Bishop Ivo of Chartres and the others who opposed the elevation of John were to present themselves before him on 1 March 1098³⁸¹. Ivo, bishop of Chartres, protested both to Archbishop Hugh of Lyons and to Pope Urban II about the investiture and election of John. He claimed that it was as a favour by the king, for his coronation by

³⁷⁶ A. Fliche, *Histoire de l'Église* 8, p.101

³⁷⁷ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.433.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, p.433.

³⁷⁹ "...accepimus tam ab eo quam ab illis qui cum eo erant meliores districta sacramenta usque ad septem, quae eum, quantum in conspectus hominum purgari poterant, purgaverunt de invasione et simonia." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.54, p.220; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.433-434.

³⁸⁰ Ivo of Chartres, Ep.66, pp.290-296, Ep.68, pp.298-304; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.435.

³⁸¹ "Litteras vestrae paternitatis nuper accepi, invitantes me vel quoslibet qui impugnare vellent electionem Joannis Aurelianensis archidiaconi ut in kal. Martii praesentiae vestrae se exhiberent..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.68, p.300.

the archbishop of Tours, that he would make John bishop of Orléans³⁸². This election was a challenge to both the pope and to the Church, however, Urban II needed all the help he could receive for his continued struggle against both the emperor and the anti-pope. In consequence, Urban II agreed that John could become bishop of Orléans³⁸³. This may have been the price for an alliance with Philip I, but it is unsure as to why the pope stood back. Even though it seems Philip I had won in this conflict, it must be remembered that the proper method of investiture had been followed in Rheims and Paris, and without royal intervention³⁸⁴. Once again, the conflict of investitures was minimal in France as both the pope and king needed each others' support. The pope needed help in his struggle against the emperor and the king desired to have his marriage recognised. A. Fliche stated that it was because of Bertrada of Anjou, Philip I's wife, that he continued to invest and sell bishoprics and abbacies. Philip I wanted his marriage legalised and he was prepared to concede certain rights in order to accomplish this. However, with Bertrada's elevated debts, she forced upon Philip the necessity to sell and invest anywhere he could³⁸⁵.

The bishopric of Beauvais provides a more detailed example of Philip I's rights over the church and the support he gave his followers and chosen representatives. The conflict in Beauvais began in 1099 when the then bishop of Beauvais, Anseau, died. From 21 November until the middle of 1100 the bishopric had been vacant, which profited the royal treasury³⁸⁶. Philip I chose Stephen of Garlande as the bishop and this caused great controversy as his opponents argued that he had not been elected canonically. The most vociferous complaints were made by Bishop Ivo of Chartres, who went directly to the pope with the affair because of the inaction of the legates³⁸⁷. Pope

³⁸² "Sciatis etiam quia Turonensis archiepiscopus contra interdictum legati vestri in Natale regi coronam imposuit et ut sciatis puerilem fuisse electionem..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.66, p.296.

³⁸³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.436.

³⁸⁴ For the election of William to the see of Paris see Ivo of Chartres, Ep.43; for the election of Manasses II for Rheims see Ivo of Chartres Ep.48; for a summary of the events see Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.437-439.

³⁸⁵ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.439.

³⁸⁶ B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p.27.

³⁸⁷ "De caetero notum facio excellentiae vestrae, Belvacenses clericos contra interdictum vestrum et legatorum vestrorum, quemdam clericum nomine Stephanum, in episcopum assumpsisse, procul a sacris ordinibus inventum, utpote nondum subdiaconum, hominem illitteratum, aleatorem, mulierum sectatorem, publice olim de adulterio publico infamatum, et ob hoc a Domno Lugdunensi archiepiscopo tunc temporis sedis apostolicae legato, Ecclesiae communione privatum. De quo possent dici multa alia inhonesta, sed haec quae vera et manifesta sunt ad repulsionem ejus sufficiunt, si apostolica et canonica instituta vigorem suum non amittunt". Ivo of Chartres, Ep.89, *PL* 162 [col.0110B-C]; Scimus tamen ad audientiam vestram, et legatorum vestrorum quorundam relatione fuisse perlatum, aliquando praedictum electum insimulante

Paschal II, desiring to uphold the reforming principles of his predecessors, told Ivo to proceed with a new election³⁸⁸. Even though the archbishop of Rheims proved quite inactive on the matter, the reforming faction of the chapter of Beauvais was much more effective. They elected Galon, abbot of Saint-Quentin as bishop of Beauvais³⁸⁹. The other faction of the chapter refused to recognise Galon and pleaded to the king. Philip I supported Stephen and refused to consecrate Galon with the temporal possessions of the bishopric³⁹⁰. This went on for some time as the archbishop of Rheims followed the king and refused to consecrate Galon³⁹¹. Philip I even swore that Galon would never be the bishop of Beauvais, thereby declaring that he was master in his own domain³⁹². The situation remained unresolved since Stephen was not the bishop either. So Galon, discouraged, went to Rome and pleaded to Paschal II and was consecrated bishop and sent to Poland in 1102³⁹³. For a further two years the bishopric of Beauvais was unoccupied. The solution to this problem came from an unlikely source, the death of Fulk, bishop of Paris on 8 April 1104. Galon was made bishop of Paris as a compromised solution thought of by Bishop Ivo of Chartres³⁹⁴. Peace was finally achieved in Beauvais with the election of Geoffrey of Pisseleu. The affair of Beauvais demonstrates that Philip was ready to defend his rights as king in matters of the church. Philip I was not, as seen in the above examples, a weak king unable to act in the churches and monasteries within his own jurisdiction. He won and lost, but the important factor to come out of the conflicts between Philip I and the papacy was that the French king and clergy came out stronger than before. By the end of his reign, Philip I had won the support of the pope and clergy. In return, Philip I would be a willing ally for the papacy. Although Philip I

Lisiardo praedictae Ecclesiae archidiacono per Lugdunensem archiepiscopum, tunc sedis apostolicae legatum, cuiusdam criminis obiectione fuisse pulsatum, non tamen sponte confessum, vel aliquo ecclesiastico vel saeculari iudicio fuisse convictum. Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 92, *PL* 162 [col.0113A]; B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, pp.27-29.

³⁸⁸ Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 95, *PL* 162 [col.0115A-0116D]; Ep. 97, *PL* 162 [col.0117C-0117D]; Ep. 98, *PL* 162 [col.0118A-0118C]; B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p. 29.

³⁸⁹ B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p. 30.

³⁹⁰ "Rex itaque virulentis his verbis succensus, et ab omni bona voluntate turbatus non vult electioni assensum praebere, nec electo bona episcopalia dimittere" Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 104, *PL* 162 [col.0123B]; B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p. 30.

³⁹¹ Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 102, *PL* 162 [col.0121A-0122B].

³⁹² "...dari fecit, quod Galo in vita ejus nunquam futurus esset Belvacensis episcopus..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 105, *PL* 162 [col.0124A].

³⁹³ B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p. 32.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

continued to nominate and invest certain candidates, Pope Paschal II and Bishop Ivo of Chartres were able to solve the situation of investitures by separating the secular from the spiritual, thereby resolving the problem.

The royal churches and monasteries also offered Philip I more than administrative and servile duties: they were sources of income, and in some instances, extremely valuable³⁹⁵. The rights of *spolia* and *regalia* were utilised by kings in order to increase their revenues. These rights meant that on the vacancy of a royal monastery or church, the king was able to collect all its revenues and take charge of the monastery or church until a new head could be appointed³⁹⁶. As seen in the above examples, this right was utilised by Philip I to great effect. He would often delay or postpone such elections in order to increase his revenues. This right originated with the idea that the king was the defender of the church, so it was only natural that he look over the church when vacant to guarantee its well-being³⁹⁷. Similar to the right of *regalia*, Philip I was able to claim the right of *spolia*, which meant he could confiscate all the goods of the former head as his own³⁹⁸. Since monastic and church property were distinguished between the property of the institution proper and that of the abbot or bishop, it is no wonder that Philip I would exercise this right. He held this right on all the royal churches and monasteries³⁹⁹, so this could amount to a considerable sum based on the above list. Philip I was not the only secular lord able to exercise this right. Bishop Ivo of Chartres wrote complaining to the pope about the pillaging of goods by the count of Chartres and demanding a privilege to impede the count⁴⁰⁰. This liberty was subsequently confirmed by the king⁴⁰¹. Philip, however, was not afraid to use this right when someone displeased him, as the *Life of Sainte Romaine* explains. Having just left the tutelage of the regent, Baldwin V of Flanders, Philip I is reported to have pillaged the possessions of the bishop of Beauvais, Guy, who had offended him. So Philip exiled him for a year and despoiled all the

³⁹⁵ Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.67.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p.67.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p.67.

³⁹⁸ Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.67; F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions* II, pp.165-166.

³⁹⁹ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions* II, p.166.

⁴⁰⁰ "Quoniam divino adjutorio Carnotensis comes pravas consuetudines quas habuerant antecessores sui, et ipse in domibus et rebus Carnotensis episcopi defuncti vel depositi, multo meo labore et sumptu Ecclesiae dimisit, et parvitas mea super hoc, privilegium a sanctitate vestra promeruit ad perficiendam ejusdem libertatis confirmationem..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.94, *PL* 162 [col.0114B-0114C].

⁴⁰¹ Prou, #CLII.

possessions as if the church had been under *regalia*⁴⁰². Similarly in Chartres, when Ivo disapproved of the union between Bertrada of Anjou and Philip I, Philip made sure that the church of Chartres was despoiled and damaged⁴⁰³. Although very destructive to the churches and abbeys, there were no movements by the Church to eliminate this right or to even reduce its impact on the institutions from which it was claimed, it was such an imbued right that it was seen as custom. The only approach to protect churches was to have a royal or pontifical charter excluding them from *spolia*, which is what Ivo of Chartres won for his church.

Part Two: The Evolution of the Royal demesne under Philip I

Section i: The Inherited demesne

The royal demesne was a conglomeration of rights, privileges, and customs that Philip I's ancestors had acquired over two hundred years⁴⁰⁴. The first Robertinians, Philip's ancestors, focused their power and authority in different cities and regions. Although at first they were centred round the regions of the Loire and Tours, after two generations, they had migrated northwards to the counties and abbacies of Paris and Orléans⁴⁰⁵. This was determined by their continually fluctuating position in the kingdom of France. They began as mayors of the palace under the Carolingians and from there, grew in importance and power until finally displacing them as kings of the Franks. Robert the Strong (died in 866) the earliest known ancestor of Hugh Capet in *Francia*, was made count of Blois, and then he also added the title of count of Anjou with his marriage to Adelaide, daughter of the count of Anjou. To this list was added the title of count of Neustria by Charles the Bald in 861⁴⁰⁶. It was also during this time that Charles III gave him the rich abbey of Saint-Martin de Tours⁴⁰⁷. All of his efforts could have been lost with a little political acuity on the part of the French king Louis III. On the death of

⁴⁰² "Cum Rex Philippus adolescens, de procuratoris potestate egressus, regni sui gubernacula suscepisset, et iuveniliter iracundia eius exardescens in saepedictum venerabilem virum Belvacensem episcopum non recte, non iure expulsum ab episcopate suo, ablates omnibus, anno integro exsilii poena fatigasset..." 'Vita S. Romanae virginis' X in *RHGF* XIV, p.29.

⁴⁰³ "Unde non tantum a rege, cujus illicito conjugio contradiximus... bonorum ecclesiasticorum gravia damna perpetimur." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.19, pp.80-82.

⁴⁰⁴ For an analysis of this subject see F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions* II, pp.99-107.

⁴⁰⁵ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, (Cambridge, 1981), pp.7-9.

⁴⁰⁶ O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens*, (Paris, 2002) p.15.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.15.

Robert the Strong, his eldest son, Odo I, was too young to inherit his father's possessions and titles. However, a political mistake was made in 884 when Odo was named count of Paris along with all the former possessions his father had acquired. This made the largest demesne in the north that of the Robertian, Odo (860-898) whose prestige was growing daily. He successfully defended Paris against the Normans and when in 888 the crown of France was vacant, since Charles was too young to rule, it was decided to give it to the most powerful of the magnates, Odo I⁴⁰⁸. When Odo became king, he passed his properties and titles to his brother Robert I⁴⁰⁹. He remained king until his death in 898, then Charles the Simple was old enough to rule and became king, returning the title to the Carolingians. Furthermore, Robert I was also given, by Charles the Simple, the abbey of Saint-Denis and the county of Paris. Robert I had won immense prestige and was present at the talks with Rollo in 911, which would later form the duchy of Normandy⁴¹⁰.

By 914 Robert was able to pass his march, Neustria, to his son Hugh the Great. Another political mistake by Charles led to a coalition, headed by Robert, to depose the king. Their efforts succeeded and Robert was later crowned king in 922. Unfortunately he was killed the following year at the battle of Soissons in 923, but he was able to pass the kingdom to his son-in-law, Raoul, who had married his daughter Emma⁴¹¹. As for his son Hugh, he received what his father had accumulated, that is the marquis of Neustria. When he became the king's regent in 935, Louis IV accorded him with the title of duke of the Franks, making him the second person in the kingdom⁴¹². He held all the possessions of his father making him a quasi-independent prince within the kingdom. When Hugh the Great died in 956, his son Hugh Capet served the Carolingians faithfully and was granted his inheritance in 960. Even though the princes who, in theory, were under the duke of the Franks, the years between 956 and 960 permitted the princes to grow in power and independence. Even though Hugh Capet was duke of the Franks, he had lost many of his

⁴⁰⁸ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions* II, p.372.

⁴⁰⁹ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p.8.

⁴¹⁰ O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens*, p.16.

⁴¹¹ O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens*, p.16; A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p.11.

⁴¹² O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens*, p.16.

holdings in Anjou⁴¹³. This process had already begun when the Robertinians were made counts of Paris and began shifting their political centre towards the Paris basin⁴¹⁴. This consisted of Orléans and Étampes along with Dreux, Poissy, Argenteuil, Saint-Denis, Paris and Senlis. When in 987 the last Carolingian died, Hugh was crowned king by the magnates of the kingdom, mostly the north, and added to his lands those of the royal *fisc*, the Carolingian lands. The royal possessions of the last Carolingians were not very substantive; they consisted mostly of the centres between Compiègne to Laon and Attigny⁴¹⁵. It was however, the Carolingian control of the Church which benefited Hugh Capet and his line. He had received as royal prerogative the dioceses of Rheims and Sens, Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Langres and Le Puy⁴¹⁶. This considerable growth in the power of the king made Hugh Capet the most powerful landowner in the kingdom. These possessions more or less formed the framework of the royal demesne.

Section ii: Philip I's acquisitions

Throughout his reign Philip I worked vigilantly to increase his possessions and to spread his authority and power to regions which had fallen out of the royal sphere. The majority of his acquisitions were achieved through peaceful means, shrewd political manoeuvring and favourable political circumstances. Philip I never embarked on an adventure that would be detrimental or damaging to the royal demesne or to himself. It may be that he was politically uninfluential and generally weak compared to other monarchs and rulers, but he was also a careful politician, realising that the time was not now for him to enforce his royal rights on the other magnates of the kingdom⁴¹⁷. He was content with the acquisitions made and the development of his demesne. His first acquisition, that of the Gatinais, occurred in 1068 or so, the exact date is unknown. The opportunity arose from a situation completely out of Philip I's control. In 1060 the count of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel, died without a direct heir. It is written that the inheritance passed to his nephews, Geoffrey the Bearded and Fulk le Réchin⁴¹⁸. However, it is more

⁴¹³ Ibid., p.17.

⁴¹⁴ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoires des Institutions Françaises* II, p.104.

⁴¹⁵ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p.17.

⁴¹⁶ Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.216.

⁴¹⁷ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.327.

⁴¹⁸ "Gosfridus Martellus, filius Fulconis, cum filios non haberet comitatem suum, scilicet Andegaviam et Turoniam quam iam, sicut supradictum est, conquisierat, nepotibus suis Gosfrido Barbato et Fulconi Richin reliquit: Andegaviam et Santonas Fulconi, Turoniam cum Landonensi Castro Barbato donavit."

probable that before his death Geoffrey Martel designated Geoffrey the Bearded as his sole heir to the counties of Anjou and Touraine⁴¹⁹. As for the Gatinais, it seems that Geoffrey the Bearded had inherited it through his father, Aubri⁴²⁰. The exact nature of the inheritance and who acquired precisely what is unknown. It may have been this inequality in the inheritance that caused a bitter feud between the two, but this remains speculation. What matters here is that a dispute occurred from which Philip I would gain considerably. It also seems that Philip I and Geoffrey the Bearded were friends, or at least allies, since a charter was co-signed by the two men in 1067 at Chaumont⁴²¹. In 1068, Fulk imprisoned his brother, and shortly afterwards declared himself count of Anjou and Touraine, and granted away the Gatinais to Philip I⁴²². It seems that Fulk promised to Philip the entire Vexin if he would abstain from intervening in Fulk's plans to despoil his brother. Once accomplished, and if Philip I would stay uninvolved, then Fulk would grant him the territory⁴²³. In addition, the *Deeds of the lords of Amboise* claim that Fulk granted to Philip I the castle of Château Landon⁴²⁴. By this acquisition, Philip I linked his demesne from the valley of the Seine to the Loire. This opened up the route between his favourite, and most travelled, locales of Paris, Melun and Orléans. He immediately increased his authority as he became the direct lord over all of the castellans and local lords of the Gatinais, and in addition, he increased the revenue and income of the royal

'Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou', p.131; "Fulco comes, sicut iam supradictum est, terram suam Martello filio suo reliquit, qui sum heredem non haberet, duobus nepotibus suis Gosfrido Barbato et fulconi Richin Turoniam et Andegaviam donavit et dimisit." 'Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum', p.174, *Chroniques d'Anjou* I, (eds) P. Marchegay and A. Salmon, *Société de l'histoire de France* 84; M. Prou, 'L'acquisition du Gatinais sous Philippe Ier' in *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais*, XIV, p.178.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p.178.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p.178.

⁴²¹ Prou, #s XXXIII, XXXIV.

⁴²² "Fulco Richin Barbatum fratrem suum captum tenuit et in vinculis Cainoni castro posuit, et utrumque comitatum in proprietatem sibi suscepit... Itaque Fulco Richin a rege Francorum utrumque comitatum suscepit, ipsique Landonense Castrum in perpetuum concessit. Dum a curia regis Fulco redirect." 'Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum' p.176, *Chroniques d'Anjou* I; "Fulco... comes, qui fratris hororem sibi rapuerat, formidans ne rex Philippus pro perpetrata nequicia super eum irrueret et honore privaret. Vastinensem (Gatinais) comitatem ei reliquit," Hugues de Fleury, *MGH SS IX*, p.390; M. Prou, *ASHAG* XIV, p.183.

⁴²³ "et fideliter compromisit (Fulconem) quod totum Gastinensem (pagum) ei relinqueret, si de Guerra ei non noceret; quod Rex concessit..." Aimoine, 'Historiae Regum Francorum' III in *RHGF* XII, p.217; M. Prou, *ASHAG* XIV p.187-188.

⁴²⁴ "Itaque Fulco Richin a rege Francorum utrumque comitatum suscepit, ipsique Landonense Castrum in perpetuum concessit." 'Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum' p.176 in *Chroniques d'Anjou* I.

treasury by acquiring all the rights held by the former count and lord of the region⁴²⁵.

This first acquisition proved very fruitful for Philip, as he was able to increase his demesne and his revenues at no cost to himself.

The next acquisition took place in the 1070s, and is most likely to have occurred in 1071. The sources are a little unclear on the acquisition of Corbie; however, the chronology can be developed and explained. The situation arose, once again, from a succession dispute, this time in Flanders. In this dispute Philip I was embroiled in the battles between Robert I, the Frisian (1071-1093) and his nephew Arnulf of Hainault. The story of the Flemish succession is clear, however, certain points must be elaborated upon. The relations between the Flemish count and the king of France had been close. Adela of Flanders, the wife of count Baldwin V, was also the aunt of Philip I, sister of Henry I and daughter of Robert II. On his deathbed, Henry I asked the count of Flanders, Baldwin, to act as regent for his young son; Baldwin agreed⁴²⁶. The link had already been quite close, and when Baldwin V died in 1067, his son, Baldwin VI of Hainault, succeeded him. He, however, died at an early age, and as tradition has it, divided his lands between his two sons and entrusted their guardianship to his brother Robert the Frisian⁴²⁷. However, Robert I won to his side the inhabitants of Flanders and chased his nephew out of the county and claimed it for himself⁴²⁸. Arnulf left for Hainault with his mother Richilda who appealed to Philip I, as their lord, to come to their aid. Even though the king was allied to their side, most probably with the donation of Corbie, which had been previously lost by Henry I, as a gift for his services, Robert I had the greater part of the church and nobility on his side⁴²⁹. With this support Robert I easily removed the county from his nephew near or around January 1071. Philip I answered the call of his vassals. This battle

⁴²⁵ M. Prou, *ASHAG* XIV, p.189.

⁴²⁶ I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, p.28.

⁴²⁷ "Balduinus Arnulphi primogeniti et totius Flandriae procuracionem fratri suo Roberto Frisioni sub intentione bona commisit, cum idem Robertus et Arnulpho et Balduino hominum et iuramentum fidelitatis exhibuisset..." Gilbert of Mons, 'Chronicon Hanoniense' in *MGH SS XXI*, p.491; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.177-178.

⁴²⁸ "Robertus igitur in Frisia degens, cognita fratris morte simulque Richeldis tyrannide, Flandrias repetiit, et usque Gandavum pervenit." 'Genealogia comitum Flandrensium' in *MGH SS IX*, 321; "Richildis autem cum filio suo Arnulfo innumerabilem collegit exercitum, et Robertum a Flandria exire compulerunt. Post non multum temporis instinctu Bernardi soceri sui iterum Flandrias repetens, maiorem trahens secum copiam armatorum, exercitu Richildis devisto, et filio eius Arnulpho occiso, ipsa carceri mancipatur." 'Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium', I, iii, in *MGH SS XXV*, 80; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.178-179.

⁴²⁹ Prou, #XCIII; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.145-146.

was a disaster for the royal army, Richilda was made prisoner, and Arnulf was killed in battle with many of his followers, in addition, Philip I fled⁴³⁰. With the battle won, Robert I had no other rivals and could claim the county for himself safely. The story did not end there, Robert I was made prisoner and given over to Eustace of Boulogne, who was brother of Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, and councillor to the king. A deal was agreed upon that Robert I would be released in exchange for Richilda. In the meantime, Philip I fought his way to Montreuil to re-organise his troops and prepare to restart the fight with Robert I. Philip I went on to conquer Saint-Omer, and from that moment the battle concluded⁴³¹. It is not sure as to who made the advancement for peace, but what is certain is that Philip was able to gain from the deal. It is stated that he was given Bertha of Frisia, Robert I's sister, which sealed the friendship and alliance between the two. To re-enforce the accord, Robert I confirmed the grant made by his nephew, Arnulf, granting Corbie to the king⁴³². Its position on the Somme made it a natural link between Montreuil, which was the farthest northern outpost of the king's demesne and his heartland⁴³³.

The third enlargement of the demesne under Philip I occurred shortly after the previous gain. Little is known of the addition of the Vexin to the demesne as the sources are somewhat quiet on the matter. The French Vexin comprised the regions of Mantes, Pontoise and Chaumont-en-Vexin⁴³⁴. Obviously, the Vexin was important for many reasons, the two most important were its location, it was separated from Normandy by the Epte; it was also home of the abbey of St-Denis⁴³⁵. At the time of Philip's elevation to the kingship, this region was under the rule of Raoul of Valois, who, as is known from a charter dated in 1063, was a special advisor to the king; he was even considered a friend by Philip I⁴³⁶. Shortly after the death of Henry I, Anna of Kiev, Philip's mother, married Raoul which caused bitter sentiments in the kingdom. It is known from a letter to the pope, written by Gervais, archbishop of Rheims, that the kingdom was still in morning

⁴³⁰ I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, p.47.

⁴³¹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.264.

⁴³² Ibid., p.146.

⁴³³ Ibid., p.146.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p.147.

⁴³⁵ "et post aliquos annos occupavit Rex sua cupiditate Comitatum de Vengenssin (Vexin), et tamen dictus Comitatus est de feudis Abbatiae S. Dyonisii..." 'Chronicon regum Francorum' in *RHGF* XI, 394.

⁴³⁶ "cum consensu fidelium meorum, videlicet domni Gervasii, Remorum archipraesulis, et fratris mei, Rotberti, et Bauduini comitis, et episcopo Laudunensis Elinandi, et Ratdulfii comitis ceterorumque quorum consilio meum regebatur palatium..." Prou, #XVI.

when the marriage with Anna took place⁴³⁷. It could be that marriage which led Philip to despoil Raoul's children. Either way, he was determined to dispossess Raoul's children of their inheritance. Raoul passed away in 1074 and left two children, Alix, who married Thibaud, count of Champagne, and Simon⁴³⁸. It was Simon who inherited the lands in the Vexin on his father's death. We read in Aubri de Trois-Fontaines that Philip I gave his assent to Hugh Bardoul, lord of Broys, to invade Simon's lands. While Hugh Bardoul took Vitry, Bar-sur-Aube and la Ferté, Philip I invaded his other possessions, notably Amiens⁴³⁹. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines dated this battle in 1061. This date is wrong and must be corrected with the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre de Châlons* which dates the event in 1075⁴⁴⁰. Since Raoul died in 1074 it makes much more sense to place the battle after his death. During the conflict, we know that Philip I confirmed a charter made by Guy, count of Ponthieu, to Cluny, which was dated in Amiens in 1074 or 1075⁴⁴¹. Simon was resisting the attempts by the king to take over his lands during this confrontation, and this is when the story becomes confusing. Apparently Simon was struck by religious motives and fled to Rome to seek out the pope and ask for his guidance. Regardless of his motives, Simon surrendered his weapons and joined a monastery at the latest by 23 May 1077⁴⁴². Also, it is known that Philip I came into possession of the Vexin around that year as he disposed of the *villa* of Mantes in favour of Cluny. Philip also confirmed a charter, to the monks of Bec, granted by Simon, of the abandon of the right of transit⁴⁴³. By this time, Philip I had acquired the Vexin and enlarged and strengthened his demesne lands, securing for himself a common border with the duke of Normandy and at the same time removing a north-western neighbour and lord from the political map. This event shows that Philip I was willing and able to enforce his right of lordship to impede his vassals from inheriting their lands.

⁴³⁷ "Regnum nostrum non mediocriter conturbatum est, Regina enim nostra Radulpho nupsit, quod factum rex noster quam maxime dolet." *RHGF* XI, p.499; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.19.

⁴³⁸ "Reliquerat autem comes Rodulfus ex uxore sua, que dicta est Adala, filium bone indolis nomine Symonem et filiam nomine Alaidem." Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica' in *MGH SS XXIII*, 793.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.793.

⁴⁴⁰ "Anno MLXXV: Redditio Vitriaci..." 'Chronicon Sancti Petri Catalaunensis' in *RHGF* XII, p.276.

⁴⁴¹ Prou, #LXXIX.

⁴⁴² Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica' in *MGH SS XXIII*, 798; Prou, #LXXXIX.

⁴⁴³ Prou, #XC.

The following annexations occurred in the last years of Philip's reign. Although they were not as vast or as elaborate as the previous three, they were, nonetheless, acquisitions which strengthened and enlarged the demesne lands of the king. The first was his purchase of the viscounty of Bourges in the far south of the kingdom. This purchase was made possible by the desire of the lord, Odo Arpin, to venture to the crusader lands in the East. In order to make this possible, he needed large sums of money to pay for his voyage. The lords of Bourges held friendly relations with the French kings⁴⁴⁴, in fact, Bourges was held by Odo Arpin under the domination of the French king⁴⁴⁵. So it seemed natural for Odo to seek out his lord and offer him the first opportunity to purchase the viscounty. Odo sold his lordship to Philip I for 60,000 cents⁴⁴⁶, a very considerable sum, and one that must have been paid either in full or almost in its entirety. A similar example was the mortgage agreed upon between Robert duke of Normandy and his brother William II of England. Robert mortgaged the duchy of Normandy to go on crusade, and when he would return, the dukedom would also be returned to his care⁴⁴⁷. The difference between the two examples lies in Philip's purchase. It would be in perpetuity and would become an inalienable part of the royal demesne. When exactly Philip I was able to transform this suzerainty into direct possession is questionable. This is due to inexactness, or even silence, from the sources. With the exception of Orderic Vitalis, who gives a date for Odo's departure to the Holy Lands⁴⁴⁸, the other sources were imprecise in their dating. For example, Aimoin in his *Deeds of the Franks* places the acquisition before the civil war between Fulk le Réchin and his brother Geoffrey the Bearded⁴⁴⁹. Similarly, the *Chronicle of Vézelay* placed this purchase in the year 1065⁴⁵⁰. Based on Orderic Vitalis and the nature of the events of the moment, it seems that the extreme dates are 1097 and 1102. Fliche identified a charter signed by Odo Arpin, still as lord, in June 1097⁴⁵¹. Secondly, a journey to Bourges made by the king was

⁴⁴⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.150.

⁴⁴⁵ Prou, #CXLV.

⁴⁴⁶ "Hic Rex habuit fortunam propitiam, et pro augendo dominium suum comparavit. Comitatum Bituricensem LX millium librarum..." 'Chronica Regum Francorum' in *RHGF* XI, 394.

⁴⁴⁷ I. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, pp.339-340.

⁴⁴⁸ "Tunc Harpinus Bituricam urbem Philippo regi Francorum vendidit et cum Goscelino de Cortenaia et Milone de Braio iter Ierusalem iniit." *OV*, 10, c xx, p.324.

⁴⁴⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.150.

⁴⁵⁰ "Anno MLXV: Rex Philippus ab Arpino emit Biturucas..." 'Chronicon Vizeliacense' in *RHGF* XI, 385.

⁴⁵¹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.151.

identified on 16 October 1102 when he confirmed the restitutions, concessions and donations made by Geoffrey, viscount of Bourges, his wife and Odo de Déols to the canons of the church of Saint-Ambroix⁴⁵². This charter identified a royal provost and an exactor-exactores...*praepositi*, meaning that Bourges was already being governed and administered along the same methods as the royal demesne⁴⁵³. There is no reason to doubt Orderic's claim that the purchase had been made in 1101. The sources all agree on the extent of the acquisition as limited to the city of Bourges itself. However, Fliche stated that it also contained its *septaine*, or the lands just outside of the city⁴⁵⁴. We know that Philip I was surrounded by a host of lords and castellans in the region⁴⁵⁵. The importance of this acquisition for the king was immense. So although it was small, it gave Philip I the opportunity to expand his rights and authority in the region. It also added to his treasury and his influence.

The last acquisition occurred in 1104 when Philip I added the castle of Montlhéry to his ever increasing possessions. The facts of the event were recorded by Abbot Suger of St-Denis in his *Life of Louis VI*. This occurred at a time when the local castellans of the Parisis and Orléanais were causing problems for the king. They would often revolt against him, or make it difficult for people to journey through the Ile-de-France. If we are to believe Suger, Philip I made a few attempts to pacify these belligerent lords without much success⁴⁵⁶. However, through marriage Philip was able to pacify a certain castellan. The story of the acquisition begins with the adventures of Guy Trousseau, son of Milo of Montlhéry. Guy had returned from the first Crusade tired and ashamed. Suger relates that he had left Antioch through fear of Kerboga, leaving God's army in their struggle against the infidels⁴⁵⁷. Because of this he feared for his heritage, so he gave his only daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage to Philip, the son of the king through his wife Bertrada of

⁴⁵² Prou, #CXLV.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., #CXLV.

⁴⁵⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.151.

⁴⁵⁵ Prou, #CXLV.

⁴⁵⁶ "quod avus Hugonis patri tuo Phylippo feuds periurio intulit, cum eum multas illatas iniurias ulcisci innitentem a Puteolo turpiter reppulit, fastu nequissime consanguinitatis, factiose conspirationis, exercitum eius usque Aurelianum fugavit, captum comitem Nivernensem, Lancelinum Baugienciensem, milites pene centum et, quod hactenus inauditum erat, episcopos quosdam carcere suo dehonestavit." Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.19, p.132.

⁴⁵⁷ "a via Sancti Sepulchri domum repedasset, fractus longi itineris anxietate et diversarum penarum molestia, et quia extraordinarie Antiochiam timore Corbarani per murum descendens Deique exercitum intus obsessum relinquens." Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.8, p.36.

Anjou⁴⁵⁸. The dowry was the castle of Montlhéry, which must have been the sole reason for the marriage arrangement in the first place⁴⁵⁹. As Suger related, when news of the royal acquisition of the castle of Montlhéry was heard, a great joy amongst the people was felt. For it seemed that it was almost impossible without armed guards to venture from Orléans to Paris and *vice versa* because of the perfidy of the lord of Montlhéry⁴⁶⁰. This acquisition helped to pacify the Ile-de-France and it also rounded the royal demesne and secured a very important route between the king's two most important centres, Paris and Orléans. The marriage alliance also brought favour upon the Montlhérys, as they became part of the royal household and loyal servants and advisers to the king⁴⁶¹. This last addition to the royal demesne was as important as the previous ones, if not for its resources or its extent then at least for its security. It was in the heart of the Ile-de-France and it was an important castle which could strengthen the royal position and increase the authority and power of the king.

The enlargement of the demesne by Philip I was made without much violence or conflict on the king's behalf. He was able to use situations in the surrounding lands to enlarge his own possessions, such as the first three acquisitions which all developed out of succession disputes. For the first acquisition, Philip I was "bribed" with the Gatinais to remain neutral in the succession dispute between the two contenders. The second was acquired in a more difficult situation, as Philip I did have to battle Robert I, but it was not for Corbie as we have seen. The fact that he was given Corbie was more as a gift for recognising the new count. It may have also been the dowry of Bertha of Frisia. Much more effort was needed by Philip to acquire the Vexin. It took years and many battles before he was finally successful in his goal. It could be argued that it was only because Simon was a pious man who wanted to appease his conscience and follow the pope's wishes. Regardless of the reasons, Philip managed to break the inheritance of a major

⁴⁵⁸ "timensque exheredari, unicam quam habebat filiam... filio regis Phylippo, de superducta Andegavensi comitissa, nuptui tradidit." Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.8, p.36.

⁴⁵⁹ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp.12-16, 51. It had always been policy to marry off sons and daughters to other nobles in the hope of gain or allies.

⁴⁶⁰ "Qua occasione castro custodie sue receptor... exhilarescunt... cumque a fluvio Sequane Curboilo, medio vie Monte Leherii, a dextera Castello Forti pagus Parisiacus circumcingeretur, inter Parisienses et Aurelianensis tantum confusionis chaos firmatum erat, ut neque hi ad illos neque illi ad istos absque perfidorum arbitrio nisi in manu forti valerent transmeare.", Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.8, pp.36-38.

⁴⁶¹ See below, pp.?

lord through his royal authority. The rest of Simon's inheritance, the Vermandois, fell to Hugh the Great, the king's brother, so in essence, Philip's efforts were very successful at removing a powerful neighbour from his vicinity. All three of these acquisitions occurred in a brief period of time, from 1067 to 1077, and all three were significant for the monarchy. The Gatinais and the Vexin rounded off the royal demesne both in the north and in the south, while Corbie added an extra stronghold in the north-east near the sea port town of Montreuil-sur-Mer. The next two acquisitions, which occurred many years later, were during the final decade of his reign. For the first enlargement, Philip I used to his advantage the crusading movement to purchase the viscounty of Bourges from Odo who desired to partake in the adventure. Although the acquisition of Bourges was quite removed from the traditional demesne lands, it gave the king a presence in a region that had for a long time been void of royal authority. The last enlargement, also thanks to the crusade, was one that fortified and strengthened the royal demesne lands around Paris and Orléans and was similarly made through another marriage alliance and dowry. Philip showed sound judgement in his actions, and was duly rewarded for them. With the said acquisitions, Philip enlarged and greatly enriched the demesne and himself laying the foundations for Louis VI's reign. The next part deals with these resources and the wealth of the demesne.

Part Three: The resources of the royal demesne

Section i: Economic resources

This section will be difficult to detail because the majority of the medieval financial records of the kingdom of France were lost in the great Parisian fire of 1737. That coupled with the Revolution means that a large gap in the records exist. In fact, the first budget dates from the year 1202-1203 under Philip II "Augustus", 1180-1220. There are no financial records for any of the first Capetians⁴⁶². Since no records relate the monthly or yearly income of Philip I, the most appropriate method is to enumerate the possible sources of revenue. This means examining those rights mentioned above and Philip's successes to enforce them. The economy of the late eleventh century was developing apace, this means that an examination of this development will enable a clearer idea of the possible revenue generated by the king. Even though the economic

⁴⁶² F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *HIF* II, p.183.

changes were well beyond the control of the king, his rights touched directly upon these changes. This simply means that as the economy grew, so did Philip's revenues. One of the clearest signs of the changing economy is found in the diplomas and charters, both royal and ecclesiastical. The ecclesiastical records chosen for this study were for specific purposes. Cluny was the wealthiest monastery in the kingdom; Saint-Martin-des-Champs' charters are very relevant because this monastery was in the heartland of the royal demesne, so it is an accurate measure for the developments of the region. Lastly are the diplomas from Montier-en-Der. These are relevant because the monastery was located in Champagne, a region where economic development was quite advanced and where the king had vested interests. Since the changes were occurring on a national level, comparisons with regions bordering the Ile-de-France are also attempted, places such as Anjou, Flanders, Normandy and Champagne for example.

The period between Philip's accession to the throne in 1060 and that of his son in 1108 was one of tremendous change. Lands were cleared, cities developed, a more money based society emerging and the opening of trade and travel was apparent. Philip was able to utilise all these movements in his favour⁴⁶³. The first point which deserves mentioning is the demographic explosion that was underway in northern France. Places such as Flanders, Normandy and the royal lands were all witnessing increased levels of population growth. This is best detailed in two forms, the first is the immigration of those peoples elsewhere, and the second is the growth, development and creation of towns. The second is closely related to land clearance and development. In regards to the first point, the eleventh century saw French soldiers, mercenaries and others leave their lands to try their luck elsewhere. The Normans are the prime example of this phenomenon. They ventured to Italy and Sicily to settle because their options were stagnant in Normandy⁴⁶⁴. Secondly, the great adventure across the Manche to the kingdom of England was supported by many troops, Normans, Flemish, French, Angevin and others for similar reasons⁴⁶⁵. The *Reconquista* in Spain, is another example, it involved much of the French nobility. Many knights ventured south of the Pyrenees for fame, riches and most of all,

⁴⁶³ I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, p.157.

⁴⁶⁴ For the Normans in Southern Italy see the collection of articles edited by P. Bouet and F. Neveux, *Les Normands en Méditerranée : Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle*, 1994; D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, (Cambridge, 1992).

⁴⁶⁵ P. Contamine, *Histoire Militaire de la France I*, p.58.

land⁴⁶⁶. The promise of land was the great attraction of all these adventures. With growing populations and increasing strains on resources, it was necessary for the nobility to move elsewhere. Flanders is an example of this. Its remarkable growth in population was second only to northern Italy⁴⁶⁷. Towns and centres were growing and new centres were founded throughout the county, mostly in the centre and in the newly conquered lands from the sea, the polder lands⁴⁶⁸. The sheer number of soldiers of Flemish background is illustrated in the military ventures across Europe. They accompanied the duke of Normandy to England and they participated in the crusade⁴⁶⁹. The lack of land in Flanders must have been a reason for the large number of Flemish immigrants.

The demographic explosion was mostly due to new agricultural techniques and better conditions for harvesting⁴⁷⁰. It has been observed that a change in the climate made these changes possible. In fact, the general warm pattern identified between the years 500 to 1200, were at their ideal levels during the years 1000-1200⁴⁷¹. It was during this period that the heavier soils of Northern France began to give a greater turnover than they had previously. The region around the Parisis was used for cereal crops, and with new agricultural methods, the amounts of corn, cereals, wheat and other crops multiplied and were increasingly able to feed the growing cities. In fact, the region north of Saint-Denis, between the Marne, the Seine and the Oise, was one of the richest corn-growing districts around Paris⁴⁷². One of the positive aspects of the Ile-de-France was its soil diversity, no other region in all of France could boast such a varied landscape and soil content. This would help make Paris one of the largest and fastest growing centres in France. These regions supplied the citizens of Paris with their much needed food supplies⁴⁷³. The soil of the Gatinais was very good for vineyards, which were quickly becoming a very important economic resource⁴⁷⁴.

⁴⁶⁶ P. Contamine, *Histoire Militaire de la France* I, p.57; J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p.231.

⁴⁶⁷ For Northern France see C. Bouchard, 'The kingdom of the Franks to 1108' in *NCMH IV*: II, p.121; for Northern Italy see G. Tabacco, 'Northern and Central Italy in the eleventh century' in *NCMH IV*: II, p.91.

⁴⁶⁸ J. Dhondt, 'Développement urbain et initiative comtale en Flandre au XI^e siècle' in *Revue du Nord* 30, 1948, pp.133-156; A. Chédeville, 'De la cité à la ville' in *Histoire de la France urbaine* II, pp.81-83.

⁴⁶⁹ P. Contamine, *Histoire Militaire de la France* I, p.57.

⁴⁷⁰ I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, p.162.

⁴⁷¹ C. Higounet, 'Les forêts de l'Europe occidentale du Ve au XI^e siècle' in *Settimane di Studio* XIII, p.350.

⁴⁷² M. Bloch, *The Ile-de-France: The Country around Paris*, p.8.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp.16-17.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.23.

Returning to the demographic developments, how did the population explosion favour the king? With the growing populations, towns and cities multiplied and expanded, marking this period as the era of the commune. The majority of the communes were located near pre-existing centres, a monastery, a church or a castle. In order to stimulate growth, liberties were granted to the citizens of the commune. This was done to attract settlers to the new communes. The lords, especially those in Normandy, would often grant market days to stimulate the economy⁴⁷⁵. These towns also helped to develop and to increase trade, which benefited the king a great deal. The growing number of markets and fairs led to more and more merchants travelling from centre to centre. Since the king had the right to demand half, the tenth or other such exactions from the markets and the products exchanged, the more fairs held the greater the resources for the king. Philip I was not an innovator of this practice, he was, however, aware of the advantages of markets. He had given Orléans half the revenues from the *tonlieux*, justices and all charges of the annual market held from 1 November⁴⁷⁶. In addition, he granted the revenues of the *tonlieu* and of justice of a market of 3 days held in Compiègne⁴⁷⁷. These grants made by the king could have been an attempt to stimulate the local economy of either the merchants of the region or of the church in charge of the market. Either way, Philip I still held the majority of the rights and revenues from these two fairs. It is also known that Philip held all the rights on a market held in Étampes as it was identified simply as *forum nostrum*⁴⁷⁸. Furthermore, Philip held the majority of rights and revenues on the market of Poissy which was held on the anniversary of Notre-Dame in March⁴⁷⁹. To these fairs must be added those identified in the royal lands, as Philip was able to draw revenues from these through his royal rights. Unfortunately, only one was identified in the Paris region, it was a grant made by Hugh du Puiset to Saint-Martin-des-Champs in 1102. He conceded the tenth of the markets of du Puiset, which were identified as the fair following the Sabbath of April, the fairs before the Nativity of Saint John, the first Sunday of September, the Sabbath before the feast of St-Martin of Tours and the Sunday

⁴⁷⁵ A. Chédeville, 'De la cité à la ville 1000-1150' in *Histoire de la France Urbaine II: La ville médiévale, des carolingiens à la Renaissance*, pp.64-67.

⁴⁷⁶ Prou, #XXX.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., #CXXVI.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., #CXIV.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., #XII.

after Epiphany⁴⁸⁰. The number of fairs identified in this charter point to sufficient merchant activity in the Paris region. This may have been to accommodate the number of merchants travelling through the Ile-de-France on their way to the fairs of Champagne and Flanders, or it may have been intended for the local market, for the merchants of the Parisis and Orléanais regions only.

Both Flanders and Champagne were showing strong signs of economic activity, and the lords of the regions, or counts in the case of Flanders, sought to increase their wealth by holding fairs and markets. Their geographic positions were well suited for the ever growing numbers in fairs. The reputation they acquired attracted merchants from across Europe, from Scandinavia to Byzantium, from Spain to Poland. The advantage for Philip was that many of the travellers, merchants and the like ventured through his demesne. The royal lands, situated at a crossroads for merchants on their itineraries, benefited from the increase in trade. Philip was able to collect revenues from all those who travelled through his lands, those who used his bridges, his waterways, his roads as tolls had to be paid. It is difficult to know how effective Philip, or his men, were in collecting and enforcing these duties, but if we are to judge from a letter by pope Gregory VII, then it seems that Philip may have been moderately successful at collecting tolls⁴⁸¹. This must have formed a large source of revenue for the king. It must have increased throughout his reign as the number of fairs multiplied and the number of merchants grew. Philip's links with the church also increased his wealth. For an example, Champagne was becoming richer thanks in large-part to its fairs. The king had a royal city in the region, Rheims, and it was one of the richest of the kingdom⁴⁸². Through this city Philip was able to ensure a large supply of wealth and revenue for the royal *fisc*. Since the church of Rheims held more and more property and influence in northern Champagne, where the northern regions of the county passed under the influence of the archbishop ever since the end of the Carolingian kings, so did the king through his rights on the archbishopric⁴⁸³. This is where the rights of *regalia* and *spolia* could pay huge dividends for the king.

⁴⁸⁰ J. Depoin, *Recueil de Chartes et Documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, # 95.

⁴⁸¹ "... quin etiam mercatoribus, qui de multis terrarum partibus ad forum quoddam in Francia nuper convenerant, quod antehac a rege factum fuisse nec in fabulis refertur, more predonis infinitam pecuniam abstulit et qui legume et iustitiae defensor esse debuit..." E. Capser, *Registrum* II.5.p.131.

⁴⁸² M. Bur, *Histoire de Champagne*, p.104.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.122.

During his reign, the archbishopric was vacant a number of times. After Gervais' death dated 4 July 1067⁴⁸⁴, a successor was not consecrated until October 1069 in the person of Manassès I⁴⁸⁵. After the troubled pontificate of Manassès, whose reign came to an end with his deposition around 1083, a successor was quickly elevated and consecrated in the person of Rainald I on 20 February 1083⁴⁸⁶. On his death, Philip enjoyed the rights of *regalia* and *spolia* for a few months only as Manasses II was chosen on 21 October 1096⁴⁸⁷. On his death in 1106 however, Philip enjoyed, for the rest of his life, the revenues of the archbishopric⁴⁸⁸. This is one example of the revenues that Philip could hold through his rights on the church. In addition, churches held many rights on fairs and held many properties which they exacted efficiently. This means that the royal *fisc* was able to benefit on a frequent basis.

The growing wealth and economy were felt on many levels, but most importantly by the churches. The French churches were rich during Philip's reign, in part because of Philip's lack of *gustum* services upon them and in part due to the ever increasing wealth of their properties and the development of those properties by the church. This wealth was best expressed in the architectural forms that were beginning to develop across northern France. These new architectural styles would mark the French landscape in the following century, but it was begun in the final years of Philip's reign⁴⁸⁹. Regions such as Anjou, Bourges, Orléans, Paris, Beauvais and others witnessed this demographic and economic expansion. The rights of *spolia* and *regalia* gave Philip vast sources of wealth at intermittent periods of his reign. Philip was unable, however, to garner much wealth from the archbishopric of Bourges as the succession of each new archbishop was rapid⁴⁹⁰. The information for Tours is rather unclear, however, it is likely that Philip enjoyed his rights on the centre for a long period. After the death of Bartholomew I on 9 April 1068, a successor was not consecrated until 1070, giving Philip *circa* 2 years of the *spolia* and *regalia*⁴⁹¹. The archbishopric of Sens did not add to Philip's coffers, as only rarely did he

⁴⁸⁴ Gallia Christiana IX, pp.68-70.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.70-75.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.75-77.

⁴⁸⁷ Gallia Christiana IX, pp.77-80.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., pp.80-82.

⁴⁸⁹ I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, pp.181-182.

⁴⁹⁰ Gallia Christiana II, pp.41-45.

⁴⁹¹ Gallia Christiana XIV, pp.61-63.

enjoy his rights for longer than a few months. Mainardus died in March 1062 and was replaced at Easter of the same year by Richard who lasted until January 1096⁴⁹². Even after his death, a successor was quickly found in the person of Daimbert in 1097⁴⁹³. The same is identified for the bishopric of Auxerre, when only for a few months was the see vacant⁴⁹⁴. Philip I was able to enlarge his *fisc* on numerous occasions in both Amiens and Senlis. In Amiens, the see was vacant for two years from 1076 to 1078. It was vacant again from 1085 until 1091. Then, it was left vacant for an amazing 4 years from 1100 until 1104, all for the king's own profit⁴⁹⁵. As for Senlis, although not as numerous as Amiens, the vacancies were still prominent. From 1069 until 1072 the see was vacant. Once again, from 1079 to 1082 another gap of three years is identified⁴⁹⁶. In Laon, the see was vacant for a short period of time only, from 1104-1106⁴⁹⁷. Lastly, as seen above in Philip's relations with the papacy, the bishopric of Beauvais remained vacant for 5 years, which was to the greatest profit for the king⁴⁹⁸. The rights of *regalia* and *spolia* on their own guaranteed Philip a surplus of income during different moments of his reign, moreover, these rights coupled with the increasing wealth of the kingdom, and especially the lands north of the Loire meant that Philip was able to raise much more from these two rights than any of his predecessors had been⁴⁹⁹.

The other aspect that needs examination is the growth and development of vines and vineyards. This would also become an ever increasing source of wealth for the king. Wine had become, by the mid eleventh century, the crop of choice. Prior to the mid-eleventh century, vines and vineyards had been the specialty of monastic houses and clerical centres, along with the higher nobility, however, with the growth in trade and the rise of a new class, the merchants, wine became a more common product. It was being

⁴⁹² Gallia Christiana XII, pp.37-41.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., p.41.

⁴⁹⁴ Gallia Christiana XII, pp.286-289.

⁴⁹⁵ Gallia Christiana X, pp.1164-1172.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., pp.1392-1397.

⁴⁹⁷ Gallia Christiana IX, p.526; "Hoc igitur sic mortuo, cum biennio vacasset ecclesia." Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, p.280.

⁴⁹⁸ See above, pp.??

⁴⁹⁹ C. Bouchard mentions that although the old Carolingian trade routes and commercial exchanges never died out, they multiplied and became more active than previously. C. Bouchard, 'The Kingdom of the Franks to 1108' in *NCMH IV*: II, pp.143-144.

consumed in ever increasing amounts⁵⁰⁰. A look at the sources illustrates the number and importance of this commodity. It seems that northern France was an exceptional case, it was developing apace and had become a very important wine growing region⁵⁰¹. Laon, for instance, was a significant region for the wine market, at least if we are to believe Guibert de Nogent, who stated that “its rivers were dominated on both sides by vineyards, for its soils were as favourable to *Liber* as to *Ceres*”⁵⁰². Again, when mentioning the wealth of the city, Guibert notes its wine and food riches⁵⁰³. The Capetians were able to increase their wealth thanks to their rights on the city. F. Vercauteren noted that the kings never ceased to exercise their regalian rights in Laon, and that it was not until 1071 that Philip I ceded to the bishop the hundred which had formerly been received annually⁵⁰⁴. In addition, Philip had rights on the sale of wine. He could demand that those selling the wine wait before selling their stocks, as he had the right of way, meaning that he could sell his wine before anyone else. Philip was able to demand fees for the sale of wine in markets or on his demesne lands. An example of the wealth that Philip could harness from the wine trade is found with the Parisian monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. These charters are filled with land grants relating to the growth and development of wine and the wine trade. Around 1073 Hugh of Palaiseau gave to the monastery three acres of vineyards that were contained in Arcueil⁵⁰⁵. Near to 1085, Gauthier of Bagneux added to the previous concessions an acre for the vine in Clamart⁵⁰⁶. Roger of Saint-Cloud gave, the same year, three acres of vineyards, and along with this grant, he also conceded a half-*modius* of wine⁵⁰⁷. The 1080s seemed to be an active time in the region for developing vineyards and wine as the grants and donations kept arriving. A certain Peter

⁵⁰⁰ Guibert de Nogent relates the wealth of the citizens of Laon. “Cives, plane cum essent opulenti...”, Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, p.366; J. de Sturler, ‘A propos le commerce du vin au Moyen Age: Question de fait et de méthode’ in *MA* 57, pp.94-95.

⁵⁰¹ I. Imberciadori, ‘Vite e vigna nell’alto medio evo’ in *Settimane di Studio* XIII, pp.340-341, where he states that the full potential of wine was made possible with the development of communes and villages along with monetary amplification.

⁵⁰² “Montiam hinc inde prominentiam vineis derexa cinguntur; humus utrobique Libero Cereique conveniens omnium bonarum frugum.” Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, p.216.

⁵⁰³ “vinum et triticum...” Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, p.369.

⁵⁰⁴ J. de Sturler, *MA* 57, pp.123-124; “censum quoque qui in foro rerum venalium pro stationibus carnis ac piscium annuatim persolvitur... interdiximus.” Prou, #LXI.

⁵⁰⁵ J. Depoin, *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* I, #16.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, #25.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, #27. The *modius* of wine was an ancient French measure for capacities dealing with wine, which in Paris was equal to 268litres for wine.

granted seven acres of vine-land⁵⁰⁸. Moreover, Theoldus granted vines and this was added by the large donation of Guerri of four acres of vineyards⁵⁰⁹. Eustachius of Senlis gave a close of vines near to Senlis⁵¹⁰, and this was followed by another large donation by Warinus of Campis who gave six acres of vineyards⁵¹¹. A charter was preserved outlining the price of such a vineyard. Odo of *Charfentolio* gave a half an acre of vines and his house. That half acre was held by William Beaussier and Hugh for 55 *solidis*⁵¹². Saint-Martin was in the heart of the Capetian demesne lands, if this value for wine can be trusted, then it seems that the financial shortcomings of the king were illusionary. This was only one of a handful of monasteries peppered throughout the Parisis and northern France, even if the values were not the same everywhere, the accumulated worth would still be great.

A good indication of Philip's wealth is to analyse the resources of certain monastic houses. Saint-Martin-des-Champs has been evaluated, a further two examples will be Cluny, which had entered the royal lands during Philip's reign, and Montier-en-Der which was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rheims. Cluny was a well established monastic house by the mid-eleventh century, and its vast resources and wealth were known throughout the French kingdom. Aside from the spiritual benefits, lay lords and magnates granted freely to the house because they were known as good organisers and managers. They would receive monastic houses or chapters that had been impoverished or close to such, only to raise them up again. A complete inventory of Cluny's possessions will not be attempted here, as that would form too large a section. Only those relating to this chapter will be added to strengthen the argument for the richness of monastic houses during the period. During the abbacy of Saint Hugh (1049-1109) many donations and grants were made to Cluny, this was the period of its greatest extension and influence in Europe. Humbert and his wife granted to the monastery one

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., #28.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., #s 37, 45.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., #70.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., #102.

⁵¹² "Odo de Charfentolio dedit... dimidium scilicet arepentum vine, et domum suam. Hoc arpennum dimidium habebant in vadimonium Willelmus Belsarius et Hugo... pro quinquaginta solidis..." J. Depoin, *Saint-Martin*, #56.

camp and one vineyard⁵¹³. Also, in the region of Macon, a vineyard, a camp and both cultivated and un-cultivated lands were given⁵¹⁴. Closer to Philip's demesne lands, a donation was discovered in the bishopric of Poitiers. There Arbert and Josfred granted to Saint-John, in the *villa* of Alosio, in Poitiers, 1 mill, 7 acres of vineyards and 5 fields sufficient for 8 oxen⁵¹⁵. Similarly to Saint-Martin, a sale of a vineyard was made to Cluny. Unfortunately the date is not more approximate; it ranges from 1049-1109. However, the charter states a certain Constantine sold a vineyard in *Galiniaco* for 3 *solidis* and 6 *denars*⁵¹⁶. Even though Cluny was not part of the royal lands, its wealth is a good indication as to what was available from monastic houses. Moving on the Montier-en-Der, which unfortunately, not many grants dealing with wine or vineyards were found, however a grant was made in 1061 which granted the monastery vineyards and other properties⁵¹⁷. As the evidence above shows, Philip I was able to command a vast array of wealth from a variety of sources. Although wine was an ever increasing commodity, it was not the only one to which Philip had access. Because of the abundance of information available regarding wine, it is the easiest form of revenue that can be described⁵¹⁸. Although, the growing interest in the wine trade affected all classes of society, it was with the monastic houses that Philip I was able to benefit from on a greater scale. His rights of *spolia* and *regalia* guaranteed a large flow of income. These coupled with his other rights on fairs, markets, merchants, travel and so on meant that Philip I was able to guarantee substantial revenues. In fact, a study has determined that a large number of vineyards occupied positions favourable to commerce, places such as communes and population centres, along rivers and trade routes⁵¹⁹. This would have added to Philip's riches. If he had not been a wealthy ruler, how else could he have purchased the viscounty of Bourges from Odo Arpin for 60.000 cents⁵²⁰? Since Odo needed ready funds

⁵¹³ "ego Humbertus et uxor mea... donamus... et unum campum et unam vineam..." Briel, *Cluny* IV, # 3008

⁵¹⁴ Briel, *Cluny* IV, #3090.

⁵¹⁵ "Arberto et Josfredo... dederunt... unam molinum, et septem arpenta de vinea, et quinque de prato... sufficiat octo bobus..." Briel, *Cluny* IV, #3164.

⁵¹⁶ Briel, *Cluny* IV, #3038.

⁵¹⁷ C. Bouchard, *The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der*, #74.

⁵¹⁸ The study of wine and agriculture formed an entire seminar in the *Settimane di Studio* series.

⁵¹⁹ I. Imberciadori, 'Vite e vigna nell'alto medio evo' in *Settimane di Studio* XIII, p.312, note #9.

⁵²⁰ "Hic Philippus a quodam Milite, Harpuiono nomine, emit civitatem Bituricas (Bourges) pretio LX millium solidorum." 'Historiae Regum Francorum' III in *RHGF* XII, p.217.

to join the crusade, a large enough sum needed to be collected almost right away. Similarly to Robert's mortgage of Normandy to his brother, the sale of Bourges entitled a large exchange of funds, if not the entire sum at once. Robert had been loaned 10.000 silver marks for his crusading plans by his brother, with the duchy acting as security⁵²¹. The difference is that Normandy had been loaned and would be returned to its rightful owner when he would return whereas Philip's purchase was permanent⁵²². Unfortunately it is unknown if the entire sum was paid at once or if it was made in instalments. Regardless, the money was available and it was paid, thereby, proving that Philip I was not as impecunious as often thought.

Section ii: Military resources

The final analysis of Philip's resources deals with his military strength. This is a rather simple examination, since almost no information regarding this topic exists. Since the kingdom of France was a fragmented society with no central authority, many ambitious lords and counts waged war against one another⁵²³. The military history of the first Capetian kings is not very noteworthy, with the exception of perhaps Robert II. Hugh never had to defend his throne from an outside force, nor did he lead a military expedition of great importance. Robert II did conquer Burgundy in a war that lasted nearly 15 years, but it was his reign that marked the beginning of the feudal anarchy that would plague his successors for generations to come⁵²⁴. Of the first kings, it seems that Henry I was the most bellicose. The majority of his reign was spent in war. He had to secure his throne against his brother in what amounted to a civil war. He also spent half his reign in conflict with the house of Blois-Anjou, and the other half against Normandy⁵²⁵. The kings were embroiled in more and more conflicts, although, not on a large scale, there were many little campaigns. These campaigns were led mostly against the castellans and lords of the Ile-de-France and the occasional foray against the house of Normandy. This was also the time when the growth of feudal services and the use and

⁵²¹ I. Robinson, *The Papacy*, p.339.

⁵²² See I. Robinson, *The Papacy*, pp.339-340 for the significance of the crusading venture and the new ability to mortgage lands without fear of loss.

⁵²³ F. Lot, *Hugues Capet*, pp.158-170; O. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siecle* 2vols, pp.21-24.

⁵²⁴ J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: the kingdom' in *NCMH* III, p.393.

⁵²⁵ P. Contamine, *Histoire Militaire de la France* I, pp.53-54.

reliance on mercenary troops was occurring⁵²⁶. J. Boussard noticed that prior to the eleventh century, armies were much smaller, and were used mostly for *chevauchées* in the countryside. These armies were unable to deal with any serious warfare; they had as their maximum capability, the siege of a castle⁵²⁷. In fact, this idea was also arrived at by K. Werner when he described the order and organisation of the army in the Western kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He noted that we are always ready to underestimate the military force of the French lords because they battled one another and that they were never unified under one leader⁵²⁸. This is an interesting point, as when the French warrior classes were united for a common purpose the results could be grandiose. Two campaigns illustrate this. The first was the Conquest of England by William I of Normandy. Even though his army contained a large number of mercenaries from across the kingdom, they were all directed under one leader with one purpose in mind⁵²⁹. Together, they conquered a superior force of English and the story of the Conquest was recorded by almost everyone as a major event. The other great event in which a large number of the French nobility were recruited for a common purpose was the First Crusade. Although, not under the direction a king or a single count or duke, as each leader led their own contingents, they were directed in a common purpose by the Papacy⁵³⁰. These two examples, placed at the book-ends of Philip's reign, illustrate that it was possible for large scale battles with a prolonged campaign, however, these events were very rare. So although the military might was present, it was mostly concentrated in little campaigns and in basic sieges without any large scale operations.

Since no figures exist for Philip's military capabilities, it is important to examine his campaigns and see what may be discovered. Soon after his accession to the throne, revolts broke out that seemed serious enough. Whatever the events surrounding the revolt, the fact is that Baldwin had to suppress these revolts with his own Flemish

⁵²⁶ J. Boussard, 'Services féodaux, milices et mercenaires dans les armées, en France, aux Xe et XIe siècles' in *Settimane di Studio* XV, p.133.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.142.

⁵²⁸ K.F Werner, 'Heeresorganisation und Kriegführung im deutschen Königreich des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts' in *Settimane di Studio* XV, p.853.

⁵²⁹ P. Contamine, *Histoire Militaire de la France* I, pp.56-59.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.59-62.

troops⁵³¹. This first conflict was settled without the king's resources, and unfortunately we do not know much concerning the Flemish contingent. With the battle of the Flemish succession, we are a little better informed. However, exact numbers are still missing; although the contingent is mentioned. If we are to believe Orderic Vitalis, who was quite confused about the matter⁵³², he wrote that William FitzOsbern, on behalf of William I, joined the king's army with only ten knights⁵³³. From the *Genealogy of the counts of Flanders* it is known that Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, who was the brother of the count of Boulogne and the bishops of Laon and Amiens were all present in the king's army. This army was also composed of men from Normandy, Rochenois, Noyon, Champagne, Senlis, Torote, Rheims, Châlons, Chartres, Orléans, and Étampes. Coucy, Saint-Quentin, Corbie, Péronne, Nesle, Montaigu, Ribémont, Soissons, Anjou, Poitou, Barrois, Auvergne, Burgundy and others still⁵³⁴. This army seems large, however, the exact numbers of the contingent are unknown. If the service rendered by those from outside the immediate authority of Philip was the same as that for William FitzOsbern on behalf of the duke of Normandy, then ten would be a suitable number. This number might have been a souvenir of the feudal aid brought to the king by the great fiefs when he went to war⁵³⁵. Nevertheless, according to Lambert of Hersfeld, it seems that Philip's army was larger than that of Robert the Frisian⁵³⁶. This conflict illustrates that Philip I was able to gather a large force when necessity required him to do so. The most in-depth examples of Philip's military capacities are found in his dealings with the Anglo-Norman kingdom.

⁵³¹ "Philippus autem patre defuncto totius regni Francorum gubernacula obtinuit. Septennis autem erat, quando pater defungitur. Qua de re sortitus est tutelam illius vir illustrissimus Balduinus (Insulanus nomine V) Flandrensium comes. Qui prudentissime regni administrans negotia, donec idem Philippus intelligibiles attingeret annos, tyrannos per totam pullulantes Franciam tam consiliis quam armis perdomuit, et pacem maximam teneri fecit." Raoul Tortaire, 'Miracula S. Benedicti' in *PL* 160 [1212A].

⁵³² He had previously written that it was because of Robert's larger forces and the ill-judgement of Philip I that William perished in the battle. *OV*, 4, p.282.

⁵³³ "et Guillelmum comitem Normanniae custodem accersiit. Ille vero cum decem solummodo militibus regem adiit et cum eo alacriter quasi ad ludum in Flandriam accessit..." *OV* 4, p.282.

⁵³⁴ "Advenit et iam rex Philippus et cum eo validus armatorum cuneus, Gusfridus episcopus Parisiensis, frater Eustachii, comitis Boloniensis, episcopus Lugdunensis (Laudunensis) episcopus Ambianensis, Franci, Normanni, Rocinenses, Noviomenses, Campanienses, Senlenses, Torotenses, Remenses, Catalaunenses, Carnotenses, Aurelianenses, Stampenses, Cocinienses, Quintinienses, Corbeienses, Peronenses, Bariolunenses, Nadavernenses, Burgundienses et ceteri innumerabiles." 'Genealogia comitum Flandrensium' in *MGH SS IX*, p.322.

⁵³⁵ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.257.

⁵³⁶ "Ille rei indignitate gravissime permotus, statim temere et tumultuario tantum milite collectum exercitum duxit in Flandrium, de magnitudine virium suarum et hostis imbecillitate nimium praesumens." Lambert of Hersfeld. 'Annales' in *MGH SS V*, p.182.

The conflicts began with the war between Normandy and Brittany in 1076. This was the appropriate moment for Philip I to intervene and bring the entirety of his might upon the duke of Normandy, William II, and I of England. Unfortunately, not much is known of the composition of his army, and it is left to sparse information found in the sources to try to piece together the facts. Because it was a defeat for William, the Norman and English sources are quite silent on the event. William of Normandy was a very able leader and combatant, Philip needed all the support he could muster, so he made a general call to join him in his campaign against the duke of Normandy. The role played by the count of Anjou, Fulk, is very uncertain. However, the *Chronicle of St-Maurice d'Angers* confirms that Angevin troops were present at the battle. In fact it claims that it was through their valour and courage that victory was achieved⁵³⁷. It is clear that the Angevines answered the call of the king. Who else might have? It seems almost obvious that the count of Brittany would have been present, after all it was he who was in the conflict with Normandy. In fact, Orderic Vitalis attributes the victory to his participation⁵³⁸. Unfortunately it is unknown if Hoël, count of Brittany, was there in response to Philip's ban as no sources mention their meeting nor their negotiations. What is more certain was the participation of some of the men from Aquitaine. Two royal charters mention that Philip had made his way to Poitiers to request the aid of the duke in his battle against William II of Normandy⁵³⁹. It is unknown if the duke himself participated, however, through the diplomas, the names who accompanied the king to Poitiers are known. They were Fulk, bishop elect of Amiens, Audebert, count of the March and Guy of Nevers⁵⁴⁰. Either way, Philip found success in Dol, even if the number and size of his contingent is unknown. During the war between the two brothers, William

⁵³⁷ "...comes Normannorum, qui et rex Anglorum, Willelmus, obsedit in Britanniis castrum quod dicitur Dolum. Quod, cum diu obsedisset, nihil profecit; sed etiam, machinis suis succensis, ab eo infructuose discessit, defendentibus illud fortibus Andecavorum militibus." 'Chronicon S. Mauritii Andegavensis' in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, p.12.

⁵³⁸ "Alannum Fergannum (mistake for Hoël, Alan Fergant did not succeed his father until 1084) comitem Britanniae cum multis armatorum agminibus suppetias obsessis properare audivit, territusque cum castrensibus qui de auxilio sibi advenienti nichil adhuc noverant pacem iniit et confestim non sine mango rerum damno recessit. Tentoria et manticas cum vasis et armis et multimoda suppellectili celeritur abeuntes rliquerunt..." OV, 4, p.352.

⁵³⁹ "...quando Phylipus, rex Francorum, venit Pictavim pro auxilio in Normannum comitem, scilicet Willelmum, Anglorum regem." Prou, # 83; "...veneramus Pictavim ad Gaufredum ducem Aquitanorum, ut nobis auxilium preberet contra Guillelmum, regem Anglorum et comitem Normannorum, qui tunc contra nos in Britannia quoddam opidum obsederat." Prou, #LXXXIV.

⁵⁴⁰ Prou, #s LXXXIV and LXXXV.

II of England and Robert of Normandy in 1090-1091, Philip I was keen to support Robert against his brother. The sources claim that Philip sent an army to the aid of Robert at Eu⁵⁴¹. This army may have comprised knights from Brittany and Flanders, but this is uncertain. Lastly, at the siege of Bréval in 1092, the church was once again ready and willing to aid Philip in his enterprises. The witness list for the charter at Bréval state that both bishop Ivo of Chartres and Fulk, bishop of Beauvais, were present⁵⁴². This was the last military expedition in which Philip took part. Afterwards, it seems, it was his son and heir Louis VI who would defend the kingdom and lead military expeditions.

In all his campaigns and battles, Philip I was able to rely on the church for help. Their assistance was both military and financial. They did not hesitate to lead expeditions themselves, or at least send their vassals to the aid of the king. It is difficult to know if this support continued during the troubled times after 1092, mostly because the lack of information with regards to Philip's campaigns. Although bishop Ivo of Chartres refused to aid the king by sending his troops and vassals to either Pontoise or Chaumont in order to attack William II of England because Philip had been embroiled in matrimonial difficulties and Ivo refused to act without Papal permission⁵⁴³. Until that time however, the French Church had always been at the front lines with Philip and would bring the most numerous troops to the *ost*⁵⁴⁴. This examination of Philip's military resources points to a king that could call upon a vast number of vassals and knights when the situation was needed. The majority hailed from the royal lands and the church contingents, but troops from Brittany, Flanders, Anjou, Aquitaine and even from Normandy, were present at one time or another in Philip's forces. This examination has shown that Philip was neither poor or impecunious, nor militarily weak and lacking. He was able to muster a force to compete with any of the princes of the kingdom of France, in fact, in some circumstances, his forces were superior.

The above survey of Philip's demesne illustrated that he was able to utilise a myriad of rights and customs to enforce his authority and govern his lands. In general,

⁵⁴¹ "Philippo rege Francorum... apud oppidum Auci" William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum* 8, III, p.206.

⁵⁴² Prou, #CXXIIX.

⁵⁴³ Excellentiae vestrae litteras nuper accepi, quibus submonebar ut apud Pontesium vel Calvum Montem cum mnau militum vobis...Primo, quia domnus pap Urbanus interdicat vobis auctoritate apostolicathorum quam pro uxore habetis..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.28, p.116.

⁵⁴⁴ R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France*, p.67.

Philip's rights were the same as other princes of the kingdom; he had to live off the revenues generated from his demesne possessions. Fortunately for Philip I, his demesne lands were in a very fruitful and prosperous region. It was identified that the Ile-de-France was a rapidly developing area, both in economic and in demographic terms. Philip exploited this wealth to the best of his abilities, and in the latter years of his reign, the wealth from his demesne must have been more than necessary for his needs. He was able to purchase a viscounty for the price of 60.000 cents. This alone illustrates that Philip was able to collect his revenues and his duties owed to him and that these were often quite substantial sums. The revenues from tolls and markets must have represented a high proportion of this new income, and Philip must have been careful to protect his rights, and to enforce them, in those regions in order to guaranty his increasing intake of wealth. This is where the similarities between the king and the princes ends. Philip's rights as king guaranteed him a solid and large enough military force to enforce his judgements and to rule his kingdom. We have examined a few cases where Philip I was able to call upon his vassals for the ban and the *ost* and it was also noticed that he was quite successful in collecting the ban from others as in certain situations, his forces outnumbered those of the princes. That was an advantage of being king, he was able to call upon all his vassals, from the far-south to the extreme north of the kingdom, no other prince in the kingdom could claim the same right. Apart from his temporal possessions, Philip also had a second demesne which was similar to the other princes, he held rights and possessions on the French Church. It would be this second demesne where Philip I would draw the large sums of his revenues, his ban and his power as king. And once again, it was this demesne that elevated the king above the common count or duke. Whereas the duke of Normandy controlled his dioceses and bishoprics, meaning that he controlled the elections, he was only able to control those under his jurisdiction, which means only those in Normandy. The same is found with the other princes. Philip, on the other hand, was able to influence and control the elections of bishoprics and dioceses well out of his territorial demesne. In other words, he held rights on churches and bishoprics that were part of another county or dukedom. His rights on the church extended well beyond his local property rights, they touched far more institutions than that of the dukes of Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, etc... This gave the king influence and a

certain authority in regions out of his immediate control. As we have seen above, Philip was aware of these rights and was willing to enforce them. He was successful at times, and at other times less so. But the above study illustrates that Philip was not a weak king in matters of the French Church, even during his excommunications.

Part Four: Succession:

The final statement to be argued in this chapter is of great importance in determining Philip's influences on the institution of the monarchy itself. Philip's contribution to the monarchy has often been overlooked or ignored by historians. The idea of succession was greatly changed by Philip I to the great favour of the monarchy. Before examining how Philip changed the pattern of succession, it is important to briefly examine the idea and practice of the succession of his ancestors. Succession disputes were usually complicated by the addition of extra heirs, however, it seemed that the Capetians were quite able to deal with them. It seems that prior to their elevation as kings, they had a clear idea of the transmission of their properties. The eldest would inherit the patrimony, while the younger members would be given either secondary holdings, acquired holdings, or, the youngest was placed into the church or simply dispossessed⁵⁴⁵. Such partitions were made to prevent discord amongst the sons⁵⁴⁶. This was the case not only for the Robertinians, but also for the majority of the princely families of the north. Examples from Anjou, Normandy, Blois, Champagne, Lorraine and Burgundy all demonstrate similar patterns of succession; the eldest was more strongly favoured and the youngest least so. This all makes sense: the majority of these families were related to one another in some measure. Also, their social patterns were similar. By anticipating the eldest to the head of the estates, the Capetians were only following custom. In Normandy the practice was quite old, records exist dating from the reign of the first duke, Rollo, stating that he had associated his eldest to the ducal title⁵⁴⁷. This pattern was found all over northern France, and it was nothing new or unusual⁵⁴⁸. A great

⁵⁴⁵ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp.8-10.

⁵⁴⁶ "et pacem atque caritatem fratre custodire" #45 (806); "Quae capitula propter utilitatem imperii et perpetuam inter eos pacem conservandam" #136 (817) 'Capitulare regum Francorum' I, ed A Boretius, *MGH Leges II*; William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, iv, 20, p.134, ii, 22, p.72, v, 17, p.40; A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.14..

⁵⁴⁷ William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, iv, 20, p.134, ii, 22, p.72, v, 17, p.40; A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp.29-30.

⁵⁴⁸ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.30.

example for the royal line is found with Robert II and his associations. In 1008 his second son was born and the name chosen for him was conducive to his inheritance. The first son was named after his paternal grandfather, Hugh, while the second, and newest, son, was named after the great uncle, Henry, who had been duke of Burgundy. Already a pattern emerges, following familial precedence, Robert II associated his eldest, Hugh, to the throne, while to Henry, the dukedom of Burgundy was his inheritance⁵⁴⁹. All was fine until the premature death of Robert II's eldest son Hugh in 1025. This meant that Henry was promoted to his father's title and that of Burgundy fell to his younger brother Robert, with Odo receiving nothing that is recorded. All this evidence points that succession within the royal family was an established custom where the eldest was associated from early on to his father's title, while the second son received other honours, and the youngest hardly anything.

A slight pattern of change is discovered with the inheritance issues of Henry I. Whether it was because of the relative youth of his heirs or because Henry I had died before settling his inheritance, he focused the majority of his lands, the entire patrimony, on his eldest son, Philip I, whom he associated to the throne in 1059⁵⁵⁰. Luckily for Philip I, his brother Robert died at a young age, probably around 1063⁵⁵¹, meaning that he did not have to worry about arranging lands or marriages for this brother. The fate of his other brother is better known. He had married the heir to the counties of Valois and Vermandois and won fame with his Crusading adventures. With his brothers taken care of, and no sisters to marry off, Philip had inherited the patrimony of his ancestors and was quite endowed with lands. Unfortunately for Henry I, he was less prudent when it came to marriages. His sister, Adela, was given to the count of Flanders, Baldwin V, and her dowry was Corbie, which would be re-acquired by Philip⁵⁵². Aside from this, Henry also had to grant Burgundy to his brother Robert, meaning that this large acquisition was lost from the royal lands. Although, this was a pre-determined policy of his father, Robert

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., p.27.

⁵⁵⁰ Prou, #I.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., #XVI.

⁵⁵² See above.

II, it follows an ancient family custom, the separation of lands amongst the male children and as dowries for female children⁵⁵³.

Philip I became the first king to grant the entirety of his lands, both the patrimony and the acquisitions, to only one heir, his eldest son, Louis VI. It began in 1092 when Philip granted to Louis lordship over Mantes, Pontoise and the Vexin⁵⁵⁴. Even though Louis was only seven at the time, it demonstrates an attempt by the king to show Louis' special status as this was the year that Philip repudiated his wife, Bertha of Frisia and took as mistress Bertrada of Anjou⁵⁵⁵. With the birth of two further sons, Philip and Florus, from Bertrada, Philip elevated Louis to *rex designatus* by the end of 1100, and from then on, he was very active in the governing of the kingdom⁵⁵⁶. Not only did Louis receive special status from his father, but the grants of the Vexin illustrate that Philip was willing to favour his heir above any other children he may have had. As seen, acquisitions were usually given to the cadets of the family however, this did not happen. Aside from the Vexin and the rest of Simon of Crépy's inheritance, the Gatinais, Corbie, Bourges, and the castle of Montlhéry were all ceded to Louis, without any division of the lands. This is novel, as not only did Philip increase the demesne possessions by a substantial amount, but he passed them on intact to his eldest heir without any divisions. In fact, this is not wholly true, Philip did grant away one possession, Attigny, which would not be regained in his reign. This had occurred when Philip I was trying to provide for his children through marriage.

An examination of Philip's marriage policies for his children is of importance for the royal demesne, and this will demonstrate Philip's novelties as king. Constance, Louis VI's younger sister, was married by Philip I to Hugh count of Troyes⁵⁵⁷, probably around the year 1097⁵⁵⁸. For this marriage, Philip arranged that the *villa* of Attigny would serve as her dowry⁵⁵⁹. For reasons of consanguinity⁵⁶⁰, this marriage did not last very long and

⁵⁵³ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp.28, 155-156, 193.

⁵⁵⁴ "Ludovico igitur filio suo, consensus Francorum, Pontisarium et Madantum totumque comitatum Vircassinum (Vexin) donavit." OV 8, c.xx, p.264; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.79.

⁵⁵⁵ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.50.

⁵⁵⁶ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.79-83.

⁵⁵⁷ "Constantiam vero, filiam suam(Philip I) Hugoni, Treccassino comiti, prius dedit." OV 8, c.xx, p.264.

⁵⁵⁸ See the arguments for the date in Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.86.

⁵⁵⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.86; A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.52.

⁵⁶⁰ "Quia Deo annuente satagemus cum rege Francorum, et filio ejus rege designato, ut jam displiceat eis incestum conjugium, quod est inter Constantiam filiam praedicti regis et comitem Treccassinum, fulti,

by 1104 it was dissolved by the pope. Unfortunately, Hugh of Troyes kept Attigny after the separation with his wife. This may have lead Philip to reconsider the marriages of his daughters. It could be that he wanted to preserve as much of the demesne as he could, or that because of the strict blood bonds between many of the French nobility, Philip decided to marry his daughters to foreign princes. Constance's second marriage in 1106 was to Bohemond, prince of Antioch. This meant that Philip did not need to supply her with a landed dowry, therefore strengthening Louis inheritance⁵⁶¹. A similar policy was undertaken by Philip for the marriage of his second daughter, this from his union with Bertrada of Anjou. Not much is known of his children by his second wife, especially Cecilia, however, it is known that on the same day as Constance's wedding to Bohemond, Cecilia was also married to Tancred, Bohemond's nephew⁵⁶². Of this marriage arrangement again no property was given as dowry by Philip. With this new policy, Philip was able to increase the prestige of the inheritance and provide very well for his two daughters. Cadets have always been expected to inherit a part of the demesne, usually only lands that did not form part of the patrimony. This time, however, Philip made sure that none of his lands would be separated from the inheritance to Louis. Philip had two sons from Bertrada, his namesake Philip, and Florus. Of the first, Philip I married him to the heiress of Montlhéry, securing for the monarchy a faithful ally and as seen above the castle which had been such a problem to the monarchy during Philip's reign⁵⁶³. Philip I, according to Abbot Suger, re-enforced the bonds of loyalty between the two brothers when he had the castle of Mantes enfeoffed by Louis to his brother Philip⁵⁶⁴.

auctoritate legum et adiutorio bonorum, cupiunt huius conjugii maturare divortium." Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 158, *PL* 162 [col.0164A]; "...et filiam unam nomine Constantiam; quam idem pater suus rex Hugonis Trecharum comiti in matrimonio copulavit..." 'Historia regum Francorum monasterii S. Dionysii' in *MGH SS IX*, p.405.

⁵⁶¹ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.52.

⁵⁶² "...a quo inter cetera duas eius obtinuit filias, unam de legitimo natam matrimonio Constantiam nomine, quam sibi federe coniugali copulavit in uxorem, alteram nomine Ceciliam, quam ei Andegavensium comitissa, que spreto marito ad eundem dominum regem se contulerat, uxore adhuc vivente pepererat, quam domino Tancredo, nepoti suo, ex Apulia missam destinavit uxorem." Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, 'Chronicon' in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* LXIII, 11,1, p.495; "...et filiam unam nomine Constantiam... ab eo abaltam Boamundo viro bellicose apud Carnotham coniugio copulavit... et filiam unam, quam Tanchredus Antiochenus in coniugio postulavit et accepit." 'Historia regum Francorum monasterii S. Dionysii' in *MGH SS IX*, p.405.

⁵⁶³ Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.8, pp.36-38; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.91; above pp.??.

⁵⁶⁴ "...ut in amorem suum frater major dominus Ludovicus firmissime confederaret, castrum Meduntense prece patris matrimonio confirmavit." Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, 8, p.36; A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.52; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.91.

Of the other brother, Florus, nothing is known of his inheritance, but it is quite probable that he received nothing as he spent his days with his mother in Anjou after the death of his father and afterwards was married to an heiress from southern Champagne at an undisclosed date⁵⁶⁵. Although Philip I has been one of the more persecuted kings of the Capetians, his inheritance policies strengthened the monarchy and shifted the focus of inheritance to a more heavily favoured eldest son, even to the neglect of the other children. It gave the family, as Lewis so aptly pointed to, a pronounced vertical, dynastic form⁵⁶⁶. The policy proved successful as it was followed by Louis VI when dealing with the inheritance of his children.

⁵⁶⁵ A. Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p.51.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.52.

Chapter III: The Royal Itinerary of Philip I

This chapter deals with Philip's itinerary. It is hoped that an in-depth examination of his travels will reveal certain aspects of royal power. For example, this chapter will identify areas and centres frequently visited by Philip I alongside the areas of lesser activity. This is essential in any study of royal itineraries in identifying energetic rule. Once a list has been compiled and analysed of Philip's travels, a comparison with the previous Capetians will be made. Comparing the itinerary of Philip I with those of his predecessors will clarify certain points such as: Was Philip more or less active than his predecessors? How did certain cities or regions differ in their frequency from monarch to monarch? Was there a change in the royal itinerary from Hugh Capet to Philip I? A section is dedicated to answering those questions. A following section concerns the *fodrum*, *gistum* and *servitium* which were owed to the king by the ecclesiastical institutions. These rights permitted the king to travel throughout the royal lands, even throughout the kingdom at large. They granted kings the basic needs of shelter, fodder for their horses and food for themselves and their court. In addition, they granted kings the right to be advised by the greats, both spiritual and lay, of the kingdom. It was difficult for an eleventh century monarch to govern without these rights. The given nature of personal kingship meant that the king's presence was almost a necessity to govern. The goal of this section is to study Philip's dependence, if any, on these services or if there was more emphasis on the *servitium* by Philip I than on the *gistum* or *fodrum*.

Study of the French royal itinerary, and more specifically that of Philip I, has been very limited to a few works. In his monograph of Philip I, A. Fliche outlined a basic itinerary for the years of the regency, 1060-1067, and mentioned the crown-wearing ceremonies; he attempted no analysis of Philip's travels. C. Brühl's work on royal itineraries from the earliest German kings to the High Middle Ages was an attempt to fill a lacuna regarding the topic of royal travel. His researches for the early Capetian kings' itineraries was of value for this study, however, in a broad and wide ranging work as that, certain details were either missing or not explained in enough detail. For example, he mentions the areas visited by Philip I, but does not mention if it was a palace, castle or

ecclesiastical house. The distinction between a royal house and an ecclesiastical house is important because it determines what, if any, services were rendered to the king.

Secondly, he failed to mention certain visits by Philip I, such as Bourges and Gand. His studies have, however, demonstrated that from Louis the Pious onwards, the sphere of visits made by the kings of Neustria became more and more concentrated on a few regions⁵⁶⁷. By the time of Philip I, the royal sphere of activity had reached its most compact dimensions, as only a small region had become the central focus of the royal itinerary. When compared to other monarchs of the time, such as Henry IV of Germany or William I of England, Philip I's travels were quite restricted and infrequent, he was a more localised king⁵⁶⁸ which is demonstrated not only by his charter distribution but also with the type of charter that was issued⁵⁶⁹.

I believe that Philip relied less on the *gistum* and *fodrum* from the ecclesiastical institutions and instead relied more on the *servitium* from these institutions. This line of thinking arose from a reading of secondary literature on German royal travels, which have been advanced in greater detail than their French counterparts. In his work on the German kings' itineraries from Otto I to Henry IV, before the Investiture Contest, J. Bernhardt examined the role of monasteries in the king's travels⁵⁷⁰. He identified transport zones between regions of royal influence. These monasteries acted as safe-houses between royal lands in which the king was able to rely upon for the *gistum* and the *fodrum*. He noticed that many of the feast days were already planned well in advance, and became regular stopping points for the kings. No such work has been attempted for

⁵⁶⁷ C. Brühl's, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, where he examines the itineraries of the monarchs from the time of Charlemagne and his successors. He argued that the process was somewhat turned by the last Carolingians as the demesne lands they had was quite limited, as illustrated by their itineraries. Although the situation had somewhat changed with the advent of the Capetians to the throne adding their own possessions to those of the Carolingians, the sphere of travels was smaller than previously. In that study, maps were included to facilitate the analysis. The final verdict reached for the French kingdom was an undeniable shrinking of royal ventures, increasing limited to their own demesne lands, which itself was diminishing.

⁵⁶⁸ This was the conclusion arrived at by A Fliche in his study on Philip Ist. He wrote: "En somme, comme *rex Francorum*, Philippe I a eu un rôle fort effacé... nous revenons toujours à la même conclusion: le programme de Philippe I a été uniquement d'étendre son domaine par les annexions et la conquête." Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.333.

⁵⁶⁹ See below, chapter 4, pp.162-204.

⁵⁷⁰ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kinship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936-1075*, (Cambridge, 1993).

the early Capetians, mostly due to a lack of sources. It will be examined that with the emergence of two centres above others in Philip's itinerary, and the majority of his travels to royal palaces, that Philip needed the *gistum* and *fodrum* less than the *servitium*, which could be gathered and sent to one of his palaces. Lastly, I hope to argue that Philip's more intensive travels on a smaller region was not necessarily a bad thing; in fact, it acted as a strong point for the administration. In regards to the primary sources, their limited numbers have only enabled me to create a semi itinerary, meaning many blanks as some years have no entries at all. The appendix attached to this chapter will explain my reasons for choosing this itinerary.

Part One: Section i) Philip I's itinerary

When studying the itineraries of the early Capetians, the biggest impediment is the lack of primary information. Of the first four kings, only Robert had a biography written about him⁵⁷¹. In addition to the lacuna in narrative sources, the administrative sources are also lacking. In his study on the travels of the king, Brühl's first mention was the discrepancy in administrative sources between the imperial and French kingdoms. With Hugh and Robert II (987-1031) a total of 115 charters were sealed, while Otto III and Henry II (983-1024) sealed 930; Henry I and Philip I (1031-1108) sealed 280 and Henry III and IV (1039-1106) amounted to 820⁵⁷². Clearly, more can be determined from the German sources than can be from the French sources, explaining the more complete secondary literature on German royal itineraries. It is worth noting that any itinerary will be incomplete as not all of Philip's journeys were recorded. In addition, the lack of either a date or a place in the charters has made it more difficult. With this information, 136 different stops were made throughout Philip's reign. This amounts to an average of 2.83% visits per year which does not seem plentiful. It is easy, however, to forget that journeying over land in the eleventh century was not always an easy and expedient method of transportation, and, judging from Suger, the Ile-de-France was an unsafe

⁵⁷¹ The *Vita Roberti Regis* by Helgaud and the *Carmina ad Roberto* by Adalberon. A translated version of both is found in *Chroniques des Premiers Capétiens: 987-1108*, (ed. and translated by F. Guizot), (Paris, 2003), pp.47-77; pp.77-143.

⁵⁷² C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, p.221

region to travel, as independent castellans often caused problems⁵⁷³. It is difficult to know the amount of time spent travelling by the king between locals or how much was spent in each local. Some German sources have attempted to analyse the time needed to travel the length of certain routes and have given some figures, but these must be taken with caution when dealing with the French kingdom⁵⁷⁴. An indication may come from battles. It is known that Philip I was involved in his fair share of battles which took him from one area to another. Fortunately, we have precise enough information for the travel time of Philip during the battle of the Flemish succession. Within a few days Philip went from Val-en-Cassel on 22 February to Montreuil some time shortly after, where he spent a few days before moving on to Saint-Omer on 6 March⁵⁷⁵. Although this is valuable information for travel times, it really does not give general patterns which may be applied to the whole kingdom. Flanders was quite a developed county, with a good road network developed under Baldwin V⁵⁷⁶. Nonetheless, they still demonstrate that Philip was able to travel rapidly enough throughout his kingdom. Comparative analyses' between the two kingdoms should be approached with caution. Either way, 2.83% journeys a year is not a very high percentage.

The study of Philip's itinerary revealed that two cities were frequented in greater numbers than any other centre in the kingdom. These were Paris and Orléans. Paris hosted Philip 27 times and Orléans 18 times. This means that nearly 20% of the recorded journeys for his destinations were focused in Paris⁵⁷⁷ and just over 13% in Orléans⁵⁷⁸. This is clearer when the two are added up together they account for 33.09% of Philip's

⁵⁷³ "Cumque a fluvio Sequene Curboilo, medio vie Monte Leherii, a dextra Castello Forti pagus Parisiacus circumcingeretur, inter Parisienses et Aurelianenses tantum confusionis chaos firmatum erat, ut neque hi ad illos neque illi ad istos absque perfidorum arbitrio nisi in manu forti valerent transmeare." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c. viii, p. 38; See Fliche, *Philippe I*, p. 321.

⁵⁷⁴ E. Muller-Mertens, *Die Rechtsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen*, (Berlin, 1980), pp. 101-124; C. Bruhl, 'Die Herrscheritinerare' in *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale*, Settimane 29.2, (Spoleto, 1983), pp. 615-639; E. Muller-Mertens, 'Reich und Haupte der Salier: Probleme und Fragen' in *Die Salier und das Reich I: Salier, Adel und Reichsverfassung*, (ed. S. Weinfurter), (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 141-143; E. Eibl, *Studien zur Reichsstruktur anhand der Herrschaftspraxis Arnulfs von Karnten*, (PhD Berlin, 1982); W. Huschner, *Studien zur Reichsstruktur unter Konrad II. (1024-1039)*, (PhD Berlin, 1986).

⁵⁷⁵ See the appendix dealing with the royal itinerary.

⁵⁷⁶ For the development of Flanders see the works by F.-L. Ganshof, 'La Flandre' in *HIF I*, pp. 343-426; R. Monier, *Les institutions centrales du comté de Flandre, de la fin du IXe siècle à 1384*, (Paris, 1943).

⁵⁷⁷ The actual number is 19.85%, 27 of 136 visits.

⁵⁷⁸ The actual number is 13.24%, 18 of 136 visits.

total travels, just more than one third. These two centres were by far the most frequented. After Paris and Orléans, Melun was next with 7 visits, or 5%, Poissy at 6 or 4.44% and then Senlis and Compiègne with 5 respectively, or 3.7%. Even when added together, Paris still accounts for more visits than the above four cities. Continuing the list of visited locations, Étampes was next with 4, followed by Dreux, Rheims, Soissons, Pontoise and Fleury all with 3. Lille, Laon, Corbie and Tours received the king twice, along with two unidentified visits to the north. Finally, Philip made single visits to 36 different areas throughout the kingdom. More of this will be discussed below. As one can see Paris was by far the most visited centre of the king. Even Orléans, which under Robert II was the most visited centre, was lagging behind Paris. The general shift of Paris as the principal city of the kingdom had been furthered under Philip I. Whereas Fliche argued that no city dominated Philip's itinerary⁵⁷⁹, Brühl on the other hand argued that the emergence of Paris as the principal centre was begun under Henry I and developed further by Philip. He illustrates the rotation of this function from Laon in the tenth century, to Orléans under Robert II until Paris becomes the dominant centre under Philip⁵⁸⁰. Since the numbers for Hugh are small, they will not be counted. For Robert, however, Paris made up 12% of his total journeys while for Henry it accounted for 18,6% of his journeys. The documentation supports Brühl's statement that Paris began its development as the first city of the royal lands with Henry I.

Although the above numbers are a general representation, was Paris continually the centre of the king's *iter* throughout his reign, or where his stops in small groups of visits? The following analysis by decade is the best measure to judge this. In the 1060s Paris was visited 6 times, whereas 35 royal journeys are recorded. This means that Paris accounted for 17,14% of his known travels. For the 1070s, Philip stayed in Paris 10 times out of 42 known visits, which made for a total of 23,81%. These were his most active decades for travelling as the bulk of his journeys were made. The 1080s witnessed a lack of evidence to create a proper itinerary. In that decade, however, Philip ventured to Paris twice out of 16 visits for 12,5%. The 1090s saw Philip in Paris 4 times from 20 visits

⁵⁷⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.96.

⁵⁸⁰ C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum Servitium Regis*, p.253.

equating to 20%. Lastly, a slight redress was identified as Philip spent 5 stops in Paris from a total of 23 visits, or 21,17%. This is interesting, as it seems that Philip relied more on Paris later in his reign. Even though it was visited more times in the first two decades, 16 of 27, proportionally Paris was utilised more later in the reign, with the exception of the 1080s. When the numbers for the years 1080-1089 were not counted then the percentage found for Paris rises slightly. Of the 120 visits recorded Philip spent 25 of these, or nearly 21%, in Paris. These figures demonstrate that the 1070s were the most active decade in the itinerary both in frequency and in visits. This was followed by the 1100s than the 1090s.

How will Orléans compare? In the 1060s, Philip visited Orléans 5 of 35 known journeys for a total of 14,29%. The 1070s saw Philip 6 times from 42 visits equating to 14,28%. The 1080s, again with low output, only saw Philip in Orléans twice for a total of 12,5%. Even the 1090s were rarely visited, as only two stops were identified, totalling 10%. The 1100s saw no real improvement as only three visits or 13% were made. The story with Orléans is much different from that of Paris. Whereas an increase in frequency in the latter years of Philip's reign is identified for Paris, the same is not true of Orléans. Even discluding the 1080s, the situation for Orléans does not change much, but it does elevate slightly. We have recorded 2 of 16 visits, which amounts to 13,34%, a very slight increase. Although the 1080s were proportionally higher than the 1090s and just below the 1100s, the case still stands that whereas Paris seemed to gain in importance in the latter years of Philip's reign, Orléans' seemed to diminish. With Orléans, the most active periods were the 1060s and 1070s, with the 1060s just edging out the 1070s. It was not until the 1100s that Philip spent more than 10% of his time in Orléans. These figures are interesting because they demonstrate the dependence that Philip had on Paris throughout his reign. Only during the 1080s, is there an imbalance in Philip's dependence on Paris, but then again, there where no high amount of visits recorded for any centre. As for Orléans, it seems that his dependence after the 1070s was redressed slightly in the 1100s. These numbers tell us that Paris was by far the most frequented centre throughout the reign, especially in the latter years. This point is illustrated in the difference in frequency from the 1080s onwards between the two. 12,5 to 12,5 in the 1080s, 20 to 10% and

finally 21,17 to 13%. This proves that under Philip Paris was the principal city of his kingdom.

Part 1: Section ii) Comparisons with the previous Capetian kings

A brief look at the previous three French kings' itineraries will illustrate the differences between their own and Philip's. Firstly is Hugh Capet, who had the shortest tenure as king. The comparison between Hugh and Philip is quite difficult to make since only 15 charters have survived from Hugh's reign⁵⁸¹. Of the information gathered, however, the king visited four cities. These were Compiègne, with four⁵⁸², Paris with three⁵⁸³, Soissons with two⁵⁸⁴ and finally Saint-Denis with one⁵⁸⁵. These four cities would comprise the heartland of the early Capetian kings and would form the basis for the majority of their travels⁵⁸⁶. Hugh had no real dependence on any centre. His reign was concerned with maintaining the kingship from a Carolingian pretender so the majority of his travels centred on this task. The secondary sources elucidate on the activity of Hugh's brief reign; he travelled widely and in quite frequent bursts. The main point is, however, that no principal town or centre can be detected. With Robert II "the Pious" a vastly better account survives of his travels and influences. Through these a better comparison with Philip's own travels can be made. W. Newman compiled a collection of his charters and, this, coupled with the two primary sources detailing his life and reign a clear enough image is made⁵⁸⁷. The difficulty encountered with Robert's charters is the numerous diplomas which had no place or date. His itinerary was full of gaps and empty years. Of

⁵⁸¹ These diplomas are found in the *RHGF* X, p.548-565.

⁵⁸² *RHGF* X, #s 2, 4, 5, 10.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid*, #s 7, 11, 13.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid*, #s 9, 15.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid*, #12.

⁵⁸⁶ For the discussion on the domain lands of the Robertians and first Capetians see W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Kaiserzeit (900-1270)*, Monographien 9,1 (Munich, 1968), pp.13-34; Also C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, pp.238-239; See below with the itinerary of the following kings for the proof of these statements.

⁵⁸⁷ Helgaud, monk of Fleury, 'Epitoma vitae Roberti regis' in *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, Tomus II, (ed. Duchesne), 1641, Paris, pp.59-79; Adelbert, bishop of Laon, 'Carmen ad Rotbertum regem Francorum' in *PL* 141, 771-822; W. M. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II le Pieux (996-1031)*, (Paris, 1937).

the years which could be identified, only one or two visits were recorded. Very rare were the years with three or more.

Of 47 different stays recorded by the charters, only Orléans and Paris can be distinguished with any frequency. Robert made 9⁵⁸⁸ visits to Orléans and 6⁵⁸⁹ to Paris. The next closest in number was Chelles with 3⁵⁹⁰. Of his travels, Orléans accounted for 19% while Paris 12%. A further break down by ten year periods may give more detail. Paris, from 997 to 1006 was visited twice of ten stops equating to 20%⁵⁹¹. No visits were recorded between 1007-1016, while the period of 1017 to 1026 one visit was detected of 13 for an average of 7,7%⁵⁹². The last period was the shortest, 1027-1031, where 3 visits of 15 amounted to 20% of his stops⁵⁹³. For Paris, visits were recorded in 997, then again in 999 and nothing until 1019⁵⁹⁴. He was next in Paris in the year 1027 and lastly twice in 1028⁵⁹⁵. Even though Paris amounted for 12% of his journeys, one can see that it was only because so few of his journeys could be identified through his charters. Orléans fared better, but the same conclusions arise. In 1001 and 1002 two visits were recorded; not until 1014 was he to return⁵⁹⁶. Sometime between 1006 and 1016 he travelled to Orléans⁵⁹⁷. We find him there in 1020 and then again in 1023⁵⁹⁸. Finally near the end of his reign a little bit of frequency is detected. In the remaining years of his reign, Robert made a least one voyage *per annum* to Orléans, 1029, 1030 and 1031⁵⁹⁹. Even though statistically Orléans compares to the Paris of Philip's time in proportions of visits, the fact is that his visits were so few and far between that only by the end of his reign did any frequency occur. This is in complete contradiction to Philip's itinerary, as Paris and to a lesser degree Orléans, appear as frequent stops throughout the reign.

⁵⁸⁸ Newman, Robert II, #s 15, 18, 39, 44, 51, 58, 81, 82, 89.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., #s 9, 13, 50, 70, 72, 76.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., #s 31, 73, 78.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., #s 9, 13.

⁵⁹² Ibid., #50.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., #s 70, 72, 76.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., #s 9, 13, 50.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., #s 70, 72, 76.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., #s 15, 18, 39.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., #44.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., #s 51, 58.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., #s 81, 82, 89.

In Robert's case not one centre or city stood out as a principal residence. Robert was truly an itinerant king, wondering from area to area over vast distances on a fairly frequent basis. A look at the itinerary demonstrates this as 47 different cities were visited by Robert throughout his reign, and furthermore, of these, 17 were single visits. The list includes: Champien⁶⁰⁰, Bourges⁶⁰¹, Fécamp⁶⁰², on the Meuse⁶⁰³, Senlis⁶⁰⁴, at the wood of Boulogne⁶⁰⁵, Massay⁶⁰⁶, Auxerre⁶⁰⁷, Pont-Sanite-Maxence⁶⁰⁸, Sens⁶⁰⁹, Laon⁶¹⁰, Verberie⁶¹¹, Héry⁶¹², Tours⁶¹³, Argilly⁶¹⁴, Étampes⁶¹⁵ and Dijon⁶¹⁶. In addition, it is known through the literary sources that he went on two pilgrimages to Rome and to the far southern extremes of his kingdom, notably in Aquitaine and the Midi⁶¹⁷. In the year 1010, he was at Saint-Jean-d'Angely in Aquitaine where he celebrated the discovery of the head of Saint Jean Baptiste⁶¹⁸. A few years later, 1019, he was back in Aquitaine for a whole year issuing diplomas and visiting the southern dukedom. As E. Hallam stated: "Robert's neo-Carolingian horizons, his negotiations and military campaigns, seemed to have revived a wider awareness of the monarchy for a few years at least"⁶¹⁹. On his way to Rome and on his return journey Robert made a point to visit the southern regions of the kingdom. He voyaged through Bourges towards Saint-Gilles-des-Gard in the Midi, which was the extremity of the kingdom of France on his return from Conques⁶²⁰. It would be a long time before the counts of the Midi would see the royal personage again, so this journey is quite important in terms of influence and travel. He was far more active

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., #10.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., #20.

⁶⁰² Ibid., #26.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., # 28.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., # 29.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., # 30.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., # 33.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., # 35.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., # 45.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., # 49.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., # 52.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., # 55.

⁶¹² Ibid., # 57.

⁶¹³ Ibid., # 64.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., # 83.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., # 84.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., # 87.

⁶¹⁷ O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet*, p.29;

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., p.29.

⁶¹⁹ E. Hallam, *Capetian France*, pp.94-95.

⁶²⁰ O. Guillot, *Hugues Capet*, p.29.

in the wider realm of France than his father had been, and would be even more so than his grandson Philip. The image we have of Robert is that of a well travelled monarch with a vast web of influences spreading across the kingdom. The following numbers are not an accurate measure and must be understood in this light. Firstly, the diploma figures demonstrate a wide range of activity by Robert, spreading far and wide across the kingdom of France, illustrating the point that was made by E. Hallam and J. Everard that of all the first Capetian kings, Robert was the most widely travelled⁶²¹. Robert acted very much the Carolingian king, attempting to revive the illusion of a kingdom wide monarch, and of all the early kings of France, he was the most successful. The majority of his kingdom was travelled, even regions which had been neglected for decades. It was this travelling, however, that would hurt the royal position in the coming years after his death. His long absences from his demesne lands awoke the individual spirit of the lords of the region. They were able to gain influence and strength in the Ile-de-France, taking what had been formerly the right of the king⁶²². The consequences of Robert's travels are demonstrated more clearly with Henry's itinerary.

Of the first Capetians, Henry I's itinerary permits the best measure to compare with Philip's. Henry I spent most of his reign in conflict with one or more of the greats of the kingdom. Since he was, for the majority of his reign, in conflict, most of the sources record these voyages. So, similarly to Robert II, only his charters were used to measure his itinerary⁶²³. Of these charters, three centres were identified as more frequently visited than the average. These were Paris with 11⁶²⁴, or 18,64%, Laon with 9 visits⁶²⁵, amounting to 15,25% and lastly Orléans with 7 visits⁶²⁶ totalling 11,86%. With these figures we notice that Brühl's argument is correct. The first stages of Paris's importance

⁶²¹ E. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France: 987-1328*, (London, 2001), p.92.

⁶²² J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: The Kingdom c.900-c.1024' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III*, (ed.) T. Reuter, (Cambridge, 1999) where she discusses the effects of Robert's long absences from the royal lands, pp.392-393. This, coupled with the revolt by his sons and then his wife, only helped to further weaken the royal position in the Ile-de-France, a position that would not be recovered until the time of Louis VII.

⁶²³ They have been edited by F. Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri I roi de France (1031-1060)*, (Paris, 1907).

⁶²⁴ Soehnée, Henri I, #s 39, 46, 48, 56, 60, 65, 79, 111, 112, 113, 125.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., #s 41, 45, 66, 67, 74, 75, 78, 85, 103.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., #s 24, 57, 91, 100, 107, 109, 169.

to the French kings were developed by Henry I, and the numbers seem to support this claim⁶²⁷. Although, because of the political situation, Henry I had much to recover, and redeem, from his father's long absences. He prioritised his demesne lands, explaining the importance of Laon in his itinerary⁶²⁸. Even when looking at the itinerary by decade, Paris dominates, especially during the first ten years of his reign. This corresponds roughly with his attempts to pacify the royal demesne⁶²⁹. During this decade he made four visits of 13⁶³⁰, which amounted to 30,77%, a truly high percentage. This dropped off significantly in the following decades as 3 visits⁶³¹ were recorded of 20 for a total of 15% and then another 4 of 26⁶³² during the years 1051-1060 amounting to 15,39%. These numbers were still high enough. The incredibly high proportion of visits in the first decade corresponds to Henry's troubles caused by his mother and brother and his attempts to deal with them. Although Paris was important for Henry, the main difference between Henry's itinerary and Philip's was Henry's dependence on a wider base of centres than Philip. Whereas Paris was by far the most visited centre in Philip's itinerary, it was not the case for Henry. Four centres have been identified as frequently visited by Henry; they were Paris, as we have just witnessed, Laon, Orléans and Melun.

As for Laon, its percentages vary greatly with one extremely active decade and one very inactive period. A fairly average first decade with 2 of 13 visits⁶³³ for an average of 15,39%. The years 1041 to 1050 were witness to 6 journeys⁶³⁴ of 20 averaging 30%, with an extremely dramatic drop in the following years with only one stop in 26 journeys⁶³⁵, for an average of only 3%. The numbers for Orléans are also quite erratic. In the first decade, Henry made 2 of 13 voyages⁶³⁶ for an average of 15,39%, then, only one

⁶²⁷ C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, p.253; W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich*, p.34.

⁶²⁸ Laon was traditionally a Carolingian town, it passed into the possession of the Capetians when they acquired the kingship as part of the royal lands. W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich*, p.34.

⁶²⁹ For more on this situation see Dhondt's many articles on Henry, most notably, 'Quelques aspects du règne d'Henri Ier roi de France' in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, (Paris, 1951), pp.202-204.

⁶³⁰ Soehnée, *Henri I*, #s 39, 46, 48, 56.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, #s 61, 65, 79.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, #s 111, 112, 113, 125.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, #s 41, 45.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, #s 66, 67, 74, 75, 78, 85.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, #103.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, #s 24, 57.

journey was made of 20⁶³⁷, averaging 5%. Henry returned to Orléans on a more frequent basis in the last nine years of the reign with 4 journeys⁶³⁸ of 26, or 15,39%. These numbers demonstrate a more focused concentration in the Ile-de-France by Henry I, especially when compared to his father. Even the amount of travels *per annum* was higher and more frequent. Whereas Robert voyaged to 47 different locations in his reign of 34 years, Henry had completed 59 known journeys in 29 years. In certain years a high proportion of activity was detected, such as the years 1035, 1043, 1047, 1048, 1057, 1058 and 1059 which all had three or more visits⁶³⁹, with the years 1035 and 1047 having four while the years from 1057 to 1059 witnessed a high of 14 in total. Of his 59 visits, ten centres were one time hosts. They were Poissy⁶⁴⁰, Angers⁶⁴¹, Tours⁶⁴², Dreux⁶⁴³, Quierzy⁶⁴⁴, Étampes⁶⁴⁵, Choisy-au-bac⁶⁴⁶, St.-Quentin⁶⁴⁷, Montreuil⁶⁴⁸ and lastly Saint-Léger-en-Yvelines⁶⁴⁹. A further 7 centres hosted the king twice, they were Thimert⁶⁵⁰, Soissons⁶⁵¹, Vitry-aux-Loges⁶⁵², Senlis⁶⁵³, Rheims⁶⁵⁴, Corbie⁶⁵⁵ and Sens⁶⁵⁶. From the secondary literature, two voyages were detected into Lorraine, many times into Normandy, these especially at the end of his reign⁶⁵⁷, a few times into Anjou and into the

⁶³⁷ Ibid., #69.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., #s 91, 100, 101, 109.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., for the year 1035, #s 43-46; 1043, #s 65-67; 1047, #s 74, 75, 76, 78; 1048, #s 79-81; 1057, #s 106-110; 1058, #s 111-114 and 1059, #s 115, 117, 119, 120, 121.

⁶⁴⁰ Soehnée, *Henri I*, #124.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., #107.

⁶⁴² Ibid., #106.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., #105.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., #98.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., #90.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., #88.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., #76.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., #63.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., #53.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., #s 114, 115.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., #s 108, 110.

⁶⁵² Ibid., #s 92, 120.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., #s 80, 81.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., #s 61, 117.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., #s 50, 62.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., #s 43, 44.

⁶⁵⁷ This has been duly argued and put forth by J. Dhondt, 'Les Relations entre la France et la Normandie sous Henry I' in *Normannia*, 1939, pp.465-486.

lands of Blois-Champagne⁶⁵⁸, and as duke of Burgundy, before becoming king, he was quite active in that area also⁶⁵⁹. Lastly, he met the emperor on more than one occasion⁶⁶⁰.

From the numbers given above, it seems that Henry's sphere of influence was larger than Philip's. Henry's itinerary was concentrated in the areas of Paris, Laon, Orléans, Melun and Compiègne. Also, Henry I ventured beyond his "heartland" more frequently and over greater distances than Philip. The north was very important for Henry, as the majority of his charters were sealed in this region, whereas the south was almost neglected as the bulk of his journeys to south were concentrated in the Orléans region. A short list of his periphery travels will demonstrate the above view. This wider demesne consisted of Sens, Corbie, Rheims, Senlis, Vitry-aux-Loges, Soissons and Thimert. The above examination of the three previous reigns has demonstrated a continually shrinking area of travel. Although, this was counterbalanced with a growing tendency to concentrate travel in the Ile-de-France; prefiguring Philip's reign.

Philip's itinerary points to a heavy concentration in the areas between Compiègne to the north-east, Orléans to the south and Dreux to the west⁶⁶¹. A high proportion of Philip's travels in this zone indicates areas where Philip felt most secure. This is identified as his heartland. A greater and more in-depth analysis of Philip's demesne is discussed in a future chapter dealing solely with Philip's demesne and resources. A brief mention of the king's heartlands and periphery lands is outlined here, as one of the reasons for the study of royal itineraries is its importance in determining the above lands. In most instances, places or areas of high activity mean a region where the king felt secure. They also correspond, at least during Philip's reign, to places where a royal palace or residence was situated. Those places with less activity, but usually near the heartland, are considered the peripheral lands. Along with the appendix at the end, a map illustrates the web of travels that Philip undertook. This map demonstrates the places where Philip's *iter* was most heavily concentrated, which, as mentioned was in the area

⁶⁵⁸ J. Dhondt, 'Henri Ier, l'Empire et l'Anjou (1043-1056)' in *RBPH* 25, 1947, pp.87-109.

⁶⁵⁹ Soehnée, *Henri I*, #3.

⁶⁶⁰ See the above article by J. Dhondt, *RBPH* and H. Pirenne, *Histoire de la Belgique* I, (Bruxelles, 1929) for the implications these meetings had on Flemish politics.

⁶⁶¹ See the map in the itinerary.

between Compiègne, Orléans and Dreux, with Paris at the centre of this region. Outside his immediate demesnes, Philip visited the east and north of the kingdom in a very frequent manner. Not all the areas visited by Philip belonged to the royal lands, some were removed from any royal connection. Places such as Mozac, in 1095, simply took advantage of the fact that the king was there on business and had him seal a charter for them⁶⁶². Similarly in Angers the king confirmed two grants in 1106 simply because he was there⁶⁶³. Examples abound, especially when dealing with Flanders. The royal journeys to Lille in 1063⁶⁶⁴ and 1066⁶⁶⁵, to St-Omer in 1071⁶⁶⁶ and to Gand in 1067⁶⁶⁷ were all extra-ordinary circumstances and welcomed by the counts. The majority of his journeys outside the Ile-de-France were either for military or diplomatic reasons but all were at the invite of the local power. This may explain Philip's exceptional destinations as "irregular" at best. With the first two Capetian kings, Hugh and Robert, their travels were erratic; no real model emerged. Although no region was favoured, much time was spent in Burgundy, in the south and to a lesser degree, the north of the kingdom. In fact, both Hugh and Robert spent much more time outside of the Ile-de-France than they did inside it. Both were traditional kings, basing their government on Carolingian examples. They travelled widely and as often as necessary, with no apparent region dominating the royal *iter*. With Henry I, this began to change. Although, Henry I still had a wider sphere of operations than Philip. The effect of more intensive travelling focused within a smaller area created a net of travels that helped solidify the king's authority in the Ile-de-France. This process continued to intensify with Philip I.

Part 1: Section iii) Patterns in Philip's itinerary

⁶⁶² Prou, #CXXXV; See below for an explanation of the events.

⁶⁶³ Prou, #s CLVII, CLVIII.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., #XVII.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., #XXV.

⁶⁶⁶ John of Ypres, 'Chronico S. Bertini' in *RHGF* XI, p.384; 'Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium' in *RHGF* XI, p.391.

⁶⁶⁷ 'Annales Gandenses' in *MGH SS* II, p.189; 'Vita S. Macharii Altera' in *MGH SS* XV-II, p.619.

The above numbers for Philip's *iter* point to a heavy concentration in his heartland, making Philip I an inwardly looking king⁶⁶⁸. Moreover, two centres dominated far and above his itinerary, they were Paris and Orléans. Brühl identified the progress of Paris as *Hauptstadt* of the French lands as already begun by Henry I, but was definitely furthered under Philip I⁶⁶⁹. During the first half of his reign, until 1080, Paris acted as the centre of Philip's administration; rarely was it not visited⁶⁷⁰. The only periods without a visit from Philip I was 1064-1066 and then again 1076-1077. Paris seemed to act as a stopping point on the way to elsewhere or as a safe-haven to take refuge in between journeys during a particularly hectic year⁶⁷¹. After the 1080s, with a drop in frequency of visits for that decade, the percentage of visits to Paris increased⁶⁷². Since the 1080s are generally lacking in both charter and literary evidence, it could be that Paris continued to be highly visited during this decade, but this is unknown. An interesting statement was made in a diploma for 1092. In this charter, Philip mentioned that the archbishop of Rouen should come to Philip's court once a year, either at Paris, Beauvais or Senlis⁶⁷³. This may be a hint that Philip planned a journey to at least one of these centres every year, adding to the total number of visits to Paris, maybe even increasing the frequency of those visits in the latter stages of his reign. This is a guess, as no evidence from the sources supports this, however, the evidence from the itinerary may suggest something of interest. In 1092, he was in Paris twice, followed by another stop in 1094. He was next in Paris in 1101 and 1102, followed by 1104 and 1105 and lastly in 1107. Of these visits, neither Beauvais nor Senlis were identified. Either way, Paris remained the most visited city from 1080 onwards⁶⁷⁴.

⁶⁶⁸ Fliche pointed out that Philip was an inward looking king, the majority of his efforts were directed towards increasing his influence and power in his own demesne. Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.172. "Philippe Ier a voulu étendre son domaine royal, c'est-à-dire en somme sa justice directe et immédiate... il va donc se heurter à la féodalité... il va renoncer au droit féodal pour la politique des réalisations."

⁶⁶⁹ C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, pp.252-253 and above.

⁶⁷⁰ The years it was not visited were: 1064; 1065; 1066; 1068; 1071; 1076; 1077; 1079.

⁶⁷¹ Examples such as 1060-1061; 1063 when he was in Paris, Lille and Soissons; 1067 he was in Flanders, Gand, Paris and Melun; 1069 when he was in Senlis, Paris, Melun, Orléans, Pontoise and Poissy; 1072 when he was in Paris after the events of 1071 and the Flemish succession; 1075 when Philip visited Paris frequently: Paris, Orléans, Paris, Orléans, Paris, Soissons.

⁶⁷² See above.

⁶⁷³ "Rotomagensis archiepiscopus: per singulos annos veniet ad unam ex curiis meis, sive Belvacum, sive Parisius, sive Silvanectum." Prou, #CXXVII.

⁶⁷⁴ In the 1080s we have recorded 2 of 16 voyages, a total of 12,5%, but in the 1090s 4 of 20 for 20% and lastly for the 1100s 5 of 23 for 21,74%. This compares to Orléans which remained lower than Paris by a

As for Orléans, some similarities recur, such as plenty of visits during the 1060s and 1070s, only to diminish significantly afterwards. What is seen with Orléans is quite different from Paris; not only in the amount of visits but also in the purpose of the visits. During the 1060s Orléans, like Paris, acted as an important halting point in the king's itinerary, such as in 1060 when it formed part of the general circuit of the king's important cities⁶⁷⁵, occurring again in 1069. After that date, however, the purpose for Orléans shifted from simply a stopping point to the most important city in his southern dealings. It formed the essential part of his travels to the south. In 1075, we see Philip travelling back and forth between Paris and Orléans⁶⁷⁶. Then in 1077, after his visit to Anjou, Philip returned to Orléans after Dol, and from there travelled to Charroux to return to Orléans afterwards⁶⁷⁷. Then in 1079, from Le Puiset, he went to Orléans, then Saint-Benoit, only to return once more to Orléans.⁶⁷⁸ Here Orléans forms the central point for his journeys southwards. In 1085, Orléans was used as a starting point⁶⁷⁹. As a final example, the year 1092, where from Tours, Philip took Bertrada of Anjou with him to Orléans, then afterwards to Paris for his marriage⁶⁸⁰. It seems from the evidence that Orléans went from an active destination in Philip's itinerary during the 1060s and 1070s to almost disappearing from the *iter* in the 1080s and 1090s only to re-emerge in the 1100s. With its preminence as a stop point for Philip when circuiting his demesne lands to the south, or when venturing southwards and westwards, Orléans' position as an important centre was guaranteed. Although it was less significant than Paris, it was still the second city of the royal lands, even after the 1080s.

large margin. In the 1080s the two were equal at 12,5%, but again in the 1090s Orléans dropped to 2 of 20 or 10% and then a slight increase in the 1100s with 3 of 23 for 13%. No other centre came close to Paris during this period.

⁶⁷⁵ I. Robinson, *Henry IV*, p.55, where he mentions that in the eleventh century it was usual after an election or coronation to undertake a royal journey, a tour of the royal lands. Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.13, mentions the trips as part of a general voyage around the demesne to have his authority recognised.

⁶⁷⁶ See appendix III on the royal itinerary.

⁶⁷⁷ Appendix III.

⁶⁷⁸ Appendix III.

⁶⁷⁹ Appendix III.

⁶⁸⁰ Appendix III.

Although it may seem that Philip concentrated his travels heavily in and around his demesne, he was not a static king. He also ventured into the demesnes of his great vassals. These travels abroad were less frequent, less numerous and geographically less distant when compared to those of Hugh Capet, Robert II and even Henry I. Philip's journeys were still numerous and in certain instances, quite distant from his demesne. The most frequent travels outside the royal demesne were to Flanders. This should not come as a surprise. The count of Flanders, Baldwin V of Lille, was regent to the king from 1060-1067. During that time Philip made five journeys into Flanders⁶⁸¹. Although regent, Baldwin V was still the count of Flanders and his business meant that he had to venture to his lands on a frequent basis⁶⁸². Lille, Baldwin's preferred city, hosted Philip twice, once in 1063⁶⁸³ and again 1066⁶⁸⁴. Other journeys to Flanders occurred later in the regency. All three were at the instigation of the count. In 1066, Philip I, before voyaging to Lille, was in Furnes⁶⁸⁵. Lastly, in 1067, Philip ventured to deep into Flanders where two locations were identified. The first was before 9 May and was somewhere in Flanders⁶⁸⁶. The second was in Gand, on 9 May, where Philip I was witness to the elevation of a church⁶⁸⁷. The voyages to Flanders did not stop after Baldwin's death. In 1070, on the request of his aunt, Richilda, and her son, Arnulf, who was dispossessed of his inherited lands by Robert I of Frisia, they sought the aid of their lord, Philip I. Baldwin VII, on his father's death, inherited the county of Hainault while Arnulf II inherited Flanders both under the regency of their mother Richilda⁶⁸⁸. Robert I, the Frisian, invaded his nephew's lands and claimed Flanders for himself. Philip went to Flanders to defend young Baldwin's inheritance. In 1071 he was at Val-en Cassel and in Saint-Omer⁶⁸⁹. After these events, there was a long break before Philip was once again in Flanders. Not until 1085 did Philip venture into Flanders for the last time⁶⁹⁰. Although the majority of his voyages occurred during the regency, Philip did manage to visit Flanders

⁶⁸¹ Prou, #s XVII, XXIV, XXV, XXXV; *MGH SS* II, p.189 and *MGH SS* XV-II, p.619.

⁶⁸² Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.14.

⁶⁸³ Prou, #XVII.

⁶⁸⁴ Prou, #XXV.

⁶⁸⁵ Prou, #XXIV.

⁶⁸⁶ Prou, #XXXV.

⁶⁸⁷ See the appendix.

⁶⁸⁸ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.177-178.

⁶⁸⁹ See the appendix.

⁶⁹⁰ Prou, #CXVI.

a few times after 1067⁶⁹¹. Of all the early Capetians, Philip's voyages to Flanders were the most numerous and frequent, although, mostly due to the regent's influences.

In addition to Flanders, Anjou was another county where Philip visited on more than one occasion. Some of his visits were border meetings, such as those at Chaumont-sur-Loire in 1067⁶⁹² which had political motives. Anjou remained a preferred destination throughout the reign. His visits were few in number at the beginning of his reign but increased in frequency in the latter years. During the 1070s, Philip ventured to Anjou on a few occasions. These stops were to win support from the count of Anjou against William of England. This was the reason that Philip was in Poitiers in 1076, where he recruited many men⁶⁹³. Even though Poitiers was removed from Philip's demesne lands, he had been housed and fed by the count. On his return from a successful campaign in Dol in 1076 Philip ventured to Charroux, a very southern area⁶⁹⁴. The reason for such a trip is quite unknown, it may have been as a thank you to the men of the area for their support because Philip confirmed a charter for the local monastery. No visits to Anjou during the 1080s were identified. Philip was in Anjou in 1092 when he went to Tours, where he plotted to take the wife of the count of Anjou and bring her back with him. This event definitely soured relations between the two. Whereas, prior to 1092, Philip was the welcomed guest of the count's, who would house and feed him, his visit in 1092 had to be in a royal monastery⁶⁹⁵. The same lodging situation recurred when Philip was once more in Tours in 1097⁶⁹⁶. The troubled relations did not seem to last very long. In 1106 Fulk hosted both Philip and Bertrada in Angers, deep into Anjou⁶⁹⁷. These events will be explained further below. Overall, Philip's voyages to Anjou were mostly out of necessity as Philip and Fulk were allies against their common enemy, the duke and later king of England. When compared to Robert II or Henry I, Philip's travels to this county were

⁶⁹¹ Before 1067, Philip was in Lille twice, Gand and Furnes, for four of seven total voyages to Flanders. After 1067, he was in Val-en-Cassel, St-Omer and an unidentified location in Flanders, for a total of three of seven voyages.

⁶⁹² Prou, #XXXIII.

⁶⁹³ Ibid., #s LXXXIII, LXXXIV.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., #LXXXV.

⁶⁹⁵ See the appendix

⁶⁹⁶ See the appendix

⁶⁹⁷ Prou, #s CLVII, CLVIII.

few, but this is accredited to their relatively amicable terms, whereas Robert and Henry spent the best parts of the reigns fighting the counts. As for Normandy, all of Philip's journeys were for military reasons. These were either at the request of the duke, Robert II Courteheuse, against his father or brothers, or at the request of an external source such as the duke of Brittany. In total Philip made five trips to the area, one, however, was on the frontier lands between Normandy and Brittany. William the Conqueror and his sons wanted the king to have as little influence in Normandy as possible. Their policies limited outside contact with the king. Had it not been for battles, Philip would have probably never set foot in Normandy. Unlike his father and grandfather, Robert II and Henry I, Philip I ventured very infrequently to this part of the kingdom.

What do these figures tell us about Philip's itinerary? They demonstrate that Philip was not isolated in his movements, he travelled widely and often, however, mostly localised in certain regions. Secondly, apart from four voyages, all were north of the Loire. Even of those four southern journeys, one was out of necessity, that to Poitiers. The voyage to Bourges occurred shortly after Philip had acquired the viscounty, so it is not a surprise to notice him there⁶⁹⁸. The voyage to Charroux, although far, was not unexplainable. As mentioned above, Philip sealed a charter in Charroux in 1077 confirming the monastery of Charroux of all its goods⁶⁹⁹. This may have been as a thank you to the duke and his men for their support and military aid in his campaign against the duke of Normandy. The final voyage south is in itself remarkable. Mozac was the farthest removed location for Philip, but it was also out of necessity. A witness to a sealed charter was Archbishop Hugh of Lyons⁷⁰⁰, who earlier excommunicated Philip for his affair with Bertrada of Anjou. This meeting, in 1095, was meant to discuss the legitimisation of Philip's marriage to her⁷⁰¹. These situations will be discussed below. Aside from these

⁶⁹⁸ Bourges had become part of the royal demesne, it was organised along those lines as it already had a provost and an exacteur. "Statuimus iteru, sicut et praefati principes statuerunt, ut exactores nostril neque praepositi neque aliqua persona nostri nominis aliquid rapiant..." Prou, #CXLV; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.151.

⁶⁹⁹ Prou, #LXXXV.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., #CXXXV "Hugonis, apostolice sedis legati et archiepiscopi Lugdunensis"

⁷⁰¹ A letter from Ivo about the king's intentions and Ivo's mistrusts about them: "videlicet quod rex multa mala dimittere et multa bona se promittat velle facere, si cum pace sedis apostolicae et communione ecclesiastica mulierem quam illicite habet, valeat ad tempus retinere... propter haec et multa his similia, scio consilium domini regis bonum exitum habere non posse nisi ab hoc peccato desistat et Christi jugo se

four voyages southbound, what else can the itinerary demonstrate? Since the majority of his journeys were north of the Loire, where were they directed? Hardly any visits were made to Normandy, and that is understandable. William the Conqueror and later, his younger sons, William II and Henry I, were the great rivals of Philip, and as such, wanted him away from their affairs as much as possible. The accompanying map illustrates that westwards, Philip was hardly an authoritative influence⁷⁰². Whereas northbound, Philip had some strong influences and frequented it on a more regular basis⁷⁰³. This was helped by his amicable terms with the counts of Flanders. Although Philip ventured to Flanders frequently, it was always at the request of the count. Flanders, similarly to Normandy, acted very much as an independent state. Moving east from Paris and Compiègne, Philip made many journeys into the future county of Champagne. In fact, this was the region of strongest activity and most numerous journeys⁷⁰⁴. This should not be surprising as a good number of Philip's royal holdings and rights were located in this region.⁷⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that this was one of the richest and most prosperous areas in all of France, and even though Philip's power in the region was small, his authority was great⁷⁰⁶. Islands of royal authority were found in Rheims, Laon and Soissons⁷⁰⁷ meaning that Philip's authority was quite substantial in the region. To conclude, Philip

poenitendo subiciat, cum Dominus non nostra, sed nos ad salutem nostrum requirat." Ivo, Ep.47, p.192; Philip was absolved at the council of Nîmes in 1096 by the pope after swearing to mend his ways and abandon his wife. We are lacking in general information about this council, but we do know from two sources that Philip was absolved. The first was the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*: "Reversus est Urbanus Sanctonas civitatem et celebravit ibi sanctum Pascha... et in eundo remeavit Nemausum civitatem ubi item tenuit concilium et reconciliavit Philippum, regem Francorum." 'Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictavensis' in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, p.411-412; and Bernold of Saint-Blasien who stated: "Philippus, rex Galliarum... satis humiliter ad satisfactionem venit, et, abiurata adultera, in gratiam receptus est... post reconciliationem regis Galliarum..." 'Bernold of Saint-Blasien' in *MGH SS*, V, p.464. These events are discussed in detail by Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.58-63.

⁷⁰² Hardly any journeys were made to the region bordering the south of Normandy, Dreux hosted the king 3 times, Mantes once and Bréval once.

⁷⁰³ From the Seine, Philip spent the majority of his journeys in this region, Pontoise hosted the king twice, Senlis five times, Beauvais and Gerberoy hosted the king once. Corbie hosted the king twice. In addition Flanders hosted the king on several occasions, Cassel, Gand, St-Omer, Fournes and Lille.

⁷⁰⁴ Vitry, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Mont-Notre-Dame hosted the king once each, Rheims and Soissons three times, Laon twice and Compiègne five times. Béthisy and Crépy both once each. Saint-Léger and Ribemont both once.

⁷⁰⁵ See the chapter on the demesne lands below.

⁷⁰⁶ See the resources of the demesne in chapter 2.

⁷⁰⁷ These areas passed into Capetian hands through their acquisition of the royal title from the Carolingians. These lands were royal lands acquired over time by the Carolingians, and hence quite loyal to the royal persona, which is quite evidenced in their treatment of Philip during his excommunications. These centres that supported the king most fervently during his excommunications.

concentrated his journeys heavily in a small region located around a few cities, however, he was not confined to this area. Throughout the eleventh century the royal itinerary had diminished considerably as is illustrated by the itineraries of Robert II, Henry I and Philip I. In addition, the itineraries demonstrate a growing centralisation and stronger dependence on a few cities, notably Paris. Apart from the more localised voyages of Philip, an interesting note was Philip's increase of voyages into Flanders, more so than any of his predecessors. This was counterbalanced by his diminished journeys elsewhere, especially south of the Loire. It was the intense concentration of his travels in the heartland that differentiates Philip I from his forerunners.

Part 2: Section i) Belligerent lords

The importance of an itinerant way of life for a king in the eleventh century was to keep alive the idea of authority and justice, as represented by the king. Eleventh century kingship depended on the presence of the king and his court to decide upon judicial matters and to enforce them. Hence, the king's ability to travel around the kingdom permitted him to enforce sentences and royal justice. Without the means to travel, an eleventh century kingship would be unable to function with any efficiency⁷⁰⁸. In a region as small as the Ile-de-France travel was the only means Philip could rule his lands and enforce his decisions. Usually, as was the case with the western emperor, special ministers, normally bishops, but also counts, dukes and margraves were appointed to govern a region on the king's behalf. Although this situation did not occur with the same measures in the French kingdom, especially because of the strong feelings of independence vis-à-vis the king. Philip's smaller demesne meant that he relied less on these ministers to govern and more on his personal presence, at least until the end of his reign when the use of mandamus multiplied. This state of affairs was not, I believe, based solely on his smaller demesne lands, the bellicose nature of the local castellans and lords of the Ile-de-France meant that Philip had to treat with them. This led him to voyage more often and in greater frequency to certain centres above others. Since kingship was personal, then his presence would solidify and strengthen his authority in

⁷⁰⁸ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, pp.50-53.

the Ile-de-France. This was common for kings to enforce their authority and title in a region, especially during or after times of troubles. If the king was absent from a region for long periods of time then discontent would often be heard. This was the case in the Western Empire. Even an emperor as strong as Henry III often found himself suppressing revolts or re-imposing his authority in a region where his presence had been missing⁷⁰⁹. Local counts would be quick to usurp royal rights and prerogatives from an absent king, as written commands were often disobeyed⁷¹⁰. He would have to travel throughout those regions with more frequency to re-impose his authority.

This view has never been forwarded to explain a more concentrated royal itinerary in the Ile-de-France. Philip's problems with the castellans of his demesne lands and his desire to pacify, control and enforce his authority in the region meant that he had to have a strong presence in the region. This was achieved through his continued voyages and frequent stops in a few centres. This section is an attempt to examine this situation. Every study of Philip's reign has analysed his relations, and problems, with the local castellans of the Ile-de-France⁷¹¹. Their studies identify those responsible for the troubles that afflicted the royal demesne. Unfortunately, because of the lack of sources, the situation in the Ile-de-France remains unclear. The origins, however, of their independent nature and anti-royal agenda began with the prolonged absences of Robert II, which was compounded by the civil war at Henry I's assumption⁷¹². By the time of Philip I, these castellans had managed to dominate their regions without fear of royal interference⁷¹³. They had managed to make their titles hereditary, something alien in both Normandy and Flanders. Philip's itinerary was an attempt to redress the situation. He wanted to represent the institution of the king as present in the region and re-enforce his authority.

Abbot Suger mentions that the routes between Paris and Orléans were perilous for everyone to journey, unless well armed and prepared. From the above numbers, Philip

⁷⁰⁹ "Praetera tibi, rex (Henry III), mandate Burgundia, surge/Atque veni, propera; noviter subiecta vacillant/Interdum domino per tempora multa remoto." Wipo, 'Tetralogus' lines 205 in *Wiponis Opera* 3rd edition, (ed. H. Bresslau) in *MGH SRG* 61, (Hannover 1977).

⁷¹⁰ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship*, p.53.

⁷¹¹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.313-326; I. Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, pp.45-72.

⁷¹² Jean Dunbabin, 'West Francia' in *NCMH* III, pp.392-393.

⁷¹³ I Gobry, *Philippe Ier*, pp.45-46.

spent around 30% of his itinerary in these two centres, and that the voyages were throughout his reign. Philip's repeated voyages between Paris and Orléans may have been an attempt to increase his authority by demonstrating his presence in the region for extended periods. The numbers and frequency of visits to the regions around these two centres indicate a pattern. From Paris, travelling north are Poissy with 6 visits⁷¹⁴ and Pontoise with 3⁷¹⁵. Eastward, on the Oise, is Senlis with 5⁷¹⁶ and Compiègne with 5⁷¹⁷, southward en route to Orléans is Étampes with 4⁷¹⁸ and then on the way to Sens was Melun with 7⁷¹⁹. These numbers show a very high proportion of journeys, but more importantly, the centres mentioned above all surrounded areas where lords and castellans ruled. Montlhéry, located south of Paris, and Montmorency to its north were the two belligerent lords par excellence. We are misinformed and generally lacking information on the rebellions that they led against the king, however, certain events can be analysed.

Soon after his elevation and consecration, revolts against the young king, only 8 years old at the time, and his regent Baldwin V of Flanders erupted. These were serious enough as Baldwin needed his Flemish troops to suppress them⁷²⁰. Regardless of the events, the important point is to identify the rebellious lords involved and then compare Philip's itinerary. *The Miracles of Saint-Agile, abbot of Rebais* mention that Baldwin had to lead a military expedition against rebel lords in Gaul and in Burgundy⁷²¹.

Hagiographical sources can be misleading and more concerned with miracles than with accurate historical reconstruction, they exaggerate events and circumstances. The above revolts should be taken with caution if not for two diplomas sealed by Philip I making allusion to the events⁷²². The first diploma, for Saint-Germain-des-Prés, dated before 4 august 1061, mentions that the lords who should have protected him *looked* to reclaim

⁷¹⁴ Prou, #s XLVII, LIV, CVI, CLV, CLVI, Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.ii, p.16.

⁷¹⁵ Prou, #s XLV, CXXII; Ivo of Chartres, Ep.28, p.116.

⁷¹⁶ Prou, #s IV, XI, XXXIX, XLIII, LXXX.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., #s IX, XXVII, LXV, CXVII, CXXV.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., #s VI, LXIV, CVIII, CXIV.

⁷¹⁹ Prou, #XXXII, XLIV, LV, C, CXXXIII, CXXXVIII, Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.xiii, p.82.

⁷²⁰ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.27.

⁷²¹ "qui (Balduinus V) cum militari usu Philippo regi Francorum, utpote palatinus comes, deserviret, ad retundendam superbiam quorundam, qui in partibus Galliae et Burgundiae praefato regni repugnare cupientes, adversus eum servili ferocitate contendebant." 'Miracula S. Agili, abbatis Resbacensis' c.xvii in *MGH SS XV-I*, p.866.

⁷²² Prou, #s XIII, LXXVIII.

rights they pretended were legitimate⁷²³. It would seem that, from the above charter for Saint-Germain-des-Prés, that one of the lords to have revolted was a certain Stephen, son of Manasses, count of Montdidier. Stephen claimed the villa of Combs-en-Brie, in order to maintain peace, Philip seceded the villa on the condition that it would return to the monastery on Stephen's death⁷²⁴. The royal itinerary for the years 1061 to 1064 indicates an attempt by Philip I to increase his presence and authority in the region of the Parisis. He was in Compiègne⁷²⁵, Rheims⁷²⁶, Senlis⁷²⁷ and Paris⁷²⁸, this was followed by a crown-wearing ceremony in 1062 in Paris⁷²⁹. In 1063 he was in Paris⁷³⁰ followed by a voyage to Lille⁷³¹ then Soissons⁷³². No voyages for the year 1064 were identified. The problems with this first example are its lack of information, only one of the lords has been identified, and even he is an uncertainty; the beginning of new reigns, especially with a minor, are apt moments for rebellions to flower as lords try to assert a certain independence vis-à-vis the king. In regards the itinerary for the years immediately following the rebellions, they are also part of the grand tour that kings made of their kingdom on their accession to the throne. Whether or not Philip's was for the implementation of authority against certain lords in certain regions or was part of his royal itinerary as planned is unknown.

Another similar event occurred in 1079 with the battle of du Puiset, which caused trouble for Philip I. The itinerary immediately following the revolts corresponds with an attempt to display the royal presence as often as possible. Once again, not much is known of this revolt, only two sources enlighten the event. The first was the *Miracles of Saint-Benoit* by Raoul Tortaire who claimed that the events of 1079 were provoked by William the Conqueror. William promised his aid, in men and money, to certain lords to revolt against the king. Of the lords mentioned by Raoul, Hugh du Puiset was the leader, or at

⁷²³ Prou, #XIII.

⁷²⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.30.

⁷²⁵ Prou, #IX.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., #X.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., #XI.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., #XII.

⁷²⁹ See the appendix.

⁷³⁰ Prou, #XV.

⁷³¹ Ibid., #XVII.

⁷³² Ibid., #XVI.

least the only one identified⁷³³. This source is confirmed by Abbot Suger of St-Denis. He mentioned that Philip, put to flight by the said lord, took refuge in Orléans⁷³⁴. Philip's defeat by the lord only made Hugh more audacious⁷³⁵. Before examining the later disturbances by the audacious lord, how did Philip's itinerary correspond to the aftermath of the events of 1079? Philip fled to Orléans⁷³⁶ after the battle, then voyaged to Fleury⁷³⁷ before finishing the year in Orléans⁷³⁸. In 1080, Philip was in Melun⁷³⁹ followed by Orléans⁷⁴⁰ and in 1081, he was in Villabé⁷⁴¹ followed by Paris⁷⁴². In 1082, he was in Poissy⁷⁴³ and Paris⁷⁴⁴ followed by Étampes⁷⁴⁵. No voyages were identified in the year 1083. From 1080 until 1083, from the known voyages of Philip I, only one, Poissy, was removed from the du Puiset region of influence. It is known from a letter written by Ivo, bishop of Chartres, that Hugh kept pillaging the goods of the church of Chartres. These letters date from at least 1097, unfortunately, the information on Philip's whereabouts during these years is lacking.

After 1100, the events become clearer, mostly because Abbot Suger recorded Louis VI's attempts to pacify the region. The lords causing problems in the north were the counts of Beaumont and Montmorency along with the lords of Roucy, near Rheims. Similarly near to Rheims, in the Laonnais, were the lords of Marle. South of the Seine were the lords of Montlhéry, Rochefort and Châteaufort. A look at Philip's itinerary will enforce the above argument and show Philip was attempting to pacify the region with an

⁷³³ "Rebellaverunt autem contra eum (Philippus) quidam Francorum procures, opibus et viribus Guillelmi regis Anglorum fidentes; ex quibus Hugo de Puteolo adversus eum (Philippus) arma corripuit, plures sibi asciscens auxiliares". Raoul Tortaire, 'Miraculi Sancti Benedicti' in *PL* 160 [col1212B].

⁷³⁴ "Memorare, inquiens, domine rex, sicut decet regiam maiestatem, opprobrii et dedecoris quod avus Hugonis patri tuo Philippo fedus periurio intulit, cum eum multas illatus iniurias ulcisci innitentem a Puteolo turpiter reppulit". Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.xix, p.132.

⁷³⁵ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.313-315.

⁷³⁶ See the appendix

⁷³⁷ Prou, #XCV.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., #XCVII.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., #C.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., #CI.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., #CIV.

⁷⁴² Ibid., #CV.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., #CVI.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., #CVII.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., CVIII.

increase in frequency of visits to the above named regions. In 1101, Philip was in Paris⁷⁴⁶ followed by Poissy⁷⁴⁷, he then travelled to Micy⁷⁴⁸. The following year Philip was in Paris⁷⁴⁹ and Bourges⁷⁵⁰. In 1103 and 1104 respectively, Philip went to Orléans⁷⁵¹, Beaugencie⁷⁵², near Orléans, followed by Paris⁷⁵³. In 1105, it was Orléans⁷⁵⁴ and Paris⁷⁵⁵, followed by Chartres⁷⁵⁶ in 1106 then Poissy⁷⁵⁷ and Orléans⁷⁵⁸, and lastly Poissy⁷⁵⁹. In 1107, Philip went to Fleury⁷⁶⁰, Paris⁷⁶¹, Saint-Denis⁷⁶² and Châlons-sur-Marne⁷⁶³. The *iter* for the year 1101 illustrates a close connection to Paris and its environs, which, apart from Bourges, was pursued in 1102 with a visit to Paris. This may be an attempt to consolidate his authority as it is known that Louis, the future Louis VI, wanted Bouchard of Montmorency to appear before his father's court in Poissy. In 1103 and 1104, Philip remained close to Orléans, maybe to enforce his authority in the region. A similar pattern south of the Seine, the region between Paris and Orléans, occurred in 1105. The following year, apart from the wedding of his daughter in Chartres and the reconciliation with the count of Anjou in Angers, Philip was in Poissy twice and Orléans once⁷⁶⁴. Whether or not Philip's itinerary is seen as a counterbalance to the counts' influences in their respective regions of the Ile-de-France is speculation, but the numbers are interesting and hopefully lead to further study.

Part 2: Section ii:) The *Servitium Regis*

⁷⁴⁶ Prou, #CXLI.

⁷⁴⁷ See Appendix

⁷⁴⁸ Prou, #CXLII.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., #CXLIV.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., #CXLV.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., #CXLVII.

⁷⁵² See appendix

⁷⁵³ Prou, CXLVIII.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., #CLI.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., #CLII.

⁷⁵⁶ See appendix

⁷⁵⁷ Prou, #CLV.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., #CLIV.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., #CLVI.

⁷⁶⁰ See appendix

⁷⁶¹ Prou, #CLXI.

⁷⁶² See appendix

⁷⁶³ See appendix

⁷⁶⁴ For Poissy, Prou, #s CLV, CLVI; for Orléans, Prou, #CLIV.

A basic question which needs answering in order to understand the essentials of royal government in the eleventh century is how did the king manage to travel from place to place and hold court without the central administrative processes that we have come to understand as a necessity to-day? For the early Capetians the answer is not clear due to a lack of study on the subject. For comparative purposes I have looked at the travels of the western emperor as a number of studies have been devoted to his itineraries. The essentials permitting kings to travel throughout the kingdom were the *gistum* and the *servitium regis*. Both were royal rights used by rulers to help them govern. The *gistum* was the right to demand shelter, food for both the king's entourage and his horses from an ecclesiastical institution. The *servitium regis* consisted of a number of rights owed to the king in return for royal protection or royal immunity⁷⁶⁵. J. Bernhardt identified five services which fell under this category. The first, known as the *gistum*, dealt with the general duty to feed and house the royal court during its travels. The second service was closely related to the first, it consisted of payments, either in money or in kind, which was sent to the nearest royal palace or Episcopal see⁷⁶⁶. Matthaï identified that such services were rendered especially by monasteries which were not frequented very often by the emperors⁷⁶⁷. These services were performed in different regions across the Western Empire as confirmed by Ursula Schmitt's studies. She identified Reichenau's delivery of *servitia* to the royal palace at Ulm⁷⁶⁸. A similar case was identified for Aachen as deliveries were made by Stavelot⁷⁶⁹. Whether or not the same system of delivery existed in the France of Philip I is difficult to assess because of the general lack of sources. It may be that such services were rendered, especially since Philip made most of his travels to his royal palaces. More of this subject is examined below. The third service was to offer prayers to the king and his family⁷⁷⁰. The fourth was the advisory and diplomatic services at the royal court. Lastly was military aid⁷⁷¹. Above all these services,

⁷⁶⁵ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, p.75.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., p.75.

⁷⁶⁷ G. Matthaï, *Die Klosterpolitik Kaiser Heinrichs II.: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reichsabteien*, (Grünberg, 1877), pp.41-44.

⁷⁶⁸ U. Schmitt, 'Villa Regalis Ulm und Kloster Reichenau: Untersuchungen zur Pfalzfunktion des Reichsklostergutes im Alemannien (9-12. Jahrhundert)' in *VMPIG* 42, (Göttingen, 1974), pp.32-56.

⁷⁶⁹ D. Flach, 'Untersuchungen zur Verfassung und Verwaltung des Aachener Reichsgutes' in *VMPIG* 46, (Göttingen, 1976), pp.87-90.

⁷⁷⁰ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, p.76.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., p.76.

the king could also exact services for the upkeep of roads and bridges, mills and ovens; the supervision of fairs and markets could also be demanded⁷⁷². Although these services existed in the Carolingian era, they were identified with the Western Empire, meaning that they could have survived into the Capetian period. It is these examples of services that will be outlined below and will, hopefully, demonstrate a range of services that Philip I was able to count on from the churches and monasteries of his kingdom.

The services given to the king were mutual as the monasteries and churches needed royal patronage and protection in order to carry out effectively their duties. One of Philip's charters, dated 14 February 1094 from Paris, illustrates his attempt to re-dress a church which had fallen on hard times. Its resources were minimal and it was managed poorly. Philip hoped that by placing the church under the protection and care of Marmoutier that they would manage to make the church wealthier and sustainable⁷⁷³. He took care to guarantee immunities for churches and monasteries, enabling themselves to foster their resources⁷⁷⁴. In a diploma for Saint-Nicaise de Rheims, Philip delivered the *villa* of Houdilcourt with all its appurtenances, namely one manse, a church, serfs, a stream and a windmill⁷⁷⁵. Even if he did not travel to these areas, they could still supply the king's needs by giving the *servitium regis* in either food or money to an area where Philip was expected or had a palace. This technique was in use in the western Empire and Philip may have used it⁷⁷⁶. The bulk of Philip's charters, as is the case for the other rulers of western Christendom, were dedicated to the monasteries and churches of the demesne. In addition, there were also political reasons for lavish grants of lands or rights. Since the monasteries needed resources to host the king, and the king needed to be hosted, the grants were made with this in mind, to ensure the prosperity of the monasteries and their ability to host a royal party. I believe that in France, however, especially within the royal lands, the economic purpose of grants made by Philip was intended more for the *servitium regis* than for the *gistum*. A quick glance at a certain few of Philip's charters will

⁷⁷² Ibid., p.76.

⁷⁷³ Prou, #CXXXII.

⁷⁷⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.452-455.

⁷⁷⁵ Prou, #X.

⁷⁷⁶ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, p.75.

illustrate this, although only specific mention was made of the *servitium regis*-most were given with the intention of aiding the king and his administration.

To begin with, the charters which outline the services due to the king shall be examined, followed by those which aided the king in the administration of the demesne and lastly those which were centred round the collection of dues and fees. The first charter identifying services is found in a diploma for the abbey of Ferrières, dated 18 March 1070. It was stated in this charter that if the king's castle needs to be repaired, then his provosts will travel to the abbey and request his services⁷⁷⁷. In another diploma, dated in 1092, Philip stated that the archbishop of Rouen must attend one of the king's courts either at Beauvais, Paris or *Senlis/Sens* to advise the king at least once a year unless the archbishop is prevented by a legitimate reason⁷⁷⁸. Philip, in another charter dated from Paris on 21 May 1073, gave to the monastery of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the monks living there the tenth of all wine which pertain to the cellar or granary of Poissy along with a mill on the condition that the said monastery either repair an old monastery or have a new one built⁷⁷⁹. Of these three charters the basic services found in the diplomas were simple enough, the counsel and advice of one of the magnates of the kingdom, the necessary works to be carried out on a royal castle and the guaranteeing of certain duties⁷⁸⁰. It is quite unfortunate that no further duties or services were outlined, but such is the case with eleventh century France.

Moving away from the services owed to the king to those services which aided the king in his administration much more was gathered. In a charter dated before 4 August 1069 to Saint-Audo of Visors, Philip granted them the passage and toll of

⁷⁷⁷ "...et, si opus clausionis castelli mei fuerit, prepositus meus veniens ad abbatem impetrabit prece non pro consuetudine cariam boum illorum qui ultra Lupam fuerint." Prou, #LI.

⁷⁷⁸ "Hoc autem erit servicium quod pro prefato fedio faciet mihi Rotomagensis archiepiscopus: per singulos annos veniet ad unam ex curiis meis, sive Belvacum, sive Parisius, sive Silvanectum, si fecero eum convenienter submoneri, nisi ipse legitimam excusationem habuerit." Prou, #CXXVII.

⁷⁷⁹ "Ego...supradicto monasterio...dedi omnem decimam vini et annone mee que pertinent ad cellarium vel granarium Pissiacy...similiter dedi omnem decimam annone mee et avene et leguminum de Aquilina et omnium crementorum meorum que facta fuerint in ea. Molendinam etiam Filiolicurtis dedi...dedi etiam vivum nemus, quantum fuerit necessarium ad edificia monachorum vel nova facienda vel veteran reparanda." Ibid., #LXIII.

⁷⁸⁰ As mentioned by J. Bernhardt for the Western Empire, *Itinerant kingship*, p.76.

Chaumont⁷⁸¹. To his favourite monastery, Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, Philip granted, in 1080, all the justice and all the royalties that he exacted on the Loire up to his own lands, near the new castle⁷⁸². Similarly, in 1090-1091, he conceded his justice and the toll on one part for the church, another part on the river Loire, a third on the public route and a fourth on the lands of Saint-Victor, a church in Orléans⁷⁸³. Likewise, the maintenance of fairs and the collection of tolls along fair routes was an immense task for Philip, which is why he handed over the administrative functions and duties to churches and monasteries, while guarantying his revenues and rights in the area. This explains the numerous references in his charters regarding fares and tolls. A grant made by Philip I dated 7 March 1092 to the brothers and their communal treasure of the toll on all merchants and negotiators along with all justice concerning the fair is another example. He explains in greater detail that it encompasses the toll on bread and all other transactions from the fair⁷⁸⁴. Lastly, at sometime between 1068 and 1098, Philip granted his castle, named *Carisiacum*, in the *pagus* of Soissons, to the church of Noyon⁷⁸⁵. Such a grant was very important, as it meant that Philip believed that the church could govern the region with competence and trust. The granting of a castle usually entailed high demands, such as the carrying out of justices, the collection of tolls and the protection of the peace and enforcement of the king's will.⁷⁸⁶ These diplomas have focused mostly on the granting of duties and services on the king's behalf. Most dealt with administration and the collection of fees and tolls. Only a few references were found where the term *servitium* was used and it is clear from the above charters and grants that for Philip, *servitium* consisted of duties for which he was unable to accomplish himself or demanded too much of his time. He granted the

⁷⁸¹ "sancto Audoeno de Gisorz conductum de Calvomante et peditum..." Prou, #XLVI.

⁷⁸² "concedimus omne ius et omnem redibitionem quam exigebamus in fluvio Ligeris... usque ad nostrum domum prope Castrum Novum... ad piscationem..." Ibid., #CI.

⁷⁸³ "ut eis viariam nostrum que in vineis eorum, videlicet quatuor aripennis plus minusve, fuerat apud Domnum Martinum, et annem justiciam nostrum et toltam concederemus... una parte atrio ecclesie, altera fluvio Ligeritis, tertia via publica, quarta terra sancti Vitoris." Ibid., #CXXIII.

⁷⁸⁴ "...donavimus eidem ecclesie, fratribus videlicet et thesaurario communiter, teloneum totius negotiationis necnon et latronem et omne ius et justitiam fori, teloneum etiam panis et omnia forisfacta fori..." Ibid., #CXXVI.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., #CXXXVI "castellum nostrum, nomine Carisiacum, in pago Suessionico situm, ecclesie Noviomensi perpetualiter possidendum concederemus..."

⁷⁸⁶ Baldwin V of Flanders was very aware of the potential of castles in developing the local region. He would be very conscious of his castles. He would grant the title of castellan as a fixed position, but would maintain all rights on the castle itself. See F.L. Ganshof, 'La Flandre' in *HIF* I, p.371; Not much is known about Philip and his use of castles. It would be interesting to develop this idea further, J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, pp.164-165.

collection of tolls and justice to the ecclesiastical orders in the hopes that they could be enforced and collected. Together, they would govern the royal demesne more effectively.

Although many points between the two monarchs were quite similar, one that diverged was their itineraries. Whereas the emperor travelled widely and frequently, Philip, on the other hand, travelled from palace to palace within a limited geographic area. It was proven that the emperor could have the *servitium* delivered to a palace or other place, this was probably the case with Philip I, especially from the monasteries and churches that did not host, or even see, the king with any frequency. I believe that the usage of the *servitium regis* by both monarchs differed according to their necessities and needs. Henry IV needed the *gistum* on a frequent basis, whereas Philip I required the duties associated with the *servitium* more so than the *gistum*. He needed the monastic houses to fulfil their duties to maintain the roads and transit routes then to collect tolls and other similar taxes⁷⁸⁷. From his charters, these were the single most important elements of his grants to church institutions. Philip relied on the church to help him to administer his demesne, and the fact that he granted those immunities and percentages of revenues collected from either tolls or justices, demonstrates an attempt by the king to enrich the church under his care in order to help them with their duties.

In addition to financial or advisory help, kings often called upon the church to help in protecting the kingdom, or to join them in their campaigns to enforce peace or judgements. As stated above, when Philip granted his castle to the churchmen from Noyon, it was for their protection. For them to make such a request suggest that the conditions at the time in that region must have been quite chaotic. In order to stabilise the situation, Philip I decided on this action to enforce what must have been judged earlier in one of his courts. It would seem that this castle had become the responsibility of the churchmen of Noyon, which would remove an expense from the king's treasury. Another service provided by the church in both monarchies was the military service and aid that this institution could provide. It is known that kings would often ask churches, abbeys and monasteries for the use of their vassals in conflicts, rare were the times they would

⁷⁸⁷ G. Constable, 'Religious Communities' in *NCMH* IV, I, p.337.

refuse to help. One such example was identified in the battle of du Puiset in 1079 when the bishop of Auxerre and his men came to the assistance of the king⁷⁸⁸. Although, during his troubles with the papacy, Philip I still managed to demand this service from the French church without much resistance. He did encounter difficulties, however, with the bishop of Chartres, Ivo, who refused to meet the king's request⁷⁸⁹. Once the controversy of the investiture contest had been settled in France, around the year 1107 With the meeting between Philip I and Paschal II, and the papacy and French monarchy were on amicable terms once more. The king had no further resistances from the ecclesiastical authorities in demanding their military services. Suger records the aid offered to king Louis VI by the abbey of Saint-Denis in the conflict against Henry V⁷⁹⁰. The extreme lack of sources for Philip's military might make this a very difficult point to develop, although an attempt will be made in the chapter on the demesne⁷⁹¹. The close alliance between the king and the church extended to so many services, that his military needs must have been met. It could be that Philip demanded financial compensation instead of military aid in certain circumstances, though this is unknown.

This takes us to the point that Philip could, and did, use ecclesiastical lands and properties as outposts. These properties often gave him a position of power and even influence, in the lands of another. This is very important in understanding Philip's power and authority and only a brief outline will be explained here. It was outposts such as these that permitted Philip to voyage across the kingdom at large, and be housed and fed. Those ecclesiastical institutions were very important for Philip, they were the ones that he depended upon the most for his travels outside his heartland, places such as Tours and

⁷⁸⁸ "Rex vero ejus audaciam compescere cupiens, undeque militum contrahit manum. Inter reliquos etiam auxiliares, exercitum de Burgundia adventare jubet. Qui accepto mandato, in Franciam properant, dux videlicet ejusdem Burgundiae Odo, Nivernensium comes Guillelmus, Antissiodorensium pontifex Gaufredus, et alii quamplures, quos retexere perlongum putavimus." Raoul Tortaire, 'Miraculi S. Benedicti' in *PL* 160, [col.1212B].

⁷⁸⁹ "Excellentiae vestrae litteras nuper accepi, quibus submonebar ut apud Pontesium vel Calvum Montem cum manu militum vobis, die quem statueratis occurrerem, iturus vobiscum ad placitum quod futurum est inter regem Anglorum et comitem Normannorum; quod facere ad praesens magnae et multae causae me prohibent. Primo, quia dominus pap Urbanus interdicat vobis auctoritate apostolica thorum mulieris quam pro uxore habetis et quia sacramentum de securitate concilii quod vobis mandaverat fieri vetuistis..." Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 28, pp.116-118.

⁷⁹⁰ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c. 28 where he describes the event of Henry V's would be invasion of Rheims and Louis VI calling for the general ban to defend the kingdom and his subsequent victory.

⁷⁹¹ See above, pp.73-122.

Rheims and others which, normally, belonged within the demesne lands of others, acted as islands of refuge for the king. Philip was the only magnate of the kingdom to have such institutions outside of his demesne lands, even the mighty duke of Normandy only had those institutions found in Normandy, not in Anjou, not in Brittany⁷⁹².

In *Francia*, dukes, counts and lesser nobles acquired similar rights to the king due to the de-centralising of authority. Their rights, however, were on a smaller scale. They were limited to their own lordships whereas the king's rights, in theory, extended all over the kingdom⁷⁹³. Two examples will illustrate this, the first, mentioned above, was the ecclesiastical rights over the church. The second deals with travel. Although dukes, counts and to a lesser degree, lords, travelled within their demesne in the same fashion as the king, a difference between the two forms of itineraries was the royal right of travel. Dukes were limited to their own demesnes, they could not seek shelter or food for themselves nor their court once outside of their lands unless at great cost to themselves. The king, however, was able to travel throughout the kingdom. His rights over the French church extended well beyond the borders of the Ile-de-France. Able to demand shelter and fodder on a wider region, Philip was able to venture outside his demesne without much problem. The king was also able to apply this right to foreigners such as when councils were held, or merchants travelled through the royal lands, or elsewhere, the king could either grant safe-passage or deny it. Philip could even do more, he could demand others to impede travellers and even arrest them. The best example was when Philip was determined to stop a council from being held in the lands of the duke of Aquitaine. Since the duke was his vassal, and since Philip had the right to guarantee safe passage to all attending, he revoked it and asked the duke to make it as difficult as possible for those assembling to pass through his lands, which he did in some measure⁷⁹⁴. In addition, a

⁷⁹² F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *HIF* II, pp.101-102.

⁷⁹³ Counts and dukes were able to bar passers-by in their own lands only, which made it difficult at times for travellers who were granted safe passage in one region only to have problems in another region. Such was the case with Manasses. He wrote explaining his absence from the council held at Lyons in 1080 stating: "quia regio inter nos et Lugdunum adjacens, ex capitione comitis Nivernensis et episcopo Autissiodorensis, et militum eorum, adeo bellorum tempestate turbatur, ut nulli ex regno Francorum per eam liber transitus concedatur." 'Manasse Remensis archiepiscopi ad Hugonem Diensem episcopum' in *RHGF* XIV, p.782.

⁷⁹⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.69-71.

letter dated 1074 from Gregory VII to the archbishops and bishops of France mentions that Italian merchants were stopped and forced to pay tolls while travelling through France, even after they had been granted papal assurances that they would have safe passage⁷⁹⁵. Lastly, Philip asked Hugh of du Puiset to arrest Bishop Ivo of Chartres because Ivo opposed Philip's marriage to the countess of Anjou, Bertrada, and would not sanction their union. Hugh followed Philip's request and held Ivo for over a year, pillaging the lands of the bishopric and leaving the see without a bishop⁷⁹⁶. Although few in number, these examples illustrate that Philip I exercised rights that no other magnate had or pretended to have. No other duke or count, no matter how powerful he was, had this ability or right, it was a royal prerogative. Although Philip relied on the counts and lords of regions for his actions as he was himself unable to enforce them. He was quite successful in enforcing his will mostly because his reasons accompanied those of the count's or lord's.

Part 2: Section iii) Pre-planned journeys

In his study on the role of imperial monasteries in sheltering the emperor, J. Bernhardt stated that the majority of the kings' travels were pre-planned journeys. For example, the king would spend Easter here, or celebrate Christmas there⁷⁹⁷. This system was based on the size of the travelling royal court. Since the Imperial courts were much larger than their Gallic contemporaries' the right of *gustum* was very costly. This often became a heavy burden for the host as a few examples from the western empire illustrate. In the *Annales Palidenses* we are told that the king was given the equivalent of 30 pounds of silver daily in order to feed his court⁷⁹⁸. Similarly, the *Annalista Saxa* mention the

⁷⁹⁵ Casper, *Reg.* II:5, p.131.

⁷⁹⁶ Ivo of Chartres, Ep.19, 20, 21; "Carnotensi venerabili Ivone, qui tentus fuerat carcere, quem coactus fecerat pingi in eodem castello multis diebus..." Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.xix, p.134; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.50-51.

⁷⁹⁷ J. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship*, p.59.

⁷⁹⁸ "... Otto rex vir erat strenuous, fidelis et humilis atque in exigenda iuticia severus; ad cuius mensam cotidie 30 libre argenti pertinebant; quibus sex adenitis ecclesiam Magdeburgensem, que et Parthenopolis dicitur, fundavit, aliasque quam plures." 'Annales Palidenses' in *MGH SS XVI*, p.62.

amount of food and drink the royal court consumed each day⁷⁹⁹. The numbers are quite impressive⁸⁰⁰. Since the ecclesiastical institutions supplied the needs of the royal court, they needed the resources and time to prepare for such visits. Whether or not this occurred in France is difficult to know, because of the lack of information on Philip's itinerary. From his itinerary, no centres emerge with any planned feast date, hence, it is difficult to identify a pattern with Philip. Clues do exist, however, that enforce the idea of pre-planned journeys. Aside from the feast days, pre-planned journeys occurred for other reasons, such as councils, meetings between magnates and royal court dates. Such a date, identified in a diploma dated for 1092, when Philip stated that the archbishop of Rouen must come to his court at least once a year, either in Paris, Beauvais or Senlis⁸⁰¹. This diploma is an example of a planned journey to one or more of these centres on a yearly basis. We will return to the above charter in a later discussion.

Another example is Philip's voyage to Mozac⁸⁰². This journey must have been pre-planned. Since the excommunication of Philip I by Hugh, archbishop of Lyons and papal legate, negotiations had been under way to resolve the matter. When Philip decided to marry his mistress Bertrada of Anjou in 1092, he set in motion a controversy that blackened his image. Negotiations between the pope and the king began in earnest in 1094 when Bertha of Frisia died. Philip hoped to have his marriage sanctioned. When Urban II decided to place the matter of the affair with Renaud, archbishop of Rheims, and not with Hugh of Lyons, he was hoping to have peace and a solution⁸⁰³. In September 1094, a visit by Philip to Rheims was planned. Renaud, in accordance with Philip I, summoned a council at Rheims, unfortunately, little is known of it. The important point to note for this study is the location and date were known in advance for the royal voyage to Rheims, as a letter from Bishop Ivo of Chartres attests⁸⁰⁴. Hugh of Lyons, however,

⁷⁹⁹ "Iste imperator singuli diebus habuit huiusmodi cibum, sicut scriptum invenitur: Mille porcos et oves, 10 carradas vini, 10 cervisie, frumenti maltra mille, boves 8 preter pullos et porcellos, pisces, ova, legumina, aliaque quam plura," 'Annalista Saxo' in *MGH SS VI*, p.622.

⁸⁰⁰ These numbers are analysed by J. Bernhart in his study on the monastic importance on the itinerary of the Ottonians and Salians until the Investiture contest, *Itinerant Kingship*, p.78.

⁸⁰¹ Prou, #CXXVII.

⁸⁰² Ibid., #CXXXV.

⁸⁰³ *RHGF XIV*, p.758; *JL #5523*.

⁸⁰⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Ep. 35*, pp.142-146.

called a council for 16 October 1094 in Autun at which he excommunicated the king formally⁸⁰⁵. Philip, on hearing of this pronouncement, requested a colloquium with the pope at Plaisance, unfortunately, due to unknown reasons, Philip was unable to attend. It is known that in 1095, Philip tried energetically to resolve his situation. He held a court at Mont-Notre-Dame on 14 June 1095, where he wished to solve the affaires of the kingdom. Once more a large number of bishops were in attendance, thereby proving that Mont-Notre-Dame was planned in advance. Since the majority of the northern French clergy were on Philip's side, he now wished to have the blessing of either the pope or his legate. The planned location was Mozac, sometime after 14 June but before November. The preparations were most likely made a year or at least six months in advance, if we are to judge from Ivo's letters⁸⁰⁶. Since Mozac is close to Clermont-Ferrand, a centre in the midst of preparations for the papal visit and council, it is possible to state that Mozac could host a royal court. The resources, if planned in advance, could be gathered. In addition, Philip subscribed a charter confirming the donation of the said monastery to Cluny, which was the richest monastery in the kingdom. I believe that Mozac had prepared to meet the demands placed on them by the royal court, and in return, Philip confirmed the donations made by the count of Auvergne, Robert, and his son, William, of the monastery of Mozac to Cluny⁸⁰⁷.

Similarly when Philip and Bertrada stayed in Angers in 1106, it was at the request of Fulk, the count of Anjou⁸⁰⁸. After Philip's abduction of Fulk's wife in 1092, relations

⁸⁰⁵ "Rex Galliarum Philippus excommunicatus est." 'Chronicon' in *MGH SS V*, p.461.

⁸⁰⁶ "Venturi sunt ad vos in proximo nuntii ex parte regis Francorum, per quorum os locuturus est spiritus mendax..." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.46, p.188; "videlicet quod rex multa mala dimittere et multa bona se promittat velle facere, si cum pace sedis apostolicae et communione ecclesiastica mulierem quam illicite habet, valeat ad tempus retinere." Ep.47, p.192; We also have a source from Notcher abbot of Altvillers who stated: "Verum quoniam pro negotiis regni statuendis octavo die occursuri errant glorioso Regi Philippo cum aliis Galliarum coepiscopis in vico Suessionicae sedi subjecto qui vocatur Mons-Sanctae-Mariae, placuit ut tantae rei consensus in conspectus Regis et procerum ejus referretur, et edicto ipsius, sive omnium aulicorum et episcoporum qui venture ibi errant authentica confirmatione, corroboratur: quod ita et factum est." 'Ex Libello Notcheri Abbatis Altvillarensis:' 'De Veritate reliquiarum S. Helenae matris Constantini Magni' in *RHGF XIV*, p.89; See Fliche for the commentary on these events, *Philippe Ier*, pp.57-59.

⁸⁰⁷ "rogatu rotberti comitis et Wilelmi filii ejus, venerabili Cluniacensi abbati Hugoni... cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus jure perpetuo possidendum... concessi, sicut praefatus comitis dono et confirmatione Arvernensis episcopo, Duranni, et canonicorum ejus necnon et archiepiscopi Bituricensis, Aldeberti, audieram concessisse." Prou, #CXXXV.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., #s CLVII, CLVIII.

between the two had been soured⁸⁰⁹. It seems that by 1106 Fulk was ready to meet the king on amicable terms and a meeting was arranged to discuss matters. While in Angers, surrounded by numerous clergy and laity, the count received the pair, Philip I and Bertrada of Anjou, magnificently⁸¹⁰. Fulk's hosting of the king and his ex-wife is also confirmed by Orderic Vitalis, who claimed that it was Bertrada herself who reconciled the two⁸¹¹. Either way, the assembled court was numerous with both lay and clergy as witnesses, not to mention Philip's and Bertrada's households. With such a large gathering, Fulk had to make the right preparations well in advance, unfortunately, how much time was required is unknown. These examples illustrate that some of Philip's journeys abroad were planned affairs, and that they were not a burden for the monastery, church or palace as they could prepare in advance for the royal entourage.

What if, however, the king appeared unannounced, or only gave a short notice of an incoming visit, how would that effect the monastery or church? An example, from the Western Empire, of such stress placed on a monastery is found in the *Life of Bishop Bouchard of Worms*. It described the problems that arose when the emperor requested the *gistum* from the monastery, but only gave them a week's notice of his arrival⁸¹². Unfortunately, no such examples exist with the French monarchy, but, if unprepared, then the royal court could be a burden on the monastery or church involved. Although the French king's court was smaller than his German homonyms it must have still been a burden for certain churches and monasteries, especially the poorer or smaller ones. As noted, the royal churches and monasteries felt the burden of the *servitium*, as they were the ones who supplied the resources necessary for the king's travels. The close link between the church and the monarchy is once again underlined. Without the church, the king would have been unable to govern effectively, if at all. In the regions where the king had no residences, and not too many visits were detected, he used the rights of *gistum* and *fodrum*. To illustrate this, I will use the royal monastery of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire. Three

⁸⁰⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.45.

⁸¹⁰ 'Addenda Chronicis S. Albini Andegavensis' in *RHGF* XII, p.486.

⁸¹¹ OV VIII, xx, p.260-262.

⁸¹² "Legati regis ad eum veniebant, qui in proxima hebdomada regem esse venturum nunciabant. De hac legatione servus Dei conturbatus, pro infirmitate sua multum doluit, quia neque regem digne suscipere nec servitium se dignum pro infirmitate potuisset praebere." 'Vita Burchardi Episcopi' in *MGH SS* IV, p.844.

visits were identified⁸¹³, of those three no mention of a palace or castle was identified, however, it seems that Philip possessed a nearby house which may have been his chosen residence for those journeys. If not, then it is probable that the monastery itself housed the king. As seen with the Western Empire, the royal entourage on these visits could be quite huge, but in Philip's case I believe it to be much smaller and less of a burden on the host⁸¹⁴. The charters for Fleury all deal with local affairs and small witness lists. This means that along with the royal court and the local residents of Fleury, the entourage was quite small⁸¹⁵. In addition, Philip endowed the monastery with special attention; it was his chosen monastery for which to be buried. This favouritism by Philip meant that Fleury received its kindest benefactor since its foundation⁸¹⁶. It is safe to write, that during Philip's long reign, Fleury was a rich monastery. It shared a special relationship with the king. It is unfortunate that none of Philip's charters for Fleury mention any services rendered to the king. In fact, as Brühl pointed out, it is near enough impossible to know what services were granted or required to the king because of the lack of evidence⁸¹⁷. A few services, however, were rendered to the king and have been identified with the most notable being that of the archbishop of Rouen. There is no evidence that the Abbot of Fleury had to give similar services as those of the archbishop of Rouen to the king, although I do believe that they had to render the *gistum* and *fodrum* and, when needed, supply Philip I with certain services, either money payments, or military aid.

In conclusion, the French kingdom was very distinct from its western counterparts, and no other point illustrates this better than the royal itinerary. Not only was France different in its structure but even the king and his travels differed. This geographically divided kingdom meant that the French king had a smaller region to travel

⁸¹³ Prou' #s LVI, XC, Clarius, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp.150-152; B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe Ier*, p.60.

⁸¹⁴ "Philippi regis; Hugonis, filii Tescelini; Petverensis militis; Alberti, fratris Hugonis; Milesindis, matris eorum; Tescelini filii Alberti" Prou, #LVI; "Phylippi regis Francorum; Aganonis, Heduenis episcopo; Comitibus Rainaldi de Nivernis; Roberti dapiferi; Rotberti de Alliaco; Gautherii de Clamiciaco; Ebonis de Montecelso; Gislebertus cancellarii"; with these witnesses: "Goisfredus prior; Eustachius; Gislebertus; Dainbertus; Gauterius; Mainardus; Goisbertus; Malfredus; Bernadus; Hugo; Rotbertus; Araudus" Ibid., #XCV.

⁸¹⁵ The sole exception is the translation of the Saint which was witnessed by many people, both lay and spiritual.

⁸¹⁶ See *Recueil des Actes de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire*, (ed. M. Prou and A. Vidier), (Orléans, 1900).

⁸¹⁷ C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, p.221.

within than the other monarchs. With a smaller region, Philip's travels show a dense concentration within a smaller region, with only a few travels outside of this region and even less south of the Loire. Of all the Capetian monarchs, Philip I was the most limited and localised in his travels. He concentrated on solidifying his influence and direct rule in his demesnes along with strengthening his kingship. His travels permitted a more direct rule and wider influence on the social strata of the Ile-de-France⁸¹⁸. His preferences for Paris and Orléans are proof that Philip I was trying to increase his authority in the troubled demesne of the Ile-de-France. Lastly, Philip was less dependent on the rights of *gistum* and *fodrum*, he relied more on the *servitium* which the churches and monasteries could give him. Philip would probably have his provosts or other representatives send the money or foodstuffs requested to one of his palaces.

⁸¹⁸ J.F. Lemarignier, *La France médiévale*, 157; see also the chapter on administration below.

Chapter Four: The administration of Philip I

I: The Royal court: i) The royal family

Anne of Kiev, mother of Philip I⁸¹⁹

Anna of Kiev's role in her son's upbringing is unknown. Philip I was born in 1052, and of his early years, not much information has been preserved⁸²⁰. In fact, nothing is known of Philip until his association to the kingship in 1059. Whether or not Anna took part in Philip's education is untold in the sources. Even during Philip's minority, 1060-1067, her role in the administration is difficult to assess. As queen, her role in government was never questioned; it was her right⁸²¹. According to Berthold, monk of Reicheneu, Anna was given the regency of the young king, as queen and mother⁸²². Although the regency was entrusted to Baldwin V of Flanders, she held some influence in the administration of the kingdom. As the bishop of Chartres, Agobert, understood it, Anna was equal in rank to Baldwin as he did not distinguish between the two in royal rank⁸²³. Even in one of his diplomas Philip mentioned that on the death of his father, both he and his mother received the royal dignity. The fact that Baldwin of Flanders subscribed this charter indicates that he respected her authority and her position in the kingdom⁸²⁴.

As to her duties, she accompanied the king on his voyages throughout the kingdom. For example, in the year 1060, she followed the king to Dreux⁸²⁵, Paris⁸²⁶ and finally to Senlis⁸²⁷. In 1061, she was in Rheims on 14 May⁸²⁸, followed by Senlis on 27

⁸¹⁹ Anna of Kiev was the daughter of the king of Kiev, Iaroslav. In an attempt to add royal and exotic blood to his family, Henry went in search of a foreign wife. Once he and Iaroslav agreed on the marriage proposal, Anna was brought to France in 1049 and later married Henry I in 1051. *Les Capétiens: Histoire et dictionnaire*, p.42.

⁸²⁰ See A. Fliche for the arguments and the evidence, *Philippe Ier*, pp.1-2.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.16-17.

⁸²² "Heinricus Galliarum rex obiit, et filius eius Philippus adhuc puer regnum cum matre gubernandum suscepit." 'Bertholdi annals' in *MGH SS V*, p.271.

⁸²³ "Hac itaque consideratione permoti, ob nostre inprimis successorumque nostrorum seu clericorum, quorum consilio et voluntate id fecimus, necnon etiam dominorum nostrorum piissimorum regum, Philippi scilicet et matris eius, Agnetis..." Prou, #VI.

⁸²⁴ "Domno vero Henrico rege obeunte, dum ego Philippus, filius eius, admodum parvulus, regnum unacum matre suscepissem, plurimi ex proceribus nostris, in quorum tutela et nos et regnum nostrum esse decebat..." *Ibid.*, #XIII.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, #II.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, #III.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, #s IV and V.

of the same month⁸²⁹. She accompanied Philip to Soissons in 1063⁸³⁰. She did not follow her son to Flanders. Baldwin V did not need or wish her to be present at his courts. Lastly, during the regency, she was present at Philip's court in Orléans on 26 January 1065⁸³¹. In addition, she subscribed a diploma from Melun dated 1067. After that date, no mentions of her in the diplomas were found until before 23 May 1075 in Paris when she added her subscription as queen mother⁸³². Although her name does not appear in certain charters during 1060 and 1061 this does not mean that she did not accompany the king. Even the regent's name did not appear in either of those same locations. It is difficult to believe that they accompanied the king throughout the majority of the year only to leave him at the end⁸³³. Shortly after 1061, the queen mother's journeys with Philip became less frequent. This was, as A. Fliche argued, because of her marriage to Raoul de Crépy⁸³⁴. It seems, if we are to judge from a letter by the archbishop of Rheims, Gervais, to Pope Alexander II, that the wedding between the two caused a certain degree of tension in the entourage of the king⁸³⁵. Whether or not her diminished role in the administration was caused by her desire to be with Raoul or whether it was Baldwin V's wish is unknown. Either way, her name practically disappeared after 1061. Her role in the administration seems to have been diminished to an intervener between the king and those seeking his attention. Since she was close to the king, others would often ask her to intercede on their behalf to the king hoping that he would confirm with his signature a certain grant or right. Such was the case when Anne intervened on behalf of her sister-in-law Adela of Flanders, wife of Baldwin V, to ask the king to give to the abbey of Saint-Denis the *villa* of Courcelles-en-Parisis⁸³⁶. Her role as intervener was also identified in a charter, dated 1060, confirming the renunciation of rights that Philip's predecessors perceived on the lands of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais, notably at Cinqueux, Rosoy and Verderonne⁸³⁷. Her council was also important to the king. When Philip delivered a

⁸²⁸ Ibid., # X.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., #XI.

⁸³⁰ Ibid., #XVI.

⁸³¹ Ibid., #XVIII.

⁸³² Prou, #LXXV.

⁸³³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.17.

⁸³⁴ For the date argued by Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.18-20.

⁸³⁵ 'Gervasii Remorum Archiepiscopi Epistola ad Alexandrum II Papam' in *RHGF* XI, p.499.

⁸³⁶ Prou, #IV.

⁸³⁷ "...quod per interventum matris nostrae..." Ibid., #V.

diploma for Saint-Nicaise of Rheims it was by the council of Anna and of the other faithful to the king⁸³⁸. In general, her role in the royal administration was minimal, limited to a couple of years and mostly as an intervener.

Hugh “the Great” of Vermandois, brother of Philip I.

Hugh’s role in the administration of the kingdom is equally mysterious. Not much is known concerning his role as the king’s brother, mostly because of his young age when Philip was made king. Since Henry I had not given Hugh any lands or titles of his own, it was Philip who had to supply Hugh with his livelihood. During the regency, it was not until 29 May 1067 that his name appeared on a diploma⁸³⁹. He later appeared as witness to a diploma dated 15 June 1068 from Senlis⁸⁴⁰. A year later he was once more identified in a diploma from Senlis⁸⁴¹. During the 1070s, Hugh appeared as subscriber in Paris on 18 March 1070⁸⁴², in Poissy before 4 August 1071⁸⁴³, and then in Melun before 4 August of the same year⁸⁴⁴. He was in Orléans before 23 May 1075⁸⁴⁵, followed by Soissons, where he appeared alongside the new queen, Bertha of Frisia, in a diploma dated after 23 May 1075⁸⁴⁶. He subscribed a diploma as “the great” for the first time in Poitiers on 14 October 1076⁸⁴⁷. At Gerberoy, January 1079, Hugh subscribed as count for the first time⁸⁴⁸. In 1080, it is clear that Hugh had been made count of Crépy as he was witness, along with his wife Adela, to a royal diploma⁸⁴⁹. Hugh was present in Poissy on 6 January 1082⁸⁵⁰ and again in Paris during the same year⁸⁵¹. Hugh’s final appearance at Philip’s court was 14 February 1094 in Paris⁸⁵². Afterwards, Hugh “the Great” left the

⁸³⁸ “Igitur, more partum nostrorum consilioque dilectissime matris nostre Anne et fidelium nostrorum rogatu, domni videlicet Gervasii, Remorum archipresulis, et ceterorum curialium nostrorum.” Ibid., #X.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., #XXX.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., #XXXIX.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., #XLIII.

⁸⁴² Ibid., #LI.

⁸⁴³ Ibid., #LIV.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., #LV.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., #LXXVI.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., #LXXVIII.

⁸⁴⁷ “Hugonis magni, fratris Philippi regis” Ibid., #LXXXIV.

⁸⁴⁸ “Comitis Hugonis, fratris regis” Ibid., #XCIV.

⁸⁴⁹ “Hugo de Crispeo et Adela, uxor eius” Ibid., #CIII.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., #CVI.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., #CVII.

⁸⁵² Ibid., #CXXXII.

royal court for the Holy Land as the leader of the contingent from the royal lands⁸⁵³. The interesting point concerning Hugh's subscriptions to the diplomas mentioned above is their position in relevance to the other signatories. His subscription was mostly at the top, or after those of the ecclesiastical members. For the majority of the charters he witnessed or subscribed, his was the first secular name to appear⁸⁵⁴. This demonstrates that he was regarded with respect by his brother, and also by the others at the court. His role in the administration was mostly as advisor to his brother. He appeared frequently throughout the reign, but only in the regions located near his lands, or in the heart of the Capetian territory. The one exception, Poitiers in 1076, is explainable. Philip gathered a large group of the nobility to aid him in his conflict against the duke of Normandy William II and I of England in which Philip's brother took part⁸⁵⁵. In addition to his advisory role, Hugh served another purpose. After becoming the count of the Vermandois, Philip had a friendly neighbour and ally willing to assist him and one who would not cause trouble on that frontier.

The wives of Philip I

The role of Philip's wives in the administration of the kingdom was minimal. Philip's first wife, Bertha of Frisia, was an outsider in the politics of the demesne. Aside from giving birth to the future king Louis VI and to a daughter Constance, she was virtually non-existent in the administration, she appeared only in three diplomas; in addition she never appeared as an intervener⁸⁵⁶. In 1092 Philip repudiated her for no known reason and in 1094 she died alone at Montreuil-sur-Mer⁸⁵⁷. Bertrada of Anjou, on the other hand, was more involved in the politics of the kingdom, especially since it was with her that

⁸⁵³ For his adventures in the Holy Land, see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IX, pp.30, 34, 36, 58, and especially on his battle exploits 60-62, 110-114.

⁸⁵⁴ For example, he was the first to sign the charter #XXX; he is the first lay name to appear on #s XXXIX and XLIII. In #LI, he appears second after a certain Simon. In #LIV he appears at the top of the list, while in #LV he is the last, of three, including the king. In #LXXVI, he is the first to scribe his name. He appears near the bottom of #LXXVIII, but he signs with the family, his brother the king and his new wife the queen. In the Poitiers charter, #LXXXIV, he appears after the duke of Aquitaine. The Gerberoy diploma, #XLIV, he appears farther down, after both kings signed, some of the royal household and a few ecclesiastics. For #CIII, he appears as a witness after the household members. In #CVI he is further down the list than normal with no real explanation to why. For the last diploma he appears in, #CVII, he is one of a few to sign, after the household.

⁸⁵⁵ Prou, #s LXXXIV, LXXXV.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., #s LXXVIII, LXXXVI, CXXX.

⁸⁵⁷ *Les Capétiens: histoire et dictionnaire*, p.51.

Philip settled with at the expense of his first wife. Although her role in the administration was minimal, it was her influence on Philip which was greater. Because of his affair, Philip spent the majority of the last years of his reign in conflict with the papacy and certain members of the French clergy. Philip, because of his love for this woman, was twice excommunicated and, in addition, his itinerary and overall activity with regards to temporal matters suffered, and only thanks to the future king Louis VI that temporal matters were taken care of. Philip spent these years trying to have his marriage to Bertrada recognised and approved. Promising to abstain from her on many times, and failing as often, Philip and the Pope, Paschal II, finally came to an agreement. The pope absolved Philip from the excommunication in 1104 and turned a blind eye to Philip's continued relations with Bertrada⁸⁵⁸. Like her predecessor, she subscribed only two charters⁸⁵⁹. However, unlike Bertha of Frisia, she appeared twice in the diplomas as an intervener⁸⁶⁰. It was Bertrada's influence on the king and on politics in the Ile-de-France, however, where she was more effective. She was persistent in her efforts against bishop Ivo of Chartres, where she forced the king not to grant him safe-passages for church councils. Ivo referred to her, in a letter dated 1094 and addressed to the king, as the destroyer of the king and of his chance at eternal salvation⁸⁶¹. It is known through Ivo's letters that she pressured the king in forcing the clerics of Beauvais into accepting as bishop Stephen of Garlande, even though he was excommunicated by the papal legate archbishop Hugh of Lyons⁸⁶². She was often the reason why Philip I sided with a simoniacal candidate instead of the canonically elected one⁸⁶³.

ii) The Magnates

⁸⁵⁸ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.46-74.

⁸⁵⁹ Prou, #s CLVII, CLVIII.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid*, #s CXLI, CLVIII.

⁸⁶¹ "... mulieris quam pro uxore habetis et quia sacramentum de seciritate concilii quod vobis mandaverat...A cuius commixtione si amodo non cessastis, separate vos eadem auctoritatis a participatione dominici corporis et sanguinis... postremo novit vestra serenitas quia non est mihi in curia vestra plena securitas, in qua ille sexus mihi est suspectus et infestus, qui etiam amicis aliquando non satis est fidus." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.28, pp.116-118.

⁸⁶² "a legato Romanae Ecclesiae Lugdunensi archiepiscopo de Ecclesia eiectum, pro voluntate regis, et illius contubernalis suae, in episcopum assumpserunt. Praedictus autem intrusus Stephanus vocatur de Guarlanda." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.87 in *PL* 162 [col.42A-42B].

⁸⁶³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.98.

The workings of the royal court in the early Capetian period involved assemblies of the magnates, both lay and spiritual, of the kingdom. They would arrive at a location, chosen by the king, discuss matters of importance, advise the king on matters and co-sign his diplomas. This was the system utilised by the Carolingians, and similarly by the Western emperors. A fundamental shift occurred in the West Frankish kingdom of the Capetians. With the de-centralisation of power and the growing independence of the princes each dukedom and county acted as an almost autonomous state. The king, although, recognised as king, hardly held any influences in their respective regions. This meant that the great assemblies became less frequent, with the number of magnates participating also on the decrease⁸⁶⁴. By the time of Philip I, court attendance and frequency reached its nadir. The magnates had all but disappeared, and court attendance was no longer necessary, although traces of the old system persisted during the regency. Similarly, Philip's consecration ceremony was a return to the Carolingian courts with the list of those present impressive⁸⁶⁵. Those in attendance were the duke of Aquitaine and with him some lords from the Auvergne, from the Marche, from Limousin and from Angoumois. The duke of Burgundy, and counts of Anjou and Flanders sent delegates to the ceremony. Of all those mentioned, only the duke of Normandy failed to attend or send envoys⁸⁶⁶. For the majority this was a unique appearance at a royal court during Philip's reign. Aside from these witnesses, in a diploma for the abbey of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand of Soissons, dated in 1063, Philip mentions those of his advisers who were the most influential of the kingdom, they were Gervais, archbishop of Rheims, Philip's brother, Robert, Baldwin, the count of Flanders, Elinand, bishop of Laon and Raoul, count of Crépy⁸⁶⁷. These were Philip's advisers and regular attendees to his courts. Of these, only three are worth mentioning, Baldwin of Flanders, Raoul of Crépy and Gervais, archbishop of Rheims. Robert, Philip's brother, died at a very young age, and Elinand did not play a significant role in the administration of the kingdom. An

⁸⁶⁴ O. Guillot, A. Rigaudière and Y. Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale I: Des origines à l'époque féodale*, (Paris, 2003), pp.244-248.

⁸⁶⁵ The assembly of 936 for the consecration of Louis IV, J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.116.

⁸⁶⁶ *RHGF* XI, p.32; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.3.

⁸⁶⁷ "cum consensus fidelium meorum, videlicet domni Gervasii, Remorum archipraesulis, et fratris mei, Rotberti, et Bauduini comitis, et episcopi Laudunensis Elinandi, et Ratdulfī comitis ceterorumque quorum consilio meum regebatur palatium..." Prou, #XVI.

examination of the roles of Baldwin, Gervais and Raoul will demonstrate their importance and significance to royal administration during these years.

Baldwin V of Flanders was without a doubt the most important figure of the regency⁸⁶⁸. From 1060 to 1067, he was by Philip's side training him to be king. Baldwin, as regent, signed the majority of the acts; rare were the diplomas without his signature. Of the 36 diplomas preserved, Baldwin signed 14⁸⁶⁹. When travelling to Flanders, he made sure to bring the king with him and have him seal diplomas in that county with the effect of demonstrating to Philip that his authority and title applied to a vaster region than the royal lands⁸⁷⁰. When visiting Flanders, many counts and lords attended his courts and subscribed the diplomas. His first Flemish court in 1063 was composed mostly of local castellans and nobles⁸⁷¹. His two other courts, held in 1066, were similarly composed of a majority of Flemish nobility, as only one of Philip's family members was present and subscribed, his uncle Robert, duke of Burgundy⁸⁷². Baldwin's Flemish policies seemed to work, as even when outside the county, many Flemish nobles attended Philip's courts. Such as the court held in Corbie in 1065 when a large number of the Flemish nobility attended⁸⁷³. An interesting point concerning the charters of the Regency is in the variations in the list of subscriptions. It seems, as Fliche noted, that Baldwin tried to remove the need to have a vast number of subscriptions and court attendees in the early years of the reign. For example, for the years 1060-1065, there are 135 subscriptions, however, many diplomas have under five signatures⁸⁷⁴. After 1065, the amount increases dramatically, there are 374 signatures from 1065 to 1067. The majority of the diplomas after 1065 comprised of more than 15 signatures, while only two had less than five⁸⁷⁵. It seems that after the revolts had been suppressed, Baldwin wanted to diminish the role of the nobility in the administration. This seemed to work, at least until 1065, when, the

⁸⁶⁸ Although no monographies exist of the man who governed France for seven years, some works have dealt with his administration and role in Flanders. F.L. Ganshof, 'La Flandre' in *HIF* I, pp.343-426; J. Dhondt, 'Développement urbain et initiative comtale en Flandre au XIe siècle' in *RN* 30, 1948, pp.133-156; F.L. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, (Brussels, 1949)

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, #s II, III, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXIX, XXX, XXIV.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, #s XVII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII; Fliche, *Philippe I*, p.31.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, #XVII.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*, #s XXIV (Rotbertus Burgundigena), XXV.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, #XXIII

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, #s III, IX, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, #s XX, XXXI.

lords wanted more input in the governing of the kingdom. On the administrative front, Baldwin's regency was successful in preserving the Carolingian style court, with large gatherings of lords and magnates.

Raoul of Crépy was another important adviser to the king and member of the royal court. Aside from being count of Valois, he held the counties of Amiens, Pontoise, Mantes and Chaumont, in addition, he held the lordships of Bar-sur-Aube and Vitry⁸⁷⁶. He was already an important lord whose power was without equal, at least according to Guibert de Nogent⁸⁷⁷. His lands, directly to the north of Philip's demesne, bordered those of the duchy of Normandy. He was an important lord to have in the entourage and an asset not to lose. Already an important figure in the royal entourage, his prestige and influence increased with his marriage to Anna of Kiev, the queen mother, near the end of 1061. Although, the king and regent were worried at this development, he was too important an ally to lose, so they quickly reconciled themselves with him⁸⁷⁸. He accompanied the king several times and subscribed a great number of charters. During the regency, his name appeared thirteen times, while after 1067, only seven times⁸⁷⁹. Those numbers support Fliche's claim that he was one of the more influential characters in the kingdom, especially during the regency⁸⁸⁰.

The archbishops of Rheims had had important relationships with the kings of France. Traditionally, they were given the title of arch-chancellors of the kingdom by the kings. They were also the intermediaries between the king and pope. When Philip I was crowned by the archbishop of Rheims, he confirmed upon the archbishop, Gervais, the title of arch-chancellor. What exactly that position entitled is unclear, it seemed, however, to be more an honour than meaningful⁸⁸¹. Although he appeared seven times at the royal courts⁸⁸², his presence did not extend beyond his diocesan jurisdiction⁸⁸³. Within his

⁸⁷⁶ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.21-22.

⁸⁷⁷ "Qui quidem Radulphus quam celebris ubique Francorum potentiae fuerit, quas urbes invaserit, quot oppida mira sagacitate quaesita tenuerit, multi superstites, qui eius actuum meminere, sunt testes." Guibert de Nogent, *De vita mea*, pp.58-60.

⁸⁷⁸ Prou, #s XI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXVII, XXVIII.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., #s II, III, V, X, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXVII, XXIX, XXXII; after 1067: XXXIX, LI, LX, LXI, LXII, LXV, LXVI.

⁸⁸⁰ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.22.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., p.22.

⁸⁸² Prou, #s I, X, XX, XXI, XXII, XXVI, XXVII.

diocese, he attended the royal courts held in Rheims, Soissons, Laon and Corbie. In the administration of the kingdom, his importance seems minimal. He was, however, regarded as the spiritual adviser *par excellence* to Philip⁸⁸⁴. In addition to his advisory role, he was considered the head of ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom, and acted as an intermediary between the king and the pope. Pope Nicholas II entrusted Gervais to settle many ecclesiastical matters, such as the problems of simony that arose in the church of Verdun⁸⁸⁵ and to arrange the see of Senlis⁸⁸⁶, because he believed in his fidelity towards him whole heartedly⁸⁸⁷. With Pope Alexander II, however, Gervais' role as papal voice to the king and French clergy reached its climax. During the dispute between the abbot of Saint-Denis and the bishop of Paris, who, regardless of papal and royal privileges, assumed all rights over the monastery. Alexander let his decision be known in 1062 to Gervais and requested him to fulfil the pope's wishes. Letters were sent both to Philip I and Baldwin V informing them of the said decision, which they accepted and obeyed⁸⁸⁸. Aside from these procedures, Gervais had to fulfil duties which had nothing to do with the king, but with the effective ordering of the Reform Papacy. Although his duties were myriad, and his presence at the courts minimal, unless in his own district, he was still a very important member of the royal court during the regency. Like his predecessors, Manasses I had duties towards the king, and as archbishop of Rheims, he was a close associate and friend of the king⁸⁸⁹. His name appeared fourteen times⁸⁹⁰, which is numerous considering he was deposed in 1080 by the pope and his legate. With his departure from the court, the archbishops of Rheims all but disappeared from the royal

⁸⁸³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.22.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., p.23.

⁸⁸⁵ "ne Viridunensi Ecclesiae, quae nobis commissa est cum fratribus, quidquam iniuriae tam per te quam per tuos inferre amodo patiaris. Quod autem contra eiusdem Ecclesiae fratres nunc noviter, et tu, et tui, damni et iniuriae intulistis, communiter et sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae causa, et nostri amore emendare te, omni occasione remota, admonendo jubemus." *PL* 143, [Col.1349A]; *JL* #4445.

⁸⁸⁶ "Quod de episcopo Silvanectensi nobis per filium nostrum mandasti, quia canonicum est, cum eodem filio nostro tibi concedimus. Neque enim iustitiae contraire volumus, pro qua mori, si necesse sit, lucrum putamus." *PL* 143, [Col.1349C]; *JL* #4445.

⁸⁸⁷ *PL* 143, [Col.1347D-1349C]; *JL* #s 4444, 4445

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., #s 4566 (Gervais), 4567 (Philip and Baldwin).

⁸⁸⁹ For his relationship with the king see chapter II, pp.73-122; for his relationship with Gregory VII, see J. R. Williams, J.R. Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII' in *AHR* LIV #4, 1949, pp

⁸⁹⁰ Prou, #s XXXIX, XLIII, XLVIII, XLIX, LX, LXI, LXII, LXXVIII, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXVI, XCI, XCIV.

court. After him, Renaud signed two royal charters⁸⁹¹, and his successor none at all. Manasses I was the last archbishop of Rheims to share a special friendship with the king and considered an intimate councillor.

The final churchmen to be examined is Richer, archbishop of Sens. He was present at many of Philip's courts, subscribing thirteen charters⁸⁹². Although this seems few considering the length of time that Richer acted as archbishop (1062-1096) he was a constant figure throughout the reign, appearing at different moments. Even though his role was not as intimate as that of the archbishops of Rheims, he was still an intimate advisor of Philip's. Similarly to archbishop Gervais of Rheims, both Richer and Manassès dealt with matters in their own dioceses. Geoffrey, on the other hand, as chancellor, ventured throughout the kingdom, wherever the king travelled. He was the only ecclesiastic found in a variety of places not affiliated with his diocese or his church. The only lay magnate worth mentioning is Hugh I of le Puiset (Pusatio), who, during the 1070s, was the most constant lay presence at Philip's court. He signed or witnessed eight diplomas⁸⁹³, more than any other baron in the kingdom. Although his presence was attested mostly at local courts such as Paris, three⁸⁹⁴, Orléans, two⁸⁹⁵, Orry, one⁸⁹⁶, he was also a witness to a charter in Mantes⁸⁹⁷, a little out of his area. He was an important castellan of the region, leading a revolt against the king in 1079⁸⁹⁸, which diminished his presence at court. Until then, however, he was an intimate advisor of Philip's.

After the regency, only four magnates were regular attendees to Philip's court and of these three were ecclesiastics. The first, and most frequent attendee, was the bishop of Paris, Geoffrey. Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, was a very important member of Philip's court and entourage, especially since he had become the royal chancellor in the middle of 1070. This meant that he transcribed the royal *acta* and held the royal seal. His name appeared

⁸⁹¹ Prou, #s CX, CXXXIV.

⁸⁹² Ibid., #s XXX, XLII, LII, LVII, LVIII, LX, LXII, LXXXI, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XCI, CVI, CXXXIII.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., #s XLIII, XLVIII, XLIX, L, LII, LIII, LXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXIX.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., #s XLVIII, XLIX, LII.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., #s LXXVI, LXXXVII.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., #LIII.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., #LXXXIX.

⁸⁹⁸ For more on this event see Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.313-316.

forty times, the most numerous of any magnate in the kingdom⁸⁹⁹. He was present throughout the majority of Philip's reign. These few magnates represent the last vestiges of a past in charter transcription. The general pattern was to draw up royal diplomas and have as many magnates as possible subscribe them. Philip's reign stands at the crossroads of the old system and newly developing one. The new method had the king seal charters which had already been drawn up by others, had smaller lists of signatures, and a greater emphasis on witnesses. J.F. Lemarignier's work on royal government in the early Capetian period was the first to identify and outline these changes. The nature of the diploma, as he argued, illustrated the down turn in Capetian authority and its increasing limited sphere of action. In the Western Empire kings and emperors legislated for the whole kingdom, they wrote constitutions and laws that were, in theory, to be imposed upon the whole realm. The Emperors were powerful enough to impose these measures, they had many advisors to carry out their requests and demands⁹⁰⁰. In the French kingdom of the early Capetians, however, the royal act became more and more of a private charter between the king and those of the local region, village seeking confirmation of their rights, or of their donations⁹⁰¹. The proportion of charters sealed by the king that were royal *acta* is limited, especially when compared to those written by others and confirmed by the king. The majority of the 171 charters of Philip's register is the king adding his seal to an already transcribed act; they were confirmations made by others⁹⁰².

This changing diploma was illustrated by the number of the subscriptions of the magnates. Throughout the reign, their numbers attending court dropped. This was very evident in the subscriptions of the higher nobility, which were the first to begin the exodus. The clergy maintained the court numbers for a while, until even they eventually left. The reason is simple, the magnates dealt with issues of significance, which would be discussed in the royal court. When the decentralisation of royal power was occurring, the general courts were called less frequently. During Philip's reign, only a few courts of

⁸⁹⁹ Prou., #s XVIII, XXI, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVII, XXXIX. XLII, XLIV, LII, LIV, LVII, LVIII, LX, LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXVI, LXXII, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XCI, XCVI, CII, CIV, CVI, CVIII, CIX, CXVI, CXX, CXXIV, CXXV.

⁹⁰⁰ J.F. Lemarignier, *La France médiévale: institutions et sociétés*, 1970, p.106.

⁹⁰¹ J.F. Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement Royal aux premiers temps Capétiens (987-1108)*, 1965, p.138.

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.107.

significant size were called, such as in 1076, when Philip gathered a large host to discuss the problem of Normandy⁹⁰³. The two diplomas issued from Poitiers indicate that Philip was in Aquitaine to ask help from the duke for his campaign against William II of Normandy and his plan to add Brittany to his demesnes. With the *actum* evolving into a more personal diploma, the magnates of the kingdom became less numerous at the courts. Only those involved in the region would gather at the courts. Of all the magnates identified during Philip's reign, with the exception of the count of Flanders, only two exerted any influence on the king over a period of time, Raoul during the regency and for a few years afterwards, and Hugh during the 1070s. Whereas Raoul can be considered a magnate of high esteem, Hugh of le Puiset cannot be as he was a local castellan. It was these local castellans, however, who would fill the gap at the royal courts and not the magnates.

An examination of the subscriptions demonstrates this, in the first seventeen years of his reign, Philip's diplomas comprised 675 subscriptions, of these, bishops made up 19%, or 129⁹⁰⁴, while the counts comprised 12%, or 84 signatures⁹⁰⁵. Not only did the great magnates cease to attend, but so did the smaller magnates, only to be replaced by castellans and the lesser nobility. Even though the numbers of the princes or great counts is elevated, 1 in 30⁹⁰⁶, during the first seventeen years of his reign, these numbers are deceptive because of the influence of the regent Baldwin V of Flanders. Without his presence, and those from the borders of Baldwin's lands, the numbers drop to 1 in 67 subscriptions⁹⁰⁷, which matches the last thirty years of his reign, which had 1 in 57⁹⁰⁸. This phenomenon was not new, in fact, traces of it begin at the end of Robert II's reign. They reached their apex during Philip's reign, especially after 1077 when the decrease in the numbers of magnates amplified. The counts and upper nobility accounted for only 32 of 460 subscriptions⁹⁰⁹, while as with the bishops, an even more drastic decrease was

⁹⁰³ Prou, #s LXXXIII, LXXXIV.

⁹⁰⁴ J.F.Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.112.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid, p.112.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid, pp.114-115.

⁹⁰⁷ Prou, #XVII Eustachii comitis; Balduini iuvenis comitis; #XXIV Balduinus comes de Gisnus; Balduinus comes de Montibus; #XXV Balduini iunioris comitis; Rengoti de Gand.

⁹⁰⁸ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, pp.114-115.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.146.

noted, 48 of 460⁹¹⁰. In general, court attendance fell from 1077 onwards. For example, in his first 17 years, 675 subscriptions were written on his charters, while in the last 29 years only 460. The reason for this dramatic drop in court attendance was twofold. The decentralisation of power and administration into the hands of the lesser nobility, castellans even, meant that they concentrated on their own little areas of authority instead of attending the royal court which had nothing to do with them nor with their interests. When they attended it was to deal with matters of their own region, which meant that the royal diplomas became more a personal style contract between two people. Another factor, regarding the absence of the ecclesiastics, was the activity of the papal legate, bishop Hugh of Die, later archbishop of Lyons, who removed a vast number of clergy from Philip's courts⁹¹¹.

The absence of the magnates meant that Philip relied more and more on the local castellans and lesser nobility to fill the gaps left by the greater magnates at his courts. This change did not occur right away, in fact the magnates of *Francia* still attended, although in reduced numbers such as Raoul de Crépy for example⁹¹². The majority of the counts and bishops attending Philip's courts hailed from *Francia*: it was rare to find counts from outside this region. Although bishops from all over the north attended, dioceses such as Rheims, Sens, Senlis, Soissons, Laon, Noyon and Paris were all represented along with other dioceses in large numbers, although the majority of these were all royal bishoprics⁹¹³. Like the bishops, the castellans who attended Philip's courts were from north of the Seine. This was a new phenomenon. During Henry I's reign, castellans from the south dominated the court, very few from the north attended⁹¹⁴. Lemarignier argued that the process of de-centralisation was slower to develop in the north, however, with the division of the lands of Raoul de Crépy in 1077, the castellans from that region gained independence and, in addition, Philip was able to call upon them

⁹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 146.

⁹¹¹ See below.

⁹¹² See footnotes #s 60, 61.

⁹¹³ Rheims (22); Sens (16); Senlis (15); Soisson (15); Laon (10); Noyon (13); Paris (36); Tours (1); Étampes (1); Amiens (14); Beauvais (15); Melun (10); Chartres (7); Chalons (8); Orléans (7); all others (33).

⁹¹⁴ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p. 121.

more frequently⁹¹⁵. Either way, the presence of castellans from the north almost equalled those from the south. These were second and third generation lords, who in one way or another, were related to each other. The title of count, which was prestigious in the earlier reigns, had lost a great deal of its meaning and importance, as many of the local castellans utilised this title in the charters⁹¹⁶. Whereas in the past the title of count was a public function that covered a region known as a *pagus* by the time of Philip I it seems that the title covered only a small region, maybe even a castle or two. With a growing amount of de-centralisation and local government coupled with the intermarriage between families, a process of sub-infeudation began, with lesser and lesser nobles holding property. Not only did Philip rely on these knights and local *milites* to attend his courts⁹¹⁷, but he would dip even lower into the lay pool⁹¹⁸. He welcomed into his entourage burghers⁹¹⁹, and with growing frequency, people whose identification is impossible and whose presence at court was restricted to a one time affair. Lemarignier claimed that they were clerics and monks⁹²⁰, and on the lay side, cultivators and village mayors⁹²¹. The numbers of the lesser nobility increased throughout the reign and helped to maintain courtly numbers⁹²². On one occasion court attendance reached 40 attendees⁹²³, and on two occasions, 50⁹²⁴. Their presence enlarged the royal court as they made up for the lack of great magnates.

This social lowering of the court attendees corresponded with the changing nature of the diploma and those subscribing them. Throughout the reign, those attending court were less entitled as *fideles* and more entitled as *testes* or *testibus*. This marked change in the role of the attendees increased throughout the reign, reaching almost 50%, in the years 1077-1108. The figures for the first 17 years of Philip's reign corresponded to those of the reign of Henry I. The change occurred in the last 30 years of Philip's reign. Not

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., p.123.

⁹¹⁶ Prou, #s LXXVII, LXXII, LXXVIII, LXXXII, XCI, XCVI, CI, CXX, CXXI, CXXXIII, CLXIII.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., #s LXXXII (Evrardus and Godefridus), LXXXIII (Goscelini), XCIX (Johannis), CVI (Herberti, Guarinii, Rotberti).

⁹¹⁸ Ibid, #s XXXIV, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII, XLIX, LX, LXIX, XCV, CII, CXXII, CXXVIII, CXXXVIII, CXLIV, CXLVI, CLIII, CLXIII.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., #C (Hugh of Melun, Frogard of Châlons).

⁹²⁰ Ibid, #s XLIX, LXIX, CVIII, CXLIV, CXLVII.

⁹²¹ Ibid., #XXXII.

⁹²² Lemarignier, Le gouvernement royal, p.126.

⁹²³ Prou, #CVIII.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., #s XXX, XXXIX.

only did the number of witnesses increase but so did the number of charters when witnesses were present. For Henry I, only in four charters were witnesses present⁹²⁵, while in the first 17 years of Philip I, 9 were identified⁹²⁶, while in the last 30 years, 15 times it occurred⁹²⁷. Not only did their frequency increase, but, they constituted the largest section of court attendees by the end of the reign. They numbered 199 of 460 present, averaging 40%⁹²⁸, while in the first 17 years only 133 of 675 for 20%⁹²⁹. The combined effect of a diminishing court with the growth in witness lists and the lowering in the social strata of the court attendees illustrates the marked change in the royal *acta* into a local and almost private charter agreed upon between a few locals and the king.

As noticed above, the members of the clergy participated in Philip's courts for a longer period of time than the secular lords. Because the archbishops, bishops and abbots remained by his side in large enough numbers, they maintained the number of court attendees at a relatively high level. The change occurred, according to Lemarignier, after 1077 when a visible diminishing in the number of the clergy attending Philip's courts was noticed. The principal reason for this change was the papal reform movement of the late eleventh century. The papacy wished to eliminate lay intervention in ecclesiastical appointments and affairs. Because bishoprics and abbeys were public functions with honours similar to those of counties or lordships, they held lands given to them by the king. Because of this, the king would appoint a faithful a servant who he could rely upon to aid him in the administration of the kingdom. The bishops and abbots thus appointed to their positions attached themselves to the king as his faithful servants offering him their council and their aid. When Pope Gregory VII appointed Hugh of Die as his legate in the kingdom of France around 1075, the clergy, especially from the northern regions of the kingdom, were an important part of the king's entourage. They attended councils frequently and attached their names to royal diplomas dealing with their bishoprics. In order to combat the stubbornness of the bishops and archbishops, permanent legates were

⁹²⁵ F. Soehnée, *Henri Ier*, #s 47, 91, 112, 114.

⁹²⁶ Prou, #s XI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIX, XC.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, #s XCII, XCIV, XCV, CIV, CVII, CVIII, CIX, CXVI, CXXII, CXXXII, CXLI, CXLV, CXLVII, CXLIX, CLIV.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, #s XCII (7), XCIV (17), XCV (18), CIV (5), CVII (9), CVIII (40), CIX (7), CXVI (11), CXXII (10), CXXXII (17), CXLI (4), CXLV (27), CXLVII (15), CXLIX (4), CLIV (8).

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, #s XI (13), XXIII (38), XXIV (11), XXVIII (3), LXXIX (3), LXXXI (13), LXXXII (12), LXXXIX (11), XC (21).

appointed by the pope to break their resistance and subordinate them to the pope⁹³⁰. In addition, Gregory VII wanted to relieve the burden of work that weighted upon him from clerics who wished to be heard in Rome. To weaken the bishops and archbishops, Gregory VII stated that the authority of the legates was above that of the archbishops and bishops. Legates were the representatives of the pope and acted with all his authority. They could judge the decisions made by the archbishops and bishops and could override them if contradictory to papal views⁹³¹. With this in mind, Hugh, bishop of Die and future archbishop of Lyons, revoked, removed and replaced many of the bishops that had either received their office from the king or from another bishop or archbishop who had similarly been elevated by temporal means. Not only did the papacy seek to remove any strain of disobedience from the archbishops, it also desired to place the other ecclesiastical titles under its obedience by removing lay investiture. This meant that the clerics, monks and bishops would have to ally themselves with the papacy and not with the local lay power⁹³². The foundations for reform had been laid, the time to enforce them had arrived in 1077, when the papal doctrines were made known in France.

It was in 1077 that Hugh of Die summoned a council at Autun where he promulgated the decrees of the Roman council of 1075 on lay investiture. At this council, Hugh of Die made an example of many ecclesiastics. He forced the demotion of the bishop of Noyon, Radbod, he deposed the newly elected bishop of Chartres, Geoffrey, he suspended and excommunicated the bishop of Châlons, Roger. He sanctioned the bishops of Senlis and Auxerre for canonical irregularities in their elections. As for the metropolitans of Sens, Bourges and Bordeaux, they were suspended for not having answered the summons of the legate, while Manasses I, archbishop of Rheims, was deposed and excommunicated⁹³³. Hugh had not finished his purging of the French church. In 1078, he ordered another council in Poitiers. This council had the especial purpose of dealing with the archbishop of Tours, who was closely allied to the king, and a few other bishops from the royal lands. The archbishop was deprived of his powers while

⁹³⁰ Casper, *Reg.*I:24; II:73; IV:17; IV:23; V:22; VI:34; VI:35; VII:14A; IX:1 and for their powers see *Reg.*II:40; II:41; V:2.

⁹³¹ H. Cowdrey, *Epistolae Vagantes* #21, pp.56-59.

⁹³² A. Fliche, 'La Réforme grégorienne' in *Histoire de l'Église* 8, pp.87-88.

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, pp.92-93.

a few others were suspended as simoniacs⁹³⁴. All these depositions and sanctions had their effects on Philip's authority. Unable, or unwilling, to defend his bishops and archbishops, they were removed suddenly from his entourage, with significant effects. We have seen how Philip used the lesser aristocracy in his diplomas, the same was true for the clergy. Lemarignier identified that a strong proportion of the subscriptions were from the lower ranks of the ecclesiastical orders, such as local monks and clerics. These seem to have filled the same role as the local *milites* and small lords in the regions where a charter was sealed. With the departure of the ecclesiastical magnates, the royal court had been diminished greatly and left without substance, but, it was also after their departure that a consolidation in royal power began which is marked by the development of the royal household officers.

iii) The household officers

The evolution of the household gained especial importance during the reign of Philip I. It became a clear sign of the changing administrative procedures and a break from the Carolingian style of royal courts. From the beginning of his reign, a clear distinction existed between the household and the court or palace. In a diploma dated for 1068, an arbitration between the bishop of Paris and the monks of Saint-Denis, there was mention of the counts next to the household members, however, these did not seem to have any distinct attributions⁹³⁵. In a charter dated during the regency, Guy, count of Ponthieu, declared that he approached the king, Baldwin of Flanders and the household members in order to have his diploma confirmed⁹³⁶. This distinction in the above charter proves that the household existed independently from the court from a very early date. It was during Philip's reign that they acquired a specific function which had not been defined in the previous reigns⁹³⁷. When they first appeared with Henry I, they were intermixed with the court officers and counts, with no mention of their functions; this system continued with the regency. During Philip's personal rule, the household began to

⁹³⁴ Ibid., p.93.

⁹³⁵ Prou, #XL.

⁹³⁶ Ibid., #XXXV. Although the term used was *principes regalis palatii*, it is clear from the signatures, as Fliche pointed out, that they were the household and not the court. Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.112.

⁹³⁷ The household officers first appeared in the reign of Henry I, as only the chancellor existed under Hugh Capet and Robert II. Henry added the butler, the constable, the chamberlain and seneschal. Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.113.

be identified with specific functions and its importance developed throughout the reign until it finally became the most important aspect of the administration. Before examining the numbers and their evolution, the different roles and functions of each officer will be identified. Because of the relatively new functions of the household, only the information described in the charters will be used and not descriptions associated to the same title in later periods.

To begin with is the chamberlain, who was charged with the surveillance of the king's house and personal⁹³⁸. Because of the nature of his function, he travelled along side the king on his journeys, regardless of the purpose of the journey⁹³⁹. The fact that it was held throughout the whole of the reign by one person, Galeran, added to its importance. As for the seneschal, his function during the time of Philip I seemed to have been related to the military troops of the king. This function was, however, identified much later in the reign, when it was appointed to Guy of Rochefort in 1104 when he "helped with the defence and with the honour of the kingdom"⁹⁴⁰. He later appeared at the head of the royal troops at the siege of Montlhéry, meaning that after the king, he was the head of the militia⁹⁴¹. However, this can only be identified for definite with the appointment of Guy of Rochefort in 1104, before him, all that was known of the function of the seneschal is that he accompanied the king on his military expeditions to Chaumont-sur-Loire and to Gerberoy, but the purpose of his role is unclear⁹⁴². The constable, as the name implies, was responsible for the king's horses and stables, unfortunately, the charters do not elaborate on his functions during this period. The same lacuna in the charters exists for the butler as no exact function was described.

Although these officers began their existence in the reign of Henry I, they only gained in importance in the last three years of his reign⁹⁴³. This growing importance of the household officers was further developed throughout Philip's reign, until they became the exclusive members of the court. The first years of his reign, until 1077, developed the

⁹³⁸ "magister regie domus" Prou, #LV.

⁹³⁹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.114.

⁹⁴⁰ "...et ipse comes Guido filiusque eius Hugo Creciasensis regni defensionem et honori totis viribus inniterentur." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.VIII, p.40.

⁹⁴¹ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.114.

⁹⁴² Prou, #s XXXIII, XXXIV, XCIV.

⁹⁴³ F. Soehnée, *Henri Ier*, #s 65 (1043); 79, 80, 102, 108, 109, 112, 114, 123, 125, 123.

role of the officers and saw their subscriptions and attendance at the royal courts augment. Of 90 charters, 43 were subscribed by at least one of the household members, almost half⁹⁴⁴. Furthermore, of these 43 charters, 24 had all four members appear together⁹⁴⁵. Although it was rare for them to appear together at first, however, nearer to 1077, the more frequent they appeared together. In fact they inseparable from Prou #LXVII, that means that they appear together nine times in sequence. All together they accounted for 1/7 of the total number of subscriptions, an increase of half from the previous reign⁹⁴⁶. This increased, in both the number of charters sealed where the officers appeared and the higher proportion of subscriptions as a whole, continued in earnest for the remaining thirty years of Philip's reign. Of 80 diplomas, 27 contain those of the household officers, around 1/3⁹⁴⁷, and furthermore, 14 of them had all four officers acting in unison⁹⁴⁸. The numbers for the final 30 years of Philip's reign are very deceptive. The household members do not seem to appear in numbers or in frequency, especially when compared to the previous 17 years. This is because of the high number of charters without any signatures. 32 charters were without subscriptions, this means that of 48 diplomas with subscriptions, the household officers subscribed around 90% of the diplomas and almost half all together.

As for the subscribers, the greater reliance on their presence at the king's court is attested in their numbers. They accounted for 85 of the 460 subscriptions or 1/5 of the total⁹⁴⁹. The novelty of the household officers in the administration of the kingdom and their growing presence at the courts was coupled with their importance and standing at these courts. Fliche pointed out their growing influence and prestige at the court throughout the reign. By examining the placement of their subscriptions on the charters, he distinguished the evolution of the household's importance. In the beginning their subscriptions were interspersed amongst the subscribers, behind the archbishops, bishops

⁹⁴⁴ Prou, #s 2,11,18,19,21, 22,23,28,29,30,32,33,34,36,37,39,43,44,45,46,48,49, 50,51,52,54,55,60,61,62,64,65,66,67,75,76,77,78,79,80,81,86,87.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid, #s 18,19,22,23,28,30,32,33,34,39,43,52,54,60,62,67,75,76,77,78,80,81,86,87

⁹⁴⁶ Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.149. The numbers are for Henry I: 22 of 313; and for Philip I 1060-1077: 102 of 675.

⁹⁴⁷ Prou, #s 92,94,96,97,100,101,103,104,107,108,109,111,113,114,115,118,120,122,128,132,135,141,149, 153,154,156,161

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid, #s 92,94,97,100,101,108,113,114,122,128,149,154,156,161

⁹⁴⁹ Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.150.

and counts. Near the end of the reign, even in the middle of it, they assumed the first places, displacing the lay and ecclesiastical personnel. Not only had they assumed the highest honour at the courts, but they came to represent the court itself. They appeared as the only witnesses or subscribers to the charters and in growing frequency, especially in the last years of the reign⁹⁵⁰. In 1085 they appeared for the first time as the only subscribers on a charter⁹⁵¹. From 1085 onwards, the frequency for which they acted alone increased, especially in the last years of Philip's reign. They are the only subscribers in a charter dated 1091⁹⁵², and then again in the years 1104⁹⁵³, 1106⁹⁵⁴ and 1107⁹⁵⁵.

With the increased influence of the household members at the expense of the magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical, Philip re-organised the way the administration of the kingdom worked. All the household officers came from the Ile-de-France, and the charters for which they were the only subscribers dealt with matters of that region⁹⁵⁶. In regards to the first point, the region from where Philip chose his household indicates a more focused approach in his government and field of activities. In a previous chapter, it was shown that Philip suffered from rebellious lords and castellans in the Ile-de-France, who often troubled the demesne. Philip's selection pool for his officers came from these rebellious lords. The prime example for his policy in controlling the rebel lords was in his choosing of the seneschal. Until 1091, it seemed that Philip I was happy to assign that office to the smallest castellans of the region. It could be that the office of seneschal, in the early years of the reign, was insignificant and undesired by the greater castellans of the region⁹⁵⁷. The two early holders were identified as Raoul of Beauvais and Robert de *Castello*. As to the first person, Raoul, he subscribed from 1065-1069 and was a small land owner in the town of Beauvais⁹⁵⁸. Robert de *Castello* was a little higher on the castellan scale in the Ile-de-France. He intervened in five meetings between the years

⁹⁵⁰ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.114-115.

⁹⁵¹ Prou, #CXIV.

⁹⁵² Ibid., #CXXIII.

⁹⁵³ Ibid., #CXLIX.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., #CLVI.

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid., #CLXI.

⁹⁵⁶ Prou, Étampes #s CXIV, CXLIX, CLVI; Orléans #CXXIII; Saint-Maur-des-Fossés #CLXI.

⁹⁵⁷ Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal*, p.154.

⁹⁵⁸ *Rodulfi dapiferi regis*, Prou, #s XVIII (1065), XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXVIII, XXX(*siniscalcus*) XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLIII, XLIV(before 4 August 1069). For his links to Beauvais, J. Depoin, *Cartulaire de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, #280.

1077 to 1079⁹⁵⁹. His standing is attested to his entourage, or to the entourage in the presence of the court. He appeared alongside *milites* of no small order, people such as Simon de Neauphle, Guérin and Geoffrey Ridet; he was most likely related to these men⁹⁶⁰. The change in standing in the position of seneschal seems to occur in the year 1091 when it was given to a powerful castellan, Guy le Rouge, count of Rochefort, with very affluent family ties. He was related to the Montmorencys, and through his mother, to the Montforts, placing him in the centre of the families and politics of the Ile-de-France⁹⁶¹. He was seneschal from 1092 until his departure for the crusade in 1095, when the charge passed to Païen Garlande⁹⁶². During his time as seneschal Guy was an important advisor to the king and his position was equally respected by others. He was involved closely in the negotiations between the king, pope Urban II, and bishop Ivo of Chartres dealing with the king's marriage in 1092⁹⁶³. Once Guy left for the Crusade, the position of seneschal was fought for over by rival families, all to the benefit of the king. When the Garlandes assumed the title in 1095 they had become an important castellan family of the Ile-de-France. Even though Anseau de Garlande, who was seneschal after his brother Païen, married a daughter of Guy le Rouge, this did not prevent intense rivalries between the two families⁹⁶⁴. In order to take advantage of the situation Philip I would appoint members from each family in turns, helping to reduce one at the expense of the other. For example, Païen, a Garlande, was seneschal in 1101⁹⁶⁵, and was followed by his brother Anseau who was seneschal until 1104⁹⁶⁶ only to be replaced by Guy le Rouge and his son Hugh Crécy, a member of the rival family⁹⁶⁷. Hugh was seneschal until 1107 when the last diploma carrying the subscription of a seneschal is preserved.

As for the other household officers, little is known about them, mostly since these offices were not as elevated as the seneschal. However, Lemarignier identified that the

⁹⁵⁹ Robert *dapiferi*, Prou, #s XCI (1078), XCII, XCIV, XCV, XCVI (1079).

⁹⁶⁰ Prou, #CVI, he signs as *Rotberti de Castello, militis*, and is followed by *Rogerii fratris eius, militis*.

⁹⁶¹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.154.

⁹⁶² Guy *dapiferi*, Prou, #s CXXVIII (1092), CXXXII, CXXXV (after 23 May 1095).

⁹⁶³ "Quia scio velle te laborare de componenda pace inter me et dominum meum regem, multas gratias tibi redo." Ivo of Chartres, Ep.23, p.94..

⁹⁶⁴ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.321.

⁹⁶⁵ Prou, #CXLI.

⁹⁶⁶ Prou, #CXLIX.

⁹⁶⁷ Prou, #s CLIV (1106), CLVI, CLXI (1107); "et ipse comes Guido filiusque eius Hugo Creciacensis regni defensionis et honori totis viribus inniterentur." Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.viii, p.40.

constables were chosen from loyal castellans serving on the frontier regions. He added that the names identified with that office seemed to prevail from border regions loyal to the king. Such as Baldric, who was the constable from at least 1065 until 1069⁹⁶⁸. He was a castellan from Dreux, and in 1059-1060 was at the centre of the conflict between Henry I and William of Normandy⁹⁶⁹. Dreux was also a place in which treaties were agreed upon⁹⁷⁰. The same is also true of Galon, who appeared as constable in 1090⁹⁷¹, he is believed to originate from Chaumont. If so, then this strengthens the claim made by Lemarignier because Chaumont was near the area where Philip I and Robert II of Normandy would hope to join forces against William II of England and where the latter tried to impede them⁹⁷². For these reasons, Lemarignier argued for the choice of Gace de Poissy in the ultimate years of Philip's reign. The same arguments were used to identify a certain Thibaud, who was the constable between 1081 and 1086. Lemarignier believed him to have been Thibaud of Montmorency⁹⁷³. For his chamberlain, Philip followed a similar pattern to those used for the seneschal and the constable. He granted this office to someone he could trust and who was part of the local politics. The chamberlain was held, in great part, for the majority of the reign by one person, Galeran. This Galeran, who subscribed 37 diplomas, was from the Le Riche family located in the region of Senlis⁹⁷⁴. He was chamberlain from 1061 until 1106, with only a brief period in between when he was absent in the years 1074 and 1075 when it seems that it was his brother Hugh who acted in his stead⁹⁷⁵. These same Le Riches filled other household position such as butler. They held the position from 1057-1060 and then again with Louis VI in 1108⁹⁷⁶. If indeed the Le Riches were suppliers of the king's men, it is only because he trusted them and valued their services. Their interests were linked with the king's as their lands and riches were bound up in the region around Senlis, to the north of Paris and the Seine, a region where Philip also held a substantial number of possessions.

⁹⁶⁸ Prou, #XXII (after 4 august 1065), XXIII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLIII, XLIV (before 4 august 1069).

⁹⁶⁹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.155.

⁹⁷⁰ Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, p.90.

⁹⁷¹ Prou, #CXXII.

⁹⁷² Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage*, p.37.

⁹⁷³ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, pp.155-156.

⁹⁷⁴ Prou, #s IX, XXIV.

⁹⁷⁵ Prou, #s LXVII, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII.

⁹⁷⁶ Soehnée, #108, 109, 123, 125; Prou, #IV.

II: The chancery

Of all the household officers and members of the court, the chancery and its officer, the chancellor, were the oldest, dating back to the earliest days of the French monarchy. The chancellor accompanied the king throughout his travels and was very often at the king's side. His tasks were select and specific. He was in charge of the royal seal, which the king would attach to an already written diploma, thereby adding the king's approval. More importantly, he was in charge of the royal diplomas, meaning that he would either write them, dictate them or read and approve them⁹⁷⁷. This made the chancellor the most influential and important officer of the royal household. Fliche noted that during Philip's reign, there was a very narrow difference between the king's chancery and his chapel. The chancellor was the head of the royal chapel while at the same time, he wrote and sealed the royal diplomas⁹⁷⁸. Unfortunately for the early Capetian period, not much is known in regards to the individual chancellors nor with the office itself. One of the few works dealing exclusively with the early French chancery, until 1328⁹⁷⁹, has been attacked and discredited⁹⁸⁰. For a lack of a detailed study many students of the French chancery have had to turn to imperial models, which were more developed. Since the imperial models were developed, they have subsequently been the subject of many works by historians. The lacuna of studies for the early Capetian chancery is being rectified. Two articles on the chanceries of Henry I and Philip I have been completed by O. Guyotjeannin which have added improvements to the study of the early Capetians⁹⁸¹. First, however, an overall analysis of chancery activity and output will clarify certain details of the administration and its progress.

i) Chancery activity and frequency

Philip's reign of 48 years from 1060-1108 was the longest of the Capetians. Within that time period, Philip's chancery either signed, sealed or wrote 171 charters.

⁹⁷⁷ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.120.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.120.

⁹⁷⁹ L. Perrichet, *La Grande Chancellerie de France des origines à 1328*, (Paris, 1912)

⁹⁸⁰ L. Levillain, 'Comptes Rendus' in *Le Moyen Age* 26, 1913, pp.278-288.

⁹⁸¹ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Les Actes de Henri Ier et la chancellerie royale dans les années 1020-1060' in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1989, pp.81-97; 'Les Actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous le règne de Philippe Ier' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147, 1989, pp.29-48.

This equates to an average of 3,56 charters per year. There is more to these numbers than simple percentages, periods of activity are an important measure in determining royal power and energy. A quick look at Philip's reign decade by decade will help to illustrate moments when Philip was particularly active. During the 1060's Philip signed or sealed 47 diplomas, for an average of 4.7 per year. In the 1070's the numbers were slightly up to 50, averaging 5 per year, while in the 1080's the numbers were down remarkably to 23, or 2,3 per year. The 1090's another decrease occurred, down to 14 charters, or 1,4 per year. The last period, from 1100-1108, 37 diplomas were sealed by the king, for an average of 4,63. From these figures, it seems that Philip's most active period was the 1070's followed the 1060's and 1100's, while the 1080's and 1090's were his least frequent. Again, these numbers are deceiving as not all his charters can be dated accurately, and some are dated by Prou as sealed at some time during the reign. For example, in the 1100's the numbers change from the original 37 to 31 diplomas, or 3.88 per year, as 6 belong to the approximate date category. During the 7years of the regency when count Baldwin V of Flanders was directing royal affairs, Philip sealed 35 diplomas for an average of 5 per year. As for the remaining 3 years of the decade, Philip's chancery sealed 11 charters for an average of 3.67 per year.

One must be cautious when dealing with these numbers because many years in Prou's register of Philip I's charters are empty of diplomas, even these numbers are misrepresentations of the activity of the chancery. The years with no charters are the following: 1062, 1064, 1087, 1088, 1096, 1097 and 1099. This explains the above information regarding the low output of certain decades, with three years void of charters in the 1090s it is only natural that it had the lowest frequency of the reign. The 1080s were similar with two years with no diplomas. Now although the 1060s had two years without charters, they were still, proportionally, the most active decade, which illustrates the activity of the king in the 1060s. His register may have been more active, but these are the only diplomas to have come down to our time. Within these decades, Philip had certain years that were busier than others, in fact, in some years and periods he was quite

busy sealing charters. Philip had sealed over five charters in a year 15 times⁹⁸². The majority of these periods were within the first twenty years of his reign, which corresponds to the high levels of activity identified above. The last three years of his reign, however, equally illustrate a high level of chancery activity, as the year 1106 over 5 charters were sealed and many of Philip's diplomas are dated within the last 8 years of his reign⁹⁸³. During the 1060s, a great deal of activity was identified. The first two years, 13 charters were identified⁹⁸⁴, while from 1065 until 1069, 30 charters were sealed⁹⁸⁵. This activity carried into the 1070s, as 14 charters were sealed in the first two years⁹⁸⁶. The activity eased off for a few years but resumed around 1075 when 10 diplomas were sealed⁹⁸⁷. Afterwards, the activity eased but remained high as another 18 charters were sealed until 1079⁹⁸⁸. In the 1080s no periods of activity were identified, only individual years, they being 1080 and 1085, when 6 diplomas were sealed respectively⁹⁸⁹. After that date, Philip's chancery activity plummeted and would not recover until the end of his reign. In the 1090s only one year showed any activity, 1092 with the sealing of 6 diplomas⁹⁹⁰. The final years of his reign seemed quite active, Philip sealed 8 diplomas in two years, 1106-1107, ending the reign on an active note⁹⁹¹.

An interesting point in the chancery activity of Philip I, is the higher periods of activity when compared to the chanceries of his father, Henry I, and his grand-father, Robert II. Robert's chancery activity was very difficult to assess because of the high number of diplomas that were imprecisely dated⁹⁹². Of his reign, 996-1031, 108 charters have survived, 9 diplomas are useless because they were written during his father's reign⁹⁹³, leaving 99 diplomas, for an average of 2.83 diplomas *per annum*. These numbers

⁹⁸² Prou, 1060 (#s 2-8); 1061 (#s 9-13); 1065 (#s 18-23); 1066 (#s 24-28); 1067 (#s 29-35); 1069 (#s 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47); 1070 (#s 48, 49, 51, 52, 53); 1071 (#s 54-58, 60, 61); 1075 (#s 72-78); 1076 (#s 80-84); 1077 (#s 85-90); 1080 (#s 98-103); 1085 (#s 112-115, 117); 1092 (#s 124-129); 1106 (#s 154-159).

⁹⁸³ Ibid., #s 138-142, 144-162, 168-170.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., #s 2-14.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid., #s 18-47.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid., #s 48-61.

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid., #s 69-78.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid., #s 80-97.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid., 1080 (#s 98-103); 1085 (#s 112-115, 117).

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., #s 124-129.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., #s 154-161.

⁹⁹² 57 of 108 diplomas.

⁹⁹³ W. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II*, #s 1-9.

are inaccurate because of the high proportion of non-datable charters. In total, 57 diplomas are categorised in this group, leaving 42 charters for an average of 1.2 *per annum*. Furthermore, only a few periods showed any chancery activity. The number of years with 3 or more diplomas sealed is 5, mostly near the end of his reign⁹⁹⁴. In fact, from 1027-1031, 14 diplomas were sealed⁹⁹⁵. Robert's chancery cannot be understood as overtly busy. His chancery activity was well short of Philip's. The numbers for Henry I were somewhat more accurate than Robert's but still deceiving. 125 diplomas were sealed during his reign, 1031-1060, of which 13 were during his time as duke of Burgundy⁹⁹⁶, leaving 112 diplomas, or 3.86 *per annum*. Although this is more elevated than Philip's output, the numbers for Henry deceive. Of his diplomas, 47 were general dates, lowering the numbers to 65 diplomas, or 2.24 *per annum*. Henry's reign had periods of great activity, 3 years were witness to more than 5 diplomas⁹⁹⁷, while 8 years had more than four⁹⁹⁸. The two periods of greatest activity were the years from 1047-1053, when Henry sealed 19 diplomas⁹⁹⁹, and the years from 1057 until the end of his reign in 1060 when he sealed a further 18¹⁰⁰⁰. Even though it seemed that Henry's chancery output was greater than Philip's that is simply not the case. The advancements in the dating clauses throughout Philip's reign demonstrate a more accurate ability to date the charters precisely. This means that, of the 171 charters for his reign, 1060-1108, one was during his father's reign, for 3.54 *per annum*, while 33 are placed in the inaccurate date group for 137 charters, or 2.85 *per annum*. These numbers demonstrate a small redress in the activity of the king, although slight, it corresponds with the above numbers for the output of the royal chancery's own diplomas.

ii) Charter types

No study has focused on the type of charters created by Philip I's chancery until recently. This lacuna, however, has been filled successfully by O. Guyotjeannin, who

⁹⁹⁴ Newman, *Robert II*, 1008 (31, 32, 34); 1027 (67, 68, 70); 1028 (72, 73, 76); 1030 (82, 83, 84, 85); 1031 (87, 88, 91).

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., #s 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 76, 77, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 91.

⁹⁹⁶ F. Soehnée, *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier*, #s 1-12.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 1047 (74-78); 1057 (106-110); 1059 (115-121).

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., same as above plus 1035 (43-46); 1043 (65-68); 1048 (79-82); 1049 (84, 85, 87, 88); 1058 (11-114).

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., #s 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid., #s 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125.

apart from analysing the style of the chancery's diplomas also examined their number and frequency. His analysis led to a division in the output of the chancery into three separate periods, each based on the style and context of the charters. The first period dealt with the regency, which, for him, was as a continuation of the previous reigns. This period corresponded with those charters of the chancellor and arch-chaplain Baldwin, who had directed the royal chancery since 1018. His influence on charter style was capital. He developed a charter style which was applied with rigidity under Henry I and suffered only minor alterations to its structure. During his final years as head of the chancery, 1060-1067, two other figures were equally identified in the place of Baldwin. The first was a chaplain by the name of Eustache, and the other was a chancellor also identified as Baldwin. These two followed the style adopted by the first Baldwin and continued his formula and structure with a few subtle changes. A look at two of Eustache's charters will help to illustrate the similarities and differences. (Those in italics are borrowed from the previous Baldwin's charters)

In nomine sanctae et individue Trinitatis, videlicet Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amen. Ego Philippus gratia Dei Francorum rex. Notum fieri volumus sanctae matris AEcclesiae fidelibus nostrisque tam presentibus orbis climate degentibus quam et futuris quod amita mea...

nostri presentiam adiens... et, ut decet catholicam, humiliter postulans quatenus... Cuius petitionibus... adquevimus... et fidelibus nostris firmare fecimus et ut inconvulsum permaneat, nostrum character impressimus.

(Monogr.) (Signa.) (Sigil)

Actum Silvanectis anno dominicae Incarnationis... et regis Philippi... Si quis hoc violaverit, auri libris C fisco regali persolvat, immo aeterno anathematis iugulo dampnetur. Fiat.

Balduinus cancellarius superscripsit¹⁰⁰¹.

¹⁰⁰¹ Prou, #IV; O. Guyotjeannin, 'Les actes de Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.31.

In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amen. Ego Philippus gratia Dei Francorum rex. Notum fieri volo sanctae matris AEcclesiae fidelibus tam praesentibus quam futuris quod Heddo...

mei praesentiam adiit, deprecans et obnixè postulans quatenus... Cuius salubri petitioni adquiescens... cum consensus fidelium meorum... Igitur ut regiae potestatis meae mandatum firmum et inconvulsum permaneat, hoc testimonium litterarum illis fieri praecepi et signum characteris mei imprimere iussi et sigilli mei impressione corroboravi.

(Crux) (Monogr.) (Sigil.) (Crux et sign. regine Anne)

Si quis autem his... contradicere ausus fuerit, auri libras fisco C persolvat, immo aeterni anathematis iugulo feriat. Fiat

Actum urbe Suessionis anno dominice Incarnationis... et regis Philippi...

*Eustachius regis capellanus, vice Bauduini cancellarii regis, subscripsit*¹⁰⁰².

Eustache's charters are similar to those written during the reign of Henry I, with a few subtle changes. In fact, much of the wording and structure was identified with the chancery of Robert II. This followed a Carolingian practice wherein the royal chancery would make the changes necessary to a previous act instead creating an entirely new act or signing one created by the requester¹⁰⁰³. The only change worth noting from Baldwin's acts is the alteration of the preamble. Even under Eustache, the preamble was a continuation of the Baldwinian style with slight alterations. Its continuation lies in the borrowing of both Carolingian precedent and those from the chancellor Baldwin, while the innovation is in the approach of the diploma. Baldwin's charters were more ecclesiastical than royal; concerned less with the royal power and more with the Church¹⁰⁰⁴.

Similar changes were identified with the other Baldwin such as a move towards a more ecclesiastical type of charter and wording heavily borrowed from Carolingian charters. There is a difference, however, in the approach of both his charters. Prou #20 continued the classic formulas of royal power and authority found in the diplomas of

¹⁰⁰² Prou, #XVI; Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.31.

¹⁰⁰³ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.32.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.32.

Robert II, while Prou #XV was more ecclesiastical in its focus. The interest in both these diplomas, however, is in the approach used by the chancellor to legitimise royal intervention in ecclesiastical matters. Both diplomas described the royal duty as the protection of the church, which was a continuation from his predecessors. Although the wording was Carolingian in its style, it was worded in the favour of the Capetians, and seemed to have cemented the union between the royal chapel and the royal chancery¹⁰⁰⁵. Another interesting point made by the other Baldwin was in his association of Philip I to the Carolingians. In the charter dated 1063, the king declared: "that Harlebecke, the beneficiary, was as free of interventions from the bishop just as the abbey of Aix, founded by Charlemagne, was independent from the bishop of Liège, similarly the abbey of Saint-Médard from Soissons and lastly Saint-Martin from Tours." Far from being purely an immunity clause by the king, it illustrates a new concept of Capetian power; it demonstrated the king as the direct heir of the Carolingians. Baldwin's important development in this was in placing, on an equal platform, the royal Carolingian monastery of Aix with the Capetian stronghold of Saint-Martin de Tours; which benefited from an earlier Capetian charter of protection, and with Saint-Médard of Soissons similarly possessing royal favour and protection. During the regency, only five charters were created by these two characters¹⁰⁰⁶. Those from the other Baldwin demonstrated few changes and followed the ideas of royal dignity from the Carolingians, while the three diplomas from Eustache showed some independence from the previous style. The fact that both these chancellors derived the majority of their wording from previous diplomas demonstrates a strong continuation and sense of practice which had been inherited from the Carolingians¹⁰⁰⁷. The early Capetians were aware of their roots, and continued practices and policies which were in-line with their ancestors. It is important to note, however, that with Eustache, a pollution as Guyotjeannin termed it, of the royal *acta* into a more private *acta* occurred. He noticed the abandonment of traditional formulas with a more practical and changing formula which would become more normal in the next period of chancery development¹⁰⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁰⁵ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.33; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.120.

¹⁰⁰⁶ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.35.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.35.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.35-36.

The next period was seen as one of transition, from the old style to a new style of diploma. During this period, 1067-1072, two chancellors were identified, Peter, from 1067 until 1071, and Geoffrey, from 1071-1072. The old style, that of the elder Baldwin, was continued unequally and changed in a distinct way. The first pattern change came in the form of the ordinary arenga, which was comprised of heavy and long arenga, while the second change was identified with the minor arenga, demonstrating an economy in structure. Of the first type of charter, the ordinary precepts, the traditional formula for the *acta* was modified with the subscriptions of those close to the king¹⁰⁰⁹, the increasing language and descriptive elements of the arenga and lastly with a heavy dating clause full of descriptions and new elements¹⁰¹⁰. These new elements are of interests, as in addition to the regular dating elements of the incarnation and the date of the reign, these chancellors added the lunar cycle and the indiction¹⁰¹¹; the indiction, epact, concurrent, moon, month and day¹⁰¹²; day and month, epact and the indiction¹⁰¹³. This dating scheme is very imperial in its nature, the ancient Roman historians, apart from the foundation of the city or the year of a pro-consul or emperor often used the seasons, the months, while the indiction is found in the Byzantine style. All these point to a more accurate desire by the chancellors to improve the dating methods of the royal chancery and, maybe make it more grandiose and imperial. Another element of the ordinary precept is its increased clericalisation in the arenga. Allusions to biblical examples and patristic teachings became more frequent in the royal diplomas, and would even find their way into the chancery of Louis VI¹⁰¹⁴. In addition to these changes, the chancellors emphasised Philip's links to more local churches and monasteries. Whereas the elder Baldwin, and his successors, focused on the king's links to Aix and Saint-Martin de Tours, these chancellors focused their attention to Senlis and Paris, thereby following the pattern identified by Lemarignier and subsequent others of the diminishing influence and geographic circle of the king¹⁰¹⁵. As for the minor precepts, which are far more numerous

¹⁰⁰⁹ Prou, #s XLIII, LI, LIII; O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philip Ier' in *BEC*, pp.36-38

¹⁰¹⁰ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.38.

¹⁰¹¹ Prou, #XLIII.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, #LI.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.*, #LIII.

¹⁰¹⁴ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.38.

¹⁰¹⁵ "ex consuetudine et more aliarum ecclesiarum ad reges pertinentium, scilicet sancti Frambaldi sanctique Martini Parisiensis et sanctae Genevefae virginis." Prou, #XLIII.

than the ordinary ones, 9 to 3, they display far more homogeneity of structure and are more economical in their wordage and display. They all have one theme in common, the lack of any arenga and a development in the petition¹⁰¹⁶. As Guyotjeannin noted, although structured along similar lines, they have minor variations within their structure. Six different addresses have been attempted, four different petition formulas and corroborations, and other minor changes¹⁰¹⁷. In general, the use for each type was aspecific, the ordinary precepts were concerned with the liberties of ecclesiastical institutions, while the minor precepts were for the abandonment of rights by the king¹⁰¹⁸. This pattern, however, was not concrete as an ordinary precept style was used to notify the abandonment of customs to Ferrières¹⁰¹⁹ and certain minor precepts were used to report the decision reached by the royal court in matters of justice or to confirm royal grants made, such as those for the chapter cathedral of Senlis¹⁰²⁰.

The final period of chancery divisions and evolution determined by Guyotjeannin was from 1073-1108. This period saw many changes in both the form and structure of the royal diploma. In the previous period, a marked increase in the charter without preamble was identified. This trend continued apace in this period, with an increase in the non-preamble type precept, from 9 to 3 in the last period to 22 to 5, an increase of 10% for the precepts without preamble¹⁰²¹. Once again, as in the previous period, the difference between the two is mostly on its length and form and not on its substance. The examination of the *acta* with preamble demonstrated that a return to the old Carolingian style was again prevailing. The chancery returned to the preamble identified with the reigns of Robert II and Henry I. They were more royal than religious in content. In fact, of the five charters with preamble, four are directly issued from the pattern of the elder Baldwin. Two will suffice as an example:

Sicut est *regiae* celsitudinis ac maiestatis *statum regni* emendare moribus, legibus exornare, ita etiam et eo *studiosius ecclesiasticis* negotiis et personis

¹⁰¹⁶ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.39.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.39.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.40.

¹⁰¹⁹ Prou, #LI.

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, #s XXXVII, XXXIX.

¹⁰²¹ O. Guyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.41.

in ecclesiis Deo militantibus *regali* diligentia *caritatis* sollicitudinem debemus adhibere, ipsi namque pro *statu regni* nostri sine intermissione Deum exorant eundemque pro nostris excessibus offensum nobis repropitiando conciliant¹⁰²².

Regalis celsitudinis *amplitudinem decet* multimodo beneficiorum *fructu* iugiter exuberare et precipue *pietatis et misericordiae operibus*, veluti quibusdam aromatum odoribus, indesinenter efflagrare¹⁰²³.

From the above two preambles, the importance of charity and the royal duty to it is paramount, as in the elder Baldwin's charters. Similarly, a return to the ideas of law and order as the foundations of good government, and the role of the king in enforcing these ideas, became the natural preamble during this period¹⁰²⁴. These two examples have been chosen for two reasons, the first is their distance in time. The first was written in 1077, the beginning of the final period, while the latter was written in 1101, near the end of the reign, demonstrating a continuity of style throughout the period. In addition, both diplomas were written by two different chancellors, the first by Geoffrey and the second by Gilbert, again demonstrating a continuity of structure and style regardless of the chancellor. Another important point regarding the structure was the growing tendency, in certain *acta*, those established by the receiver, to have either the eschatocol or the recognition imprinted on the diploma at the moment of being validated by the king. This practice generalised between 1070 and 1090 and seems to have affected close to half of those diplomas established by the receivers¹⁰²⁵. The most important evolution in the royal diploma, however, was in the corroboration. During the latter stages of Philip's reign a new method of corroboration became the standard practice for the royal diplomas. It consisted of the overwhelming domination of the household officers as the only subscribers. The expression: *quorum nomina subtitulata sunt et signa* became the standard. The privilege of the household officers grew together with the new style corroboration, their subscriptions were sought before the date, the recognition and other

¹⁰²² Prou, #LXXXVI.

¹⁰²³ Ibid., #CXLI.

¹⁰²⁴ O. Guoyotjeannin, 'Philippe Ier' in *BEC*, p.43.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., p.44.

signa. They alone, along with the king or his brother, had the right of a *signum*, the other people present were simply categorised as *testes*¹⁰²⁶.

In addition to all these changes and renovations to the royal *acta* described above, one last point is to be made concerning the chancery of Philip I. His reign witnessed a redress in chancery activity, although slight, it was a negligible increase. Chancery activity in this sense, means removing those diplomas which are doubtful, letters-mandamus and all those written by the receivers, in examining only those which were written by the chancery of Philip I in full or in part, e.g. previous chancery diplomas. From this process, the chancery wrote or created 45 diplomas in the 48 year reign, and more so, 2/5 or 39% of the 116 royal precepts which have survived¹⁰²⁷. This means that almost one *acta* per year, 0.94, was created by the chancery, and if the letters-mandamus are added then the number rises to 1.1 per year¹⁰²⁸. This is greater than the numbers identified for the chancery's of the previous two kings, Henry I and Robert II. Henry's chancery managed only 0.45 per year, while in the last 13 years of Robert II, only 0.6 diplomas per year¹⁰²⁹. Although this is an increase, it is far from the number of those produced by the chancery of a Carolingian king. Charles the Bald's chancery for example, produced 12.5 per year, a great deal more than the first Capetian kings¹⁰³⁰. Philip's reign seems to be the beginning of the redress in the royal diploma. More diplomas were emanating from the chancery than before, and although this is in large part to Philip's reduced sphere of action and influences, the fact that he issued more diplomas in a smaller region means that his authority was on the rise¹⁰³¹. Royal diplomas were gaining in respect, as not only did more monasteries and churches desire them for protection, immunities or grants, but the king acted with more initiative than previous in creating diplomas. This definitely points to a redress in royal power and authority.

III: Local administration and justice

i) Provosts

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., p.45.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁰²⁹ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁰³¹ O. Guillot, A. Rigaudière, Y. Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale* I, p.250.

During the early stages of the reign, judging from charters, the domain was governed on a local level. This administration was entrusted by the king to provosts. This system of governance was the same throughout the reigns of Robert II and Henry I, and it seems that Philip I kept the administrative machinery in place, at least until later in the reign when changes occurred. Provosts were first identified, by Pfister, with Robert II, when he identified two, one in Étampes and the other in Sens¹⁰³². Fliche, similarly, summarised a list of the provosts during the reign of Philip I. He identified provosts in the centres of Orléans, Paris, Sens, Étampes, Poissy, Mantes, Senlis, Bourges, Pithiviers and Compiègne¹⁰³³. It is difficult to assess whether or not there were more provosts during his reign because of the lack of information in the sources. However, chances are that there existed many more, probably one in each circumscription of the domain. This was the idea forwarded by Lot and Fawtier, when they claimed that the growth of the provosts accompanied the growth of the domain. They identified the regions of, above those already listed, Château-Landon, Cepoy, Lorrez-le-Bocage, La Chapelle-la-Reine, Lorris, Gretz-sur-Loing, Chaumont, Pontoise, Dun-le-roi and Aubigny-sur-Nère¹⁰³⁴. Whether or not this is the case is uncertain since none of Philip's diplomas or the other sources from the period identified provosts in those regions, although, it is likely they existed in those regions to facilitate administration¹⁰³⁵. This is the case in one of Philip's diplomas. It identified the provost as the royal representative of the king in a region or jurisdiction¹⁰³⁶. Since he represented the king, his duties were attached to justice and finances. Regarding the first point, it seems that in the absence of the king, the provost had the royal right of justice, hence, he dealt with jurisdictional matters with royal authority. Such is made clear from the diploma reporting the complaints of the monks of Saint-Pierre of Melun concerning the jurisdictional intervention of the provost and his subordinates on the lands and men of the monastery¹⁰³⁷. In that charter, it seems that

¹⁰³² C. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*, p.130.

¹⁰³³ Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.159.

¹⁰³⁴ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *HIF* II, p.143.

¹⁰³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.141. They argue that since the time of Robert II the kings would install an intendent named provosts in all the regions where they possessed lands or domanial rights of some substance.

¹⁰³⁶ "ut hec nostra attribution, regali tuitione fulta, deinceps a successoribus nostris vel prepositis aut ministriis nulla patiatu incommode, nostra regia auctoritate corroboravimus," Prou, #XCVIII.

¹⁰³⁷ "Triste querebantur de violentia et invasionibus, quas noster praepositus ceterique nostris satellites iniuste illis et illorum hominibus inferebant, inquietantes eos, iudicia et alia multa saecularis censurae impie ab eorum suburbanis exigentes." Prou, #CXXXIII.

certain provosts were unhappy with the powers allocated to them and were inclined to over-reach their authority and jurisdictions. In addition to their judicial powers, provosts were also required to collect the mandatory taxes and exactions from their regions. This is clear from an *actum* dated between 1101 and 1103 stating that the men from the *villa* of Bagneux were exempt from all exactions saving the legal ones. It further stated that the provost of Paris was the officer charged to raise and collect the toll and other taxes¹⁰³⁸. The interesting point made from that charter is the fact that the jurisdiction of the provost of Paris extended beyond the centre of Paris itself as it seems to have encompassed Bagneux as well. Apparently, judging from a charter dated in 1070, the administration of the government was not very centralised. This is made clear in a case raised by the monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif of Sens against the provost of Sens. In the charter, the monks complained that the provost was raising taxes and enforcing bad and unjust customs against the monastery¹⁰³⁹. It seems that the provosts acted independently from the king at certain periods, seeking to enhance his own fortune and reputation at the expense of his duties towards the king¹⁰⁴⁰. An independent nature by the provosts may have led Philip I to adopt a more hands-on approach to the administration of the domain, relying less on the provosts and more on his own authority.

The provosts were chosen amongst the same social standing as the household officers; they originated from the ruling families of the Ile-de-France. For example, Hermer, provost of Pontoise, who subscribed a diploma in 1069, was very likely a Le Riche from a branch associated to the butlers of Senlis. His son, Guy, succeeded him as provost and his wife may have re-married with Walter Payen, viscount of Meulan¹⁰⁴¹. This illustrates the point that the position and title of provost could become hereditary, however, this is difficult to prove based on one example and unfortunately the information is lacking. That example demonstrates that the links between the king and the nobility of the Ile-de-France were closer than previously believed. Not only were the

¹⁰³⁸ “Annuimus atque concessimus ne ulterius Parisiensis prepositus ab eis occasione qualibet tollas faciat nec exactiones aliquas ab eis requirat per violentiam.” Prou, #CLIII.

¹⁰³⁹ “Igitur volo ut audiat clamorem abbatis Gerberti et monachorum sancti Petri de nostris prepositis et ministries Senonensibus de valde iniustis et malis consuetudinibus quas inuiste per terras sancti Petri vim facientes obponunt.” Prou, #LII.

¹⁰⁴⁰ A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques* I, p.211.

¹⁰⁴¹ Prou, #XLVII; Depoin, *Cartulaire de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, pp.293-294; J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.158.

household officers chosen amongst the nobility but so were the provosts. Hermer's link to the families of the Ile-de-France was double as he was related to a household officer and to a noble family¹⁰⁴². The presence of the provosts in royal diplomas amplified along a similar pattern as the household officers; they grew in influence almost simultaneously¹⁰⁴³. They made their first appearance in a royal *actum*, as a royal provost, in 1057¹⁰⁴⁴, and from there re-appeared twice more in the last years of his reign¹⁰⁴⁵. This increase in their presence at court continued with Philip I, especially during the 1060's. During that decade, 9 diplomas were signed or witnessed by the provosts¹⁰⁴⁶. This number remained steady in the 1070's with only a slight drop to 8¹⁰⁴⁷. With the 1080's a dramatic drop is witnessed as only 2 diplomas were witnessed or signed by a provosts¹⁰⁴⁸. The 1090's were witness to the abyss of the provosts, as not one charter was signed or witnessed. There was a slight redress in the last eight years of Philip's reign as 4 diplomas were signed or witnessed by a provost¹⁰⁴⁹. Of these, only one was impossible to accurately date, but it could be placed in the period of greatest activity, 1069-1075¹⁰⁵⁰. From these periods, certain years were especially active, such as 1060 when 2 diplomas were identified¹⁰⁵¹. Similarly, the year 1067 had 2 diplomas¹⁰⁵², and also 1069 with 2¹⁰⁵³. In 1075, two diplomas were sealed with their subscriptions¹⁰⁵⁴, and one of them had an amazing 5 provosts sign the charter, the most of the reign¹⁰⁵⁵. The next highest number of provosts to sign was in 1082 when 3 provosts added their signatures to an *actum*¹⁰⁵⁶. The final date with a semblance of activity was 1106 when one or two diplomas were sealed with their assent¹⁰⁵⁷. Not much should be read into these two diplomas. With regards to the first, the conjectured date was between 1101 and 1106, while the second was sealed

¹⁰⁴² J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, pp.158-159.

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid., p.157.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Soehnée, *Henri Ier*, #109.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Soehnée, #s 114 (1058), 125 (1060).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Prou, #s V, VI, XI, XII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIX, XLV, XLVII.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid., #s L, LXIX, LXXIV, LXXVII, LXXX, LXXXIII, LXXXVII, XCVII.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid., #s CVIII, CXIII.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid., #s CXXXIX, CXLIV, CLIII, CLVIII.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., #XLIX.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid., #s V, VI.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid., #s XXX, XXXII.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., #s XLV, XLVII.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibid., #s LXXIV, LXXVII.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., #LXXIV.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid., #CVIII.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Prou, #s CLIII, CLVIII, although Prou #CLIII dates between 1101-1106.

in Anjou, meaning that the provost who subscribed may have been the count's and not the king's. If that is the case, the numbers for the last eight years drops to 2 *acta* with provosts' signatures, which agrees with Lemarignier's view, that after 1082, their presence at court almost disappeared, with a few exceptions, such as 1085¹⁰⁵⁸, a diploma dated 1086-1090¹⁰⁵⁹, another in 1100¹⁰⁶⁰ and finally 1102¹⁰⁶¹. The interesting point to make in regards to the diplomas when a provosts signed or witnessed is that all of them were co-signed by the household officers, and furthermore, half of those were signed by all four officers acting together. A further point is that those diplomas concerned regions of royal preponderance, from Fleury and Orléans to Bethisy, in an almost straight line through Étampes, Paris and Senlis¹⁰⁶². Every one of those diplomas dealt with either the granting of immunities to a church or a monastery, most likely a royal church or monastery, or the renunciation of customs upon the said institutions. The fact that the diplomas dealing with these deeds and regions were signed by the household officers and provosts indicates an area where royal influence and power was greatest, since the need to have no other local power sign was necessary to confirm the grant or immunity. With the provosts and officers working together, the administration of the domain was strengthening and centralising itself, and this could explain the sudden drop in the appearance of provosts at the royal court after 1082, with a few exceptions. This is in direct concordance with the growth in the usage of *mandamus* as a new tool in administration.

ii) The *mandamus*

The *mandamus* is an order from the king expressed in the form of a letter stylised in accordance with epistolary salutations and farewells. The distinctive style of the *mandamus* is the lack of subscriptions. No household officers, no witnesses, not the chancellor and not even the king would subscribe the *mandamus*¹⁰⁶³. This illustrates clearly that the *mandamus* was created by the will of the king and did not need confirmation or witnesses: it was an evolution in central administration. The king, in

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., #CXIII.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid., #CXXII.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., #CXXXIX.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., #CXLIV.

¹⁰⁶² J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.158.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., p.159.

using *mandamus*, would either forbid or command something to be done. Such as the case when he ordered the canons of a collegial to invest with a prebend, the abbot of another collegiate house, Ivo, the future bishop of Chartres¹⁰⁶⁴. Similarly, Philip forbade the construction of houses on the lands of the chapter house of Paris, adding the sanction of excommunication for all those who disobeyed the order¹⁰⁶⁵. The use of *mandamus* in the administrative machinery of the Capetian kings was a novel form of government. Since the time of Hugh Capet in 987, not one *actum* from the kings had been of this form. The earliest *mandamus* dates from 1089¹⁰⁶⁶, and from then, its use progressed rapidly, especially by the end of the reign¹⁰⁶⁷. In total 8 *mandamus* have survived, however, of these 5 were after 1103¹⁰⁶⁸. This means that their usage was becoming a more frequent fixture of the royal administrative processes. There was another consequence caused by the *mandamus*, a shrinking of the royal court coupled with a diminishing number of subscribers to the *acta*. A quick list of the numbers will illustrate this point more clearly. From 1060 until 1077 the number of *acta* subscribed by others as opposed to those non-signed was continually on the rise, reaching 87% of Philip's diplomas, while after 1077, a decline in the percentages was identified, lowering to 71%. The change is best observed from 1101 to 1108, the high of the use of the *mandamus*, lowered the percentage even further to almost 50%, or 13 non-subscribed *acta* to 15 with subscriptions¹⁰⁶⁹. In addition, the number of subscribers to each *acta* fell in accordance, from 1060 until 1077, once again the number of subscribers increased reaching 7.5%, or 90 *acta* with 675 subscriptions, during Philip's reign, only to fall to 5.5%, or 81 *acta* with 460 subscriptions, in the period from 1077-1108. In addition, the period from 1101 to 1108 once more gave the lowest output with only 2.5%, or 32 *acta* with 81 subscriptions¹⁰⁷⁰. This means that the royal entourage was becoming less burdensome and more compact, meaning that royal government was more authoritative as the need for other subscribers was waning.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Prou, #CXIX.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., #CLXIX.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Prou, #CLXIX; E. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France: 987-1328*, p.122.

¹⁰⁶⁷ E. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France*, p.122.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Prou, #'s CXIX, CXXXVII, CXLVIII, CL, CLX, CLXVII, CLXIX, CLXXI. The Prou #'s CXXXVII and CL are both letters and not *mandamus*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.162.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., p.162.

The *mandamus* may explain the sudden decrease of the provosts as witnesses to charters. Luchaire argued, when referring to Louis VI and Louis VII, that *mandamus* was intended for the provost of a region¹⁰⁷¹. This could be the same for Philip I since a diploma, dated between 1082 and 1108, was subscribed by provosts and is a brief order by the king prohibiting the provost of Paris from raising exactions on the men of Bagneux¹⁰⁷². Regardless of this one example, the evidence is too weak to confirm A. Luchaire's statement. With the growing authority of the king, as expressed in the *mandamus*, the need for the provost to be present at court was decreasing. The fact only a few diplomas carry their subscriptions is a clear example of the successes of Philip's administration, especially from 1103 to 1108, which corresponded to the height of *mandamus* activity; not one diploma carried the subscription of a provost. The use of the *mandamus* was a new form of administration in the royal demesne, but it was neither created by Philip nor by the French kings. Studies have tried to place the origins of the French *mandamus* with the English writ, as utilised by Edward the Confessor, and later, his successors William I of England and his sons¹⁰⁷³. The idea is based on the use of the writ. It comprised, usually, a short order, was precise and often accompanied by a sanction; also the wording was similar in certain aspects:

*Willelmus, rex Anglorum...Precipio et defendo ne...*¹⁰⁷⁴

*Philippus...Francorum rex...Prohibeo et defendo ne fiat...*¹⁰⁷⁵

Although the origins for the *mandamus* of the French chancery may have come from the Anglo-Saxon, and later Norman, chancery, an influence must have come from the papal chancery of the reform papacy. The same concision, firmness of speech, epistolary style and use of sanctions are abundant throughout Gregory VII's letters to French ecclesiastics¹⁰⁷⁶. The situation was ripe for Philip I to be influenced, his most powerful foe, William I of England, and his sons, and the papal monarchy from Gregory

¹⁰⁷¹ A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions* I, p.214.

¹⁰⁷² "Annuimus atque concessimus ne ulterius Parisiensis prepositus ab eis occasione qualibet toltras faciat nec exactions aliquas ab eis requirat..." Prou, #CLIII.

¹⁰⁷³ J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.161.

¹⁰⁷⁴ T. Bishop and P. Chaplais, *Fac-Similes of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100*, 1957, pl.XI, 1099; J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.161, note #113.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Prou, #CLXIX, 1103-1108; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.161, note #113.

¹⁰⁷⁶ E. Casper, Gregory VII, Reg. II, 20; II, 21 and II, 22; J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.161.

VII onwards, gave Philip the image of how a strong and centralised monarchy worked. With all the tools necessary, a strong and centralised administration, the king was ready to enforce justice and his will on those who would disturb the peace and his orders. This seems to have been the goal of Philip's son Louis, the future Louis VI, who made it his duty to enforce justice in the royal demesne¹⁰⁷⁷.

iii) The administration of justice

The administration of royal justice during the majority of Philip's reign remained unchanged from those of his predecessors. Since the fall of Rome, in Gaul, the power of legislation had been lost, with only a brief resurrection during the reigns of Pippin, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, only to lapse again until the last years of Louis VII. When the empire's administrators were replaced by Germanic kings, the laws also suffered change, to a more custom based society. Kings were no longer seen as legislators, but as defenders of existing laws and traditions. Only in the far-south of the kingdom did any semblance of Roman law exist. It was not until the law schools of Italy began producing students and masters in the ancient laws in the twelfth century that Roman law became a dominant factor in royal administration, mostly because it increased the power and the prestige of the kings involved¹⁰⁷⁸. In the eleventh century, law and justice were based on the protection and guarantee of past traditions, the king's duty was to uphold these traditions and rights. The kings of France were seen as the protectors of the Church, and this meant all of their judicial duties dealt with those who infringed a prior treaty or freedom, or imposed their own customs from which the ecclesiastical institution saw as unjust. In addition to these, kings also dealt with complaints between ecclesiastics, such as when a church tried to impose certain rights it believed it held on another institute or one of its members¹⁰⁷⁹. In the eleventh century the French kings were quite weak, at least in regards to justice, and since a good deal of the kingdom had escaped their direct rule, kings had to depend on the good nature of those whom they would cite to their court to follow his orders. Although there were some successes,

¹⁰⁷⁷ J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.163; J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making: 843-1180*, p.168.

¹⁰⁷⁸ F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen age I*, pp.289-296.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.296.

usually following a military victory¹⁰⁸⁰, the majority of the cases brought towards the king never materialised as the defendant would fail to appear before the king¹⁰⁸¹. Because the king's only weapon against the wrong-doers was the sanction of excommunication, many of the nobles and lords who mistreated church properties or men went unpunished¹⁰⁸². Because of the lack of power to enforce decisions made in their courts, kings believed it was better to agree than to disagree, meaning that it was more convenient to have a *concordia* than a judgement, at least according to a diploma sealed by Philip I¹⁰⁸³.

It was with the future Louis VI that justice took centre stage in the mind of the king. When he was appointed as *rex designatus* in 1100, he vowed to enforce sentences and royal justice in the Ile-de-France. The first incidence involved the abbey of Saint-Denis and Bouchard de Montmorency in 1101. Bouchard had come into conflict with the famed abbey and refused fealty to the sanctuary as was required, they asked the king for help and Louis replied. He cited Bouchard to his court, only to have Bouchard fail to appear. Already, the situation seems familiar, and usually this is when royal justice ended, with a sanction and a warning, however, Louis went further. He ravaged Bouchard's lands, attacked his castles and his allies¹⁰⁸⁴. The situation became ideal for Louis to enforce justice on the castellans and lords of the region because many had been involved in conflicts amongst each other. Louis could count on their help in his conflicts against their "rivals". Such was the case between Mathew of Beaumont and Hugh of Clermont. The latter had requested the help of Louis against the former. Louis, in 1102, summoned Mathew to his court, he failed to appear, so Louis doubled his attacks and sought the help of others, such as his future butler Guy of Senlis¹⁰⁸⁵. In fact, Suger devotes the majority of the first years of Louis' reign as king designate to Louis'

¹⁰⁸⁰ Such as Henry I in the fruitful year of 1043, following his political successes, he cited to appear before him Nivard to answer the claims that he had usurped a custom held by the abbot of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés. The case was successful as Nivard appeared and was found guilty. Soehnée, Henri Ier, #65.

¹⁰⁸¹ J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.163.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid., p.164.

¹⁰⁸³ Prou, #XXXVII.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, c.ii, pp14-18.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid., c. iii-iv, pp.18-24.

adventures in enforcing royal justice on the castellans of the Ile-de-France¹⁰⁸⁶. Although Abbot Suger's history is a little distorted, claiming that Louis was victorious in all his conflicts through his drive and determination, it seems more probable, however, that the king won regardless of many defeats, his victory was hard fought, as related by Orderic Vitalis¹⁰⁸⁷. Regardless of how Louis proceeded with his enforcement in justice and how difficult it was, the important thing to note is that he carried through his sentences, regardless of how difficult they were. He wanted to pacify the royal domain. The final diploma of Philip's reign dealing with justice is a good case in point outlining royal justice and the ground it had won thanks to Louis' efforts. Névelon de Pierrefonds was involved against the canons of Compiègne, he tried to demand taxes from the men of the lordship of the canons, even after they had denied him the right. Philip, to bring about peace, relegated this affair to his son. Louis convoked those involved, the canons produced their documentation and Névelon stated his arguments, Louis ordered those involved to make the decision at his court to settle the matter. Névelon, feeling that the decision would go against him, left the proceedings hoping to escape his judgement. Because of that, the court ruled in favour of the canons and Névelon was condemned without a share of anything¹⁰⁸⁸. This example illustrates a redress in royal justice which had not been present in the royal lands for a long time. The use and proliferation of the *mandamus* after 1103 had a great deal to do with the betterment in the enforcement of justice.

This chapter attempted to demonstrate the changes brought about in the administration of the kingdom during the reign of Philip I. Some of the changes seem to have occurred without him, such as the sudden absence of magnates from the royal court followed later by the greater ecclesiastics. Philip's response, whether dictated by him or not, was the inclusion of the local aristocracy to fill the void created by the flight of the magnates. This clearly demonstrated the changing nature of the diploma to a more local, familial style *actum*. The growth in the importance of the household officers is a clear sign of an administrative redress. Smaller courts and witness lists and the ability to seal a

¹⁰⁸⁶ Aside from chapters ii to iv, he continues his dealings with the local aristocracy in chapters v to vii, pp.24-34; and xi and xii, pp.68-80.

¹⁰⁸⁷ OV, XI, c.35 and 36, pp.156-162; J.F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal*, p.166.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Prou, #CLIX.

charter without the approval of a local castellan were the end result in the growth in the importance of the household at court. Alongside the growth of the household officers, a parallel phenomena was occurring, the growth of the provost as a witness to the royal *acta*. Again, this was a sign of redress, the king would delegate his authority in a region in order to facilitate the administration of the demesne. The innovative point in the reign for all this was in Philip's choices for his officers and provosts, they were all chosen from local families and castellans in the Ile-de-France. In doing so, the resistance many showed towards the king would eventually break down, mostly due to their own rivalries and desires to ingratiate themselves with the king and gain more influence at the court and with the king. This style of administration seemed to have worked, as near the end of his reign a new style was developing, the use of *mandamus* as a tool in administration. With a slimmer court and administration based on the written word, central authority developed and grew to a point when even the provosts no longer needed to attend royal courts, they simply received their orders from the king. This was truly the turning point in Capetian history, which brought them out of the feudal anarchy. The foundations had been prepared for Louis VI to take control of the affairs of the domain and enforce his will, in essence to become master of his own demesne.

Conclusion:

This thesis has attempted to analyse Philip's power and influence as king through many different channels. After such a study, a conclusion is rather difficult to write simply because Philip, similarly to the first Capetian kings, has had so little work concentrated upon him by modern scholarship which means that any conclusion is open to debate and conjecture. So for this purpose, a summary of the ideas put forward in this thesis will suffice to measure Philip I as *rex Francorum*. It has been noticed that Philip I was king during momentous changes in society, which for the most part, were beyond his control. From his ancestors, most notably Robert II, Philip inherited a reputation for a special ability to heal, which during his reign was developed in a new and special direction, the touch for scrofula. Little is known of this process and how it was further advanced under Philip, if not earlier, however, the earliest extant sources claim that Philip I was the first monarch to touch for scrofula in Western Christendom. Similarly to his healing abilities, the sacral aspect and power of the king was promoted by the clergy, albeit in large part not through his own patronage. The Investiture Contest opened debates concerning royal power and helped to develop and further the aims of royalty. Although Philip benefited from the arguments presented, he did not participate in them, nor were the works dedicated to him. Most were of imperial origins, and the most famous example from France was dedicated to the English monarch Henry I. Still as monarch, the points advanced during this period would greatly affect him and even more so his successors in the next two centuries.

Throughout his charters, Philip's most important duties and responsibilities were to the Church and its members along with the guardianship of peace and justice. The ancient Carolingian tradition as protectors and fosterers of the Church remained steadfast throughout Philip's charters. The resources of the French Church were solid enough reason for Philip to take special care of the Church and its properties. During times of vacancies Philip exercised the rights of *spolia* and *regalia*, meaning that he became the protector and administrator of the church's properties. Whatever the motivations behind his patronage of the ecclesiastical institutions, Philip was a generous benefactor, and in return the Church placed at his disposal the necessary weapons to enforce his rule. In fact it may have been the combined sacrality of the king and his role

as guardian of the French Church which protected him to a large degree from the papacy and why for so long Philip's reign continued as normal even though he had been excommunicated. In this respect Philip was more successful than his German contemporary Henry IV whose own imperial church was divided in two camps and which threatened on many occasions his power and authority.

Philip also found successes in his territorial policies. He added to the royal demesne several possessions which increased his wealth, influence and enlarged his sphere of activities and charter distribution. The majority of his additions were acquired through peaceful means; only two were acquired through battles. The territorial gains had two geographical advantages: the first was in rounding off the demesne, both to its north and south. The second was that Philip managed to extend his authority far into the south of the kingdom. The acquisition of Bourges made Philip the first French monarch to have a territorial base south of the Loire. This fact alone makes Philip more successful than his predecessors. Philip was fortunate to reign during a period of economic transformations. Land clearance, town and commune development, expanding trade and commerce all led to a general enriching of the royal demesne. Many of Philip's royal rights touched on these developments and he benefited greatly from them. Rights on travel, tolls, land clearance and markets affected the king's resources and wealth. The argument that Philip was an impecunious king is grossly simplistic, Philip was a monarch with economic means or how else could he have purchased the viscounty of Bourges for 60.000 cents? The purchase of Bourges is an example that Philip must have been an efficient ruler in enforcing his economic rights in his demesne.

Although the previous monarchs also added to the royal possessions, the majority of these acquisitions would later be lost either through dowry for daughters or other dynastic policy. Philip stopped this trend and greatly strengthened the monarchy with an innovative practice of inheritance. He favoured his eldest son and hence granted to him the inherited demesne and the newly acquired lands as one inseparable whole. The other children, from what is known, acquired nothing or were granted something, such as a castle, but only through the hands of the future king Louis VI, only to lose it early on in Louis's reign. This had the effect of creating a dependence of the one son towards the other. In terms of the royal demesne, Philip was able to pass to his son a greatly

enlarged demesne as a whole and whose economic potential was beginning to bear fruit. In his 48 year reign, Philip's dynastic and territorial policies were a success, as the demesne inherited by Louis VI was much greater and richer than that which Philip had inherited.

Philip's itinerary demonstrated his almost exclusive concentration on his own demesne possessions. Philip spent more time in the royal demesne than had his predecessors. Although, judging by anachronistic means, this illustrates a diminished royal authority. If the itinerary is considered as a blueprint for royal activities and influences, then yes, Philip was an isolated monarch when compared to his ancestors. The changing social situation meant that Philip needed to be ever-present in his demesne. It was the growing independence of the castellans in the region which reached its apex during his reign that forced Philip to act. His continued presence in the region was forged from necessity, he needed to re-enforce his authority and his rights in the region. His itinerary was centred on two centres, Paris and Orléans, and through these he administered his lands. His itinerary was focused in the troubled areas of his demesne, voyages to and from Paris and Orléans were frequent. They were also used as operational bases for other journeys, Orléans as starting and finishing point for the south and Paris for the rest of his journeys. It may seem that Philip was unsuccessful in his attempts to pacify the region, since the rebellious lords troubled him and his son later on, however, the increased royal presence in the Ile-de-France was similarly followed by his son and grand-son, especially regarding the city of Paris which only grew in importance. Philip sacrificed his external authority in order to strengthen his power in the royal demesne, a policy followed with greater emphasis by his son.

Philip's increased presence and more personal rule in the region led to a stronger centralised administration. In the first years of his reign, until 1077, Philip relied heavily on the counts, bishops and archbishops to attend his courts. Afterwards, with the legatine activity of Archbishop Hugh of Lyons who removed many of Philip's court members from office, Philip had to rely more on the local castellans of the Ile-de-France. This detachment from a wider world and diminished influence in the kingdom had the positive effect of increasing Philip's internal authority and prestige in the Ile-de-France. A move away from dependence on the court to his royal household created a

power vacuum which was filled by the local nobility who filled these positions. Their increased role in the administration heightened the prestige of the household. Noble families fought amongst each other for these positions and titles, a situation Philip was able to exploit. By choosing amongst these families, Philip increased his authority and prestige in the Ile-de-France, as he brought them within his personal circle of advisers and kept their efforts against him divided. Louis VI continued this movement of welcoming into his household castellans from the Ile-de-France with far more emphasis and success as he would eventually break their resistances to his authority.

Between his more intensive travelling in the Ile-de-France and his use of local castellans as his principal advisers, Philip found successes in his administration near the end of his reign. His successes at centralisation are clearly expressed by the use of the *mandamus*. These, instead of diplomas, expressed a royal order or wish in the form of a letter. Although non-existent in the first ¾ of his reign after the 1100's their use greatly increased. Following examples in both Norman England and the Roman papacy, two images of strong central governments, Philip applied their administrative machinery to his own. This is where Philip, as king, was his most successful. His efforts to centralise administration and organise with more efficiency his lands were innovative and continued by his successors. Of the first Capetian kings, Hugh to Philip I, Philip was the most centralised and powerful of the monarchs in practice and theory. His title was unchallenged by any other prince or power, whereas the other monarchs of the period all had to deal with serious challenges to their power and authority. Lastly, Philip was the first French king to enlarge the demesne and successfully pass it to his heir in its entirety thereby strengthening the monarchy. Philip was a successful king who managed and dealt with events and movements of his time with great success and he merits his place in the hall of influential French kings.

APPENDIX I: The Carolingian connection?

The Capetian line of Philip I:

Hugh Capet (987-996)-----Odo (t965)-----Henry (t1002)
King of France Duke of Burgundy Duke of Burgundy

Robert II the Pious (996-1031) King of France

Henry I (1031-1060)-----Robert (t1075)
King of France Duke of Burgundy

Philip I (1060-1108)-----Hugh the Great (tl102)
King of France Count of Vermandois

Constance-----Louis VI the Fat (1108-1137)
Wife of Bohemond I King of France

The first table is self explanatory. It is a direct line from Hugh Capet to Louis VI. Since Philip's mother was Anna of Kiev, we know that her genealogical tables mattered for nothing when determining Philip's Carolingian descent. Hence this first table will serve as the starting point for the next two tables.

The Robertinian line of Hugh Capet:

Robert the Strong (t866)
Count of Anjou

Odo (888-898)-----Robert I (922-923)
King of France King of France

Hugh the Great (t956)-----Emma
Duke of Francia wife of Raoul
(923-936)

Hugh Capet (987-996)-----Odo (t965)-----Henry (t1002)
King of France Duke of Burgundy Duke of Burgundy

This table traces the lineage of Philip from his great grandfather Hugh Capet down to Robert the Strong. This is also a direct line from father to son. The origins of the early Robertinians have been the subject of much discussion. But little is known of their origins or their background. It is assumed that

they fought along with the Carolingians and were important allies. Robert the strong was count of Anjou and not duke of Francia as his grandson would later be. Robert held most of his lands in what would later become the House of Anjou. Robert's son Odo would later become king when a crisis occurred leaving the kingdom without a king. The nobles elected him as he was the strongest of honours of their ranks. After the death of Robert I, Hugh the Great would content himself to holding on to what his had acquired, most notably the title of Duke of *Francia* which he would pass on to his son Hugh Capet. Hugh the great built up his forces and it was his acquisitions that permitted Hugh Capet to be recognised by the nobles as the next king of France when a similar emergency to the prior one had occurred. Afterwards, the rest is history.

The House of Champagne

Charles I (Charlemagne) (768-814)
King of the Franks, western emperor

Pippin (777-810)-----	Louis I the Pious (814-840)
King of Italy	western emperor

Bernard (810-818)
King of Italy
Pippin (818-875)
Count of Vermandois

Bernard (875-892)
Count of Vermandois

Herbert I (892-923)	Pippin I (892-902)
Count of Vermandois	Count of Senlis and Valois

Pippin II-----Beatrix
Count of Valois

Robert I (922-923)

King of France

Raoul
Marries Emma-----

Hugh the Great (t956)

Hugh Capet

This table is the more complex, but it illustrates Philip's slight Carolingian lineage. Tracing his lineage back from Hugh Capet up to Hugh the Great's

sister, is where the link is detected. Emma, Hugh's sister had married Raoul, who was himself son of Beatrix, daughter of Pippin I, count of Senlis and Valois. The chain continues, Pippin was Herbert I's brother. Following the table through the male heirs once more, From Herbert we can trace back until Charlemagne himself, and hence Philip's connection. During the time of the struggle for power in West *Francia* between the Robertinians and Capetians, many marriages were arranged for political purpose, the most important being for the purpose of alliances. With a small enough pool to select from, choice had become rather limited. The genealogical tables of the 9th-11th centuries demonstrate the quite small circle of family acquaintances and bonds. So that by the time that Henry I was looking for a wife, he settled on one who had no relations to any of the counts or dukes of the kingdom. This, it has been argued was for two reasons, the first was for fear of consanguinity between himself and others, which could have lead to future trouble in having his son recognised as rightful and lawful heir and future king. Also, it would bring added prestige to the Capetian house to marry royalty from an exotic land. With these factors in mind, Henry sent off for Anna, daughter of Iaroslav of Kiev. This marriage bore fruit as Philip was borne and no contention could be made of his legitimacy.

It is hoped that these tables have helped to clarify the uncertain situation of Philip's claim to Carolingian ancestors and background.

The heartland:

Bréval: castleⁱ

Chateaufort-sur-Loire: houseⁱⁱ

Compiègne: palaceⁱⁱⁱ, church^{iv}, market^v, the toll^{vi}, justice/vicaria^{vii}

Dreux: castle^{viii}, a mint^{ix}

Étampes: palace^x, villae^{xi}, 2 churches^{xii}, market^{xiii}, a mint^{xiv}, toll^{xv}

Mantes: castle^{xvi}, a mint^{xvii}, toll^{xviii}, *villa*^{xix}

Melun: palace^{xx}

Monthéry: castle^{xxi}

Montreuil: castle^{xxii}

Orléans: palace^{xxiii}, house^{xxiv}, the hundred^{xxv}, a mint^{xxvi}, market^{xxvii}, customs^{xxviii}, toll^{xxix}, justice/vicaria^{xxx}

Paris: palace^{xxxi}, villa (Mesnil-le-Roi)^{xxxii}, via^{xxxiii}, mill^{xxxiv}, a mint^{xxxv}, customs^{xxxvi}, toll^{xxxvii}, justice/vicaria, the *ost*^{xxxviii}

Poissy: palace^{xxxix}, castle^{xl}, church^{xli}, the tenth^{xlii}, market^{xliii}, customs^{xliv}, toll^{xlvi}, a barn^{xlvi}, a storeroom^{xlvi}, an orchard^{xlvi}

Pontoise: castle^{xlix}, customs between Pontoise and Puisseaux^l, toll^{li}, a mint^{lii}, safe-conduit^{liii}

Quierzy: palace^{liv}

Senlis: palace, *via*^{lv}, a mint^{lvi}, customs^{lvii}

Sens: palace^{lviii}, a mint^{lix}

Soissons: palace^{lx}

St-Denis: house^{lxi}, *via*^{lxii}, mill^{lxiii}

Verberie: palace

Vitry-aux-Loges: palace^{lxiv}

The Peripheral demesne

Villae

Combs-en-Brie^{lxv}
Saint-Jacques de Bédégon (Étampes)^{lxvii}
Vetus Castellaris^{lxix}
Barberie^{lxxi}
Bus and Wary (Crépy)^{lxxiii}
Dionne^{lxxv}
Gaudine^{lxxvii}
Aubervilliers^{lxxix}
Ablon and Mons (Corbie)^{lxxxi}
Villeneuve-le-Roi (Corbie)^{lxxxiii}
Ury^{lxxxiv}

Tours^{lxvi}
Bagneux^{lxviii}
Crépy^{lxx}
St-Léger^{lxxii}
Pontlevoy^{lxxiv}
Pont-aux-Moines^{lxxvi}
Barberie^{lxxviii}
Attigny^{lxxx}
Goumiers^{lxxxii}

Forests

Vincennes^{lxxxv}
Crépy^{lxxxvii}
Yvelines^{lxxxix}
Bondy^{xc}
St-Germain-en-Laye^{xciii}

Laigue^{lxxxvi}
Plante^{lxxxviii}
Marly^{xc}
Rambouillet^{xcii}
Goumiers^{xciv}

Vines

Crépy^{xcv}

Chanteau^{xcvi}

Mills

Saint-Martin-des-Champs^{xcvii}
Filliancourt^{xcix}

Houdilcourt^{xcviii}

Churches

Saint-Rémi in Chanteau^c
Houdilcourt^{ci}

Chapels

Neufchâtel-sur-Aisne^{cii}
Ste-Vaubourg^{civ}

Gédéon^{ciii}

The tenth

Marqueny^{cv}
Chuffilly^{cvii}
St-Léger-aux-Bois^{cix}
Auvers-sur-Oise^{cx}

Triel^{cvi}
La Chaussée^{cviii}
Rambouillet^{cx}
Villaine^{cxii}

The hundredth

Oinville-Saint-Liphard^{cxiii}
Rebréchien^{cxv}

Marly^{cxiv}
Rieux^{cxvi}

The Right to Mint

Château-Landon^{cxvii}
Dun-sur-Auron^{cxix}

Pithiviers^{cxviii}

Customs

Tours^{cxix}
Olivet^{cxixii}
Semoy (Paris)^{cxixiv}
Bouzy (Senlis)^{cxixvi}
Chatenoy^{cxixviii}
Ménil^{cxixxx}
Sermaises^{cxixxii}
Villennes^{cxixxiv}
Saint-Germain-en-Laye^{cxixxvi}

Ferrières^{cxixi}
Mézières-sous-Belgarde^{cxixiii}
Vieilles-Maisons^{cxixv}
Burcy^{cxixvii}
Fleury^{cxixix}
on the Loire^{cxixxi}
Marly^{cxixxiii}
Courcelles^{cxixxv}

Tolls

Tours^{cxixxvii}
On the Loire^{cxixxix}
Bourges^{cxli}

Chaumont-en-Vexin^{cxixxviii}

Justice/Vicaria

Tours^{cxli}
Courcelles^{cxliii}
Oinville-Saint-Liphard^{cxliv}
Avrainville^{cxlvii}
St-Germain-en-Laye^{cxlviii}

Olivet^{cxlii}
St-Léger-aux-Bois^{cxliv}
Goumiers^{cxlvi}
Bourges

Miscellaneous rights

pasture in Touraine^{cxlix}
champart in Villaine^{cli}
corvée in Ferrières^{cliii}
fishing in the Loire^{clv}
a barn in Triel^{clvii}
orchard in Triel^{clix}
ost in Bagneux^{clxi}
brenage in Chevincourt^{clxiii}

brenage in Semoy^{cl}
corvée in Breuil^{clii}
fishing at Fleury^{cliv}
fishing at St-Germain-en-Laye^{clvi}
storeroom in Triel^{clviii}
chevage in Aubervilliers^{clx}
safe-passage in Chaumont-en-Vexin^{clxii}
corvée at St-Léger-aux-Bois^{clxiv}

The ecclesiastical demesne:

Bishoprics

Rheims: Beauvais

Senlis^{clxv}

Soissons^{clxvi}

Noyon-Tournai^{clxvii}

Laon^{clxviii}

Rheims^{clxix}

Amiens^{clxx}

Thérouanne^{clxxi}

Sens: Chartres^{clxxii}

Orléans^{clxxiii}

Paris^{clxxiv}

Meaux^{clxxv}

Sens^{clxxvi}

Auxerre^{clxxvii}

Tours: Tours^{clxxviii}

Bourges: Bourges^{clxxix}

Lyons: Mâcon^{clxxx}

Châlons-sur-Saône^{clxxxi}

Monasteries

Paris: Ste-Geneviève de Paris^{clxxxii}

Saint-Magloire de Paris^{clxxxiii}

St-Martin-des-Champs de Paris^{clxxxiv}

Notre-Dame de Poissy^{clxxxv}

St-Martin-des-Champs de Meulan^{clxxxvi}

St-Léger-en-Yvelines^{clxxxvii}

St-Germain-des-Prés^{clxxxviii}

St-Maur-des-Fossés^{clxxxix}

St-Denis^{cxc}

Orléans: Fleury^{cxc}

St-Aignan d'Orléans^{cxcii}

St-Samson d'Orléans^{cxciii}

Notre-Dame des Forges d'Orléans^{cxciv}

St-Vincent-des-Vignes d'Orléans^{cxcv}

Sens: St-Martin d'Étampes^{cxcvi}

Notre-Dame de Meulun^{cxcvii}

Notre-Dame d'Étampes^{cxcviii}

St-Pierre-le-Vif^{cxcix}

Senlis: St-Vincent de Senlis^{cc}
St-Frambourg de Senlis^{cci}
St-Médard de Soissons^{ccii}
St-Corneille de Compiègne^{cciii}

Tours: St-Pierre-le-Puellier de Tours^{cciv}
St-Martin-de-Tours^{ccv}

Meaux: Faremoutier^{ccvi}

Auxerre: St-Germain d'Auxerre^{ccvii}

Amiens: St-Riquier^{ccviii}

Noyon: St-Léger-aux-Bois^{ccix}

Laon: Notre-Dame and St-Jean of Laon^{ccx}

Appendix III: The royal itinerary of Philip I, 1060-1108

The numbers represent the diploma as placed by Prou in his register of Philip I's charters. Otherwise, the narrative source is used.

1060: Dreux 2(after 4 August);
Paris 3(after 4 August);
Senlis 4(after 4 August);
Étampes 6(25 November);
Orléans 8(30 November);

1061: Compiègne 9(30 April);
Rheims 10(14 May);
Senlis 11(27 May);
Paris 12(after 27 May before 4 August) Even though Prou only dated this charter as before 4 August, I believe that it is after his voyage from Senlis, so after 27 May.

1062: Paris (31 March) Clarius. This date was identified by the following passage. *Anno M L XII, obit Mainardus archiepiscopus...cui successit in archiepiscopatu domnus Richerius...qui ordinatus Parisius in die sancto Pasche ab episcopo Gotfrido et aliis, presente rege cum principibus*. Clarius, p.126. I believe this act was more than we are told. I believe this to be a crown-wearing ceremony. The reasons for this argument are many. Firstly, we know that Philip had problems serious enough on his accession as king. He was a minor it was an optimal time for many to revolt against the king and his regent. Fliche described these events so it is not necessary to elaborate on them. Fliche, *Philippe Ier* p.13, 27-30. The fact that the revolts occurred are without question. My argument is in order to re-enforce his rule after the suppression of the revolts, it would seem logical to have the king re-crowned. This was not a novel idea, Philip himself used this method later on in his reign during his problems with the papacy; it was propaganda. Crown-wearing ceremonies only occurred on the great feast days of the Christian calendar. Aside from the feast days, a further requirement was the attendance of many greats. The ceremony took place on Easter Sunday, a very important feast day with some greats present and after the revolts had been suppressed, and lastly, it occurred in Paris, the heart of Philip's demesne.

1063: Paris 15(after 25 May before 4 August) Prou demonstrated that it had to be after 25 May because Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, confirmed the foundation of the chapter of Harlebeke on this date, and no mention of Philip's charter was made;
Lille 17;
Soissons 16;

1064: No locations could be identified for the year.

1065: Orléans 18(26 January);
Orléans 19(some time before or after 26 January)
Laon 20(before 4 August);

Corbie 22(after 4 August)

1066: Compiègne 27(before 1 October);

Furnes 24(before 4 August);

Lille 25(after 4 August);

Rheims 26(28 September);

Soissons 28(after 1 October). This itinerary was very difficult to order. Rheims and Soissons were easy to place since the days are quite close together. I believe that Furnes and Lille must be placed together because of the geography of the region; both cities are in Flanders. I put Compiègne before 1 October because there was no mention of Philip leaving the tutelage of Baldwin V which had occurred after 1 October and the Soissons charter. This is mentioned in Philip's diploma: *Ego, Philippus, gratia Dei Francorum rex. Notum esse volo omnibus successoribus nostris quia, exeunte me de flandrensium comitis Balduini mundiburdio...*

1067: In Flanders 35(before 9 May);

Gand (9 May). Gand was identified through two Flemish sources, one a *Life* and the other an *Annals* entry. The *Annals* mention: *Anno 1067 elevatio sancti Machii Antiochene sedis archiepiscopi facta est in cenobio Gandensis... septimo Ydus Maii, presentibus abbatibus plurimis et monachis cum sanctorum suorum corporibus et ipsorum cenobio ibidem secu, allatis, presentibus etiam Philippo rege Francie....* 'Annales Gandenses 1007-1074' in *MGH SS*, II, p.189. The *Life* also mentioned Philip's presence at the ceremony: *Aderat etiam cum optimatibus comes Balduinus; sub quo pueritiae exercens annos, affuit clarae indolis rex Francorum Philippus....* 'Vita S. Macharii Altera' in *MGH SS*, XV-II, p.619;

Paris 29-30(27-29 May);

Melun 32(after 29 May before 7 August), Hadericus of Orléans was bishop until 7 August. *Gallia Christiana*;

Chaumont-sur-Loire 33(7 August);

1068: Orléans 38(before 15 June);

Senlis 39-40(15 June-1 August);

1069: Senlis 43(12 April) The reason I chose this date is because a gathering of important bishops were present for this court, they were Manasses of Rheims, Adalard of Soissons and Odo of Senlis. This charter was a grant to Saint-Vincent de Senlis. The date chosen was that of Easter, since it was before 4 August and a large enough gathering was present, which does not occur again until 1070;

Paris 42(before 4 August);

Melun 44(before 4 August);

Orléans 41(before 4 August) I placed these two cities after Paris because of the geography. After Paris, travelling south, Philip would pass through Melun before Orléans;

Pontoise 45(before 4 August) I placed Pontoise here for the reason that from Orléans, Philip could have won Pontoise before moving on to Poissy, which was in September;

Poissy 47(September)

1070: Paris 51,48,49,52(18 March until 4 April or before 5 May) A diploma dated 18 March followed by another dated after 18 March but before 4 August. I believe that Philip celebrated Easter in Paris which was 4 April simply because of the assembly of people at his court. Since Paris was a rich enough area, and in support of my arguments above, I believe that Philip spent one month in the city, from 18 March until shortly after Easter;

Orry 53(5 May);

1071: Val-en-Cassel (22 February) In the *Genealogy* it states: *Advenit et Rex Philippus... hi omnes ad debellandum Frisionem in campo sub monte Cassel resederunt*. 'Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium' in *RHGF* XI, p.391. Also the *Continuation of the history of the Normans* states the date of the battle as: *Philippus Rex Francorum veniens in auxilium ejus... die Dominico Septuagesimae*. William Calculi Gemeticensis Monachi, 'Historiae Normannorum Continuatione' in *RHGF* XII, p.574. Lambert of Hirsfeld also mentioned the battle. *MLXXI... ad Regem Francorum, Philippum nomine, confugit, auxilium et necis paternae vindictam expetens... sed Rubertus... simulato aliquandiu metu et fugiendi studio, ex insperato atque ex insidiis copias suas super exercitum Regis effudit*. Lambert of Hirsfeld, 'De Rebus Gestis Germanorum' in *RHGF* XI, p.64; In addition Sigebert of Gembloux states: *Balduino juniore Flandrensium comite defuncto, Rotbertus, frater ejus, consensu Flandrensium contra Arnulfum fratrualem suum Flandriam occupat. Arnulfus cum Philippo Francorum rege occurrit patruo suo Rotberto; et pugna conserta, Arnulfus perimitur, Philippus rex fuga liberatur, et multis occisis, hinc Richildis, Arnulfi mater, illinc Rotbertus capitur; et altero pro altero relaxato, bellum inter eos vario eventu protrahitur*. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Patrologia Latina* 160, [Col.0216B];

Montreuil (After 22 February until 6 March) We return to the *Genealogy*: *Igitur rex Francorum bello Casletensi victus atque fugatus, ad castrum quod Monasterioholum dicitur pergens...* 'Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium' in *RHGF* XI, p.391. We also have John of Ypres' statement: *Rex praesumens Audomrenses Frisoni favere, de Monsterolo rediit...* Johannes Iperius, 'Chronico S. Bertini' in *RHGF* XI, p.384;

Saint-Omer (6 March) We return to John of Ypres: *...et nocte villam Audomarensem intravit*. Johannes Iperius, 'Chronico S. Bertini' in *RHGF* XI, p.384. The *Genealogy* also confirms this: *Cumque ad burgum S. Audomari pervenisset... civitatem intravit*. 'Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium' in *RHGF* XI, p.391;

Poissy 54(after 6 March before 25 April);

Melun 55(After 6 March before 25 April);

Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire 56(no date);

Sens 57(25 April); Paris 60(2 November);

Laon (25 December) A crown-wearing ceremony. The information gathered is from a charter dated a few days after Christmas in *Mareohum*. The court was numerous with plenty of magnates present, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Laon, Soissons, Chaumont, Senlis and Noyon;

Mareohum 61(after 25 December);

1072: Paris 62(After 23 May);

1073: Paris 63(21 May);

Étampes 64(no date);

Compiègne 65(no date);

1074: Paris 66(before 4 August);

Paris 67(before 4 August); I believe that Philip made two distinct journeys to Paris this year for the important reason that the subscriptions were radically different from one another, especially those of the royal household.

1075: Paris 75(Before 23 May);

Orléans 76(Before 23 May);

Paris 73(before 23 May);

Orléans 77(around 23 May);

Paris 70(before 4 August);

Soissons 78(after 23 May). Possibly Philip's marriage to Bertrada. The first clue is her signature, she signs for the first time as *domnae Bertae, Francorum Reginae*, a large assembly of magnates including the archbishop of Rheims and the bishops of Soissons, Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, Senlis and Auxerre. Also, two signatures were added later, those of Louis VI king of the French and of Landric, bishop of Mâcon;

In Flanders/the North 72(After 23 May);

Amiens 79(near the end of the year);

Corbie 93;

1076: Senlis 80/81(28 February);

Poitiers 83/84(9 October-14 October) An Angevin chronicle confirms this date stating: *MLXXVI Rex Philippus fuit hoc anno (Pictavis)*. 'Chronico S. Maxentii' in *RHGF* XII, p.401;

Dol (After 14 October) *ASC* 1076, p.213; William of Malsmesbury, *GR.*, ii, c.363;

1077: Orléans 86(beginning of the year) Philip returns from Dol. Also, Orléans is on the route to Charroux from Dol.

Charroux 85(beginning of the year, but after Orléans);

Orléans 87(After his return from Charroux and before 31 March) A different assembly for this court;

Crépy 88(31 March);

Mantes 89(After 31 March before 23 May);

1078: Dreux 92(before 8 April?);

Paris 91(8 April) Easter court? A large assembly with two archbishops, from Rheims and Sens, along with two bishops from Paris and Chartres and abbot from Saint-Denis were present.

1079: Gerberoy 94(January) This is coupled with the *Annals* of Roger of Hoveden: Anno *MLXXIX, Rex Willielmus filio suo Roberto ante castellum Gerbohtret, quod ei Rex Philippus praestiterat...* Roger of Hoveden, 'Annalium Parte Priori' in *RHGF* XI, p.315;

Le Puiset (Spring) This location was first identified by Suger with the statement : *Memorare, inquiens, domine rex, sicut decet regiam maiestatem, opprobrii et dedecoris quod avus Hugonis patri tuo Phylippo feuds perjurio intulit, cum eum multas illatus injurias ulcisci innitenrtem a Puteolo turpiter reppulit...* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xix p.132; Apart from Suger, the only information gathered concerning this revolt is from Raoul Tortaire, monk of Fleury, who stated: *Rebellaverunt autem contra eum (Philip) quidam Francorum procures, opibus et viribus Guillelmi regis Anglorum fidentes; ex quibus Hugo de Puteolo adversus eum (Philip) arma corripuit, plures sibi asciscens auxiliares... Enimvero rege cum reliquis militum legionibus ad Puteolum festinante, et ipsi ei occurrunt. Castra metantur tam ipsi quam rex circa ipsum castrum.* Raoul Tortaire, 'Miraculi Sancti Benedicti' in *PL* 160 [Col.1212B]. Since Raoul mentioned this event after the problems with the Flemish succession and Philip's marriage to Bertha of Frisia then the events seem to mean the same events mentioned by Suger. For a fuller discussion of the dating of these events see Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.313-315.

Orléans (Spring) Suger then continued: *...exercitum ejus usque Aurelianum fugavit.* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xix, p.132;
 Saint-Benoit 95;
 Orléans 97;

1080: Melun 100(no date given);
 Orléans 101(Shortly after Melun) the court is the exact same composition;

1081: Villabé 104(Before 4 August);
 Paris 105(1 November)?

1082: Poissy 106(6 January);
 Paris 107(no date given);
 Étampes 108(no date given) I believe that Étampes is to follow Poissy and Paris since Hugh, Philip's brother, was present at both courts and not at Étampes;

1083: No locations could be identified for the year.

1084: Ribemont 110(Before 4 August);

1085: Orléans 112(no date given);
 Étampes 114(no date given) I believe that both centres should be placed before Beauvais since Philip ventured in the north for the majority of the year;
 Beauvais 113(After 20 April) For the reason that the date was calculated from 1062 and from Easter, hence the date for this Easter fell on the 20 April;
 Nesle 115(No date given);
 In Flanders, either Furnes or Messines, 116(No date given);
 Compiègne 117(After 1 September);

1086: Dreux 118(Before 4 August);

1087: No locations could be identified for the year.

1088: No locations could be identified for the year.

1089: No locations could be identified for the year.

1090: Paris 120;

Pontoise 122;

Normandy (Summer) *ASC* 1090, p.225; *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigny*, 2vols, ed. and trans. E. van Houts, (Oxford, 1995), c.viii, p.207.

Orléans 123(end of the year);

1091: No locations could be identified for the year.

1092: Paris 124;

Compiègne 125/126(7 March);

Bréval 128(Before Lent, Easter was 28 March) These charters resemble themselves and their grants are quite similar, that is the reason for their choice of position;

Tours (15 May) *In vigilia Pentecostes, in Ecclesia S. Johannis, dum fontes a canonicis S. Martini benedicerentur, abstulit Philippus, rex Franciae, Fulconi Rechin, comiti Andegaviae, uxorem suam.* 'Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis', *RHGF* XII, p.465 and also: *Anno M XC II. Hoc anno, Philippus rex dimisit uxorem suam nobilissimam de qua habuit filium suum Hludovicum et accepit Bertradam quae reliquerat Fulconem...*

Clarius, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, p.136;

Orléans (After 15 May) *Rex libidinosus Philippus Turonis venit, et, cum uxore Fulconis locutus, eam fieri reginam constituit, Pessima illa, consule dimisso... qui eam Aurelianus duxerunt.* 'Gesta consulum Andegavensium' in *Chroniques d'Anjou*, p.142;

Paris (After 15 May) Possible Crown-wearing ceremony, it was after all a royal wedding. This date was figured out through two letters of Bishop Ivo de Chartres, the first: *Archiepiscopis et episcopis ad regales nuptias invitatis.* Ep.14 and: *Nunc vero quia absolute vocor ut Parisium cum uxore vestra veniam...* Ep.15;

1093: No locations could be identified for the year.

1094: Paris 132(14 February);

Melun 133(After 14 February) The chancellor is different from the Paris charter;

Pontoise (March or April) This was gathered through another letter from Ivo, it stated: *Excellentiae vestrae litteras nuper accepi, quibus submonebar ut apud Pontesium vel Calvum Montem cum manu militum vobis...* Ivo of Chartres, Ep.28;

Longueville (no date, but after March or April) *ASC* 1094, p.229;

Eu (no date, but after March or April) *Philippo rege Francorum qui in auxilium ducis Willelmum regem Auci...* William of Jumièges, viii, p.206;

Rheims (September) Clarius in his chronicle mentions this council: *Anno M XC IIII. Hoc anno, congregavit Philippus rex archiepiscopos et episcopos regni sui in Remensi urbe*. Clarius, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, p.136; We have a letter from Ivo of Chartres dated by Leclerc in 1093 wherein Ivo states that he will be unable to appear at the court: *regali curiae ad preasens nec secure possum interesse nec honeste*. Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 22;

1095: Mont-Notre-Dame 134(14 June);
Mozac 135(After 14 June before November)

1096: No locations could be identified for the year.

1097: Tours (25 December) Royal crown-wearing ceremony. This was identified by a letter from Ivo of Chartres to Archbishop Hugh of Lyons: *Turonensis enim archiepiscopus praedictae ecclesiae pedagogues et incubus, in Natale Domini, regi contra interdictum vestrum coronam imponens...* Ivo of Chartres, Ep.65. This is also confirmed by Amatus, bishop of Oloron to the archbishop of Bourdeaux: *eo (Radulfo II Turonensis archiepiscopo) quod ille Philippo Francorum Regi coronam, in Natali Domini anni 1097...* 'Epistolae Amati Ellorensis Episcopi, Dein Archiepiscopi Burdegalensis, A.S. Legati' in *RHGF* XIV, p. 763;

1098: (8 May) Royal crown-wearing. The place is impossible to locate, and even the date is tricky. A letter of Pope Urban II to Manasses II of Reims mentions event: *...vinculo absolvimus, et utendi pro more regni corona auctoritatem ei (Philip) praebuimus... Data... VIII Idus Maii*. Pope Urban II, Ep.285, *PL* 151;

1099: No locations could be identified for the year.

1100: In the North/Belgian provinces (Pentecote) Royal crown-wearing. This was identified through a letter by Ivo of Chartres to John, cardinal priest: *licet quidam Belgicae provinciae episcopi in Pentecostem contra interdictum bonae memoriae papae Urbani coronam ipsi regi imposuerint*. Ivo of Chartres, Ep.84;
Melun 138(After 23 May);

1101: Paris 141(24 February);
Poissy. Suger identified this location: *Quid cum auribus domini Ludovici insonuisset, indignatus egre tulit, nec mora quin prefatum Burcardum ante patrem castro Pinciaco....* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.ii, p.16;
Micy 142;

1102: Paris 144(Before 4 August);
Bourges 145(16 October);

1103: Orléans 147(No exact date could be identified);

1104: Beaugencie (Balgenciacum) (29 July) Ivo of Chartres is once again the source: *Notum facimus paternitati vestrae quod, quarto Kal.Augustini, plures episcopo, tam Remensis quam Senonensis provinciae, invitati a domno Richardo Albanensi episcopo legato vestro, convenimus in quoddam municipium Aurelianensis episcopatus, nomine Balgenciacum, ad faciendam absolutionem regis.* Ivo of Chartres, Ep.144. In addition we have a letter by Paschal to the archbishops and bishops of the provinces of Rheims, Sens and Tours regarding Philip's absolution: *...et a vinculo excommunicationis absolvat...* Paschal II, Ep.116;

Paris 148(1 December) Crown-wearing ceremony. We refer to the *Annals of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* for this ceremony: *Anno MCIV. Post patrem suum Philippum, Ludovicus rex coronatur.* 'Annales S. Benigni Divionensis' in *MGH SS*, V, p.43;

1105: Orléans 151(no accurate date could be identified);
Paris 152(After 4 August);

1106: Chartres (Between 25 March and 26 May) This was the wedding of Constance, Philip's daughter, to Bohemond of Crusader fame. Some of the sources used were: *Callebat princeps Anthiochenus, et tam donis quam promissis copiosus, dominam illam celeberrime sibi copulari Carnoti, presente rege et domino Ludovico, multas astantibus archiepiscopis, episcopis et regni proceribus, devote promeruit.* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.ix, p.48; *Alpens transiens ad dominum Philippum illustrem Francorum regem pervenit... unam de legitimo natam matrimonio Constantiam nomine, quam sibi federe coniugali copulavit in uxorem...* William of Tyr, 'Chronicon' in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* LXIII, p.495;

Poissy 155(After Chartres but before Orléans) for the reason that the charter is a different donation of the following two;

Orléans 154(Before 4 August);

Poissy 156(After 4 August but before 11 October) Both the above two diplomas deal with grants and donations with Morigny and that is the reason I chose this order of events;

Angers 157/158(11 October) Along with the royal diploma we also have a narrative source, the *Chronicle* of Robert of Auxerre: *MCVI... Aliud bellum coadunatum est inter Fulconem Comitem Andegavensem, et Willelmum Ducem, quod Philippus Rex concordavit.* Robert of Auxerre, 'Chronicon' in *RHGF* XII, p.405;

1107: Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (20 March) This was identified by the *Annals of Arnaud* in sketchy detail. It states: *scilicet dominice millesimo centesimo VII... in die transitus ejusdem sanctissimi Patris, duodecimo scilicet kalendas aprilis, in priori loculo... transferret... ad hunc conventum venit et interfuit Ludovicus, rex designatus... illic vidi flentes pre gaudio regem et principes...* Clarius, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp.150-152.; Since he mentions Louis as king designate and later the word king is without an adjective, it must mean that there was a difference in description. Hence, Philip was in attendance at the ceremony. It is very unlikely that the king would miss the translation of such an important saint, especially one that he favoured. For more see B. Monod, *Pascal II et Philippe I*, p.60.

Paris 161(Before 4 August);

Saint-Denis (1 or 2 May) This was identified using Suger who was present at this event. He records: *Occurrit (Paschal) itaque ei (Saint-Denis) ibidem rex Phylippus et dominus Ludovicus filius ejus gratanter et votive...* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.x, p.54;

Châlons-sur-Marne (Mid-May) Aside from Suger who recorded this meeting: *Qui amicitie, auxilii et consilii dextras dederunt, regnum exposuerunt, et qui cum eo Catalaunum imperatoris legatis occurrere festinent...* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.x, pp.54-56; We also have an entry from the *Annals of Cologne* which state: *Rex (Henry V) collectis principibus quam plurimis, versus papam tendit, in itinere pleraque castella capit, Claremonz et Brieth... Rex regreditur, infecto colloquio super quo rex Franciae legatos sibi direxit.* ‘*Annales Colonienses Maximi*’ in *MGH SS*, XVII, p.746-747;

1108: Saint-Léger-aux-Bois 162(Before 29 July);

Melun (29 July) This was Philip’s final stop, as he died on this day. *Cumque sexagenarius esset, regem exuens, apud Milidunum castrum super fluvium Sequane...* Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, c.xiii, p.82.

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- ⁱ Prou, #CXXIIX.
- ⁱⁱ Ibid., #CI.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid., #s CXXVII, CXXV, CXXVI.
- ^{iv} Ibid., #CIX.
- ^v Ibid., #CXXVI.
- ^{vi} Ibid., #CXXVI.
- ^{vii} Ibid., #CXXVI.
- ^{viii} Ibid., #s II, III.
- ^{ix} L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
- ^x Prou, #CVIII.
- ^{xi} Ibid., #s CXIV, CIL.
- ^{xii} St-Mard d'Étampes, Prou, #LIV; Saint-Martin d'Étampes, Prou, #CLIV.
- ^{xiii} Prou, #CXIV.
- ^{xiv} L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
- ^{xv} Prou, #CXIV.
- ^{xvi} ... in amorem suum frater major dominus Ludovicus firmissime confederaret, castrum Meduntense prece patris matrimonio confirmavit. Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.viii, p.36
- ^{xvii} L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
- ^{xviii} Prou, #CXXII.
- ^{xix} Ibid., #LXXXIX.
- ^{xx} novum palatium, Prou, #CXXXVIII.
- ^{xxi} ... unicam quam habebat filiam, domini regis Phylippi et filii Ludovici voluntate et persuasione, valde enim appetebant castrum, filio regis Phylippo... nuptui tradidit... qua occasione castro (Montlhéry) custodie sue receptor...” Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.viii, p.36.
- ^{xxii} “ad castrum quod dicitur Monsteriolum supermare situm” ‘Ex Continuatione Historiae Aimonii, sive Gestis Francorum’, Libro V in *RHGF* XII, p.122; this source is strengthened by an earlier history which also claimed that a castle existed at Montreuil. “Nam Monasteriolum castrum quod in dote acceperat, ad suum ius refundere cupiens, cum id efficere non posset, secus eum aliud nomine... extruxit...” Richer, *Histoire de son temps* II, 4 lxxxvii, p.87, *Société de l’histoire de France* 43, (ed. J. Guadet); Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.106.
- ^{xxiii} Prou, #s LXXXVI, CLIV.
- ^{xxiv} Ibid., #XCVII.
- ^{xxv} Ibid., #CIV.
- ^{xxvi} L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
- ^{xxvii} Prou, #XXX.
- ^{xxviii} Bruel, Cluny V, #3936.
- ^{xxix} Prou, #XXX.
- ^{xxx} Bruel, Cluny V, #3936.
- ^{xxxi} Prou, #s LXXV, CXXXII.
- ^{xxxii} Ibid., #XII.
- ^{xxxiii} Ibid., #LIII.
- ^{xxxiv} Ibid., #LIII.
- ^{xxxv} L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
- ^{xxxvi} Prou, #CXXX.
- ^{xxxvii} Ibid., #s XLII, CXXII.
- ^{xxxviii} Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris* I, p.313.
- ^{xxxix} Prou, #s CVI, CLVI.
- ^{xl} ... nec mora quin prefatum Burcardum ante patrem castro Pinciaco ad causas submonitum coegerit.” Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.ii, p.16.
- ^{xli} Prou, #XC.
- ^{xlii} Ibid., #LXIII.
- ^{xliii} Ibid., #XII.
- ^{xliv} Ibid., #XCII.
- ^{xlv} Ibid., #CXXXII.
- ^{xlvi} Ibid., #s LXIII, XC.

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- xlvi Ibid., #s LXIII, XC.
xlvii Ibid., #s LXIII, XC.
xlix Ibid., #CXXII.
¹ Depoin, *Cartulaire de St-Martin de Pontoise*, #s 6, 44.
li Prou, #CXXII.
lii L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
liii Prou, #CXXVII.
liiv Ibid., #CXXXVI.
lv Ibid., #CXXX.
lvi L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
lvii Prou, #CXXX.
lviii Ibid., #s LVII, LVIII.
lix L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
lx Prou, #LXXVIII.
lxi Volumus quia domum quondam, apud Sanctum Dyonisium sitam, que fuit atavi nostril, domni Roberti Regis, quam pater noster, domnus Philippus, beato dyonisio donavit.” Tardif, #353; Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.123.
lxii Prou, #LIII.
lxiii Prou, #LIII.
lxiv Dum ergo circumquaque discurreret, Vitriacum advenit; qui locus regalis palatii honorificentia nostris temporibus decorabatur.” Raoul of Tortaire, ‘Miracula Sancti Benedecti’ in *PL* 160 [col.1214D].
lxv Prou, #XIII.
lxvi Quod quidam burgus Turonis, qui dicitur sancti Petri Puellaris, proprius erat regum, et eundem avus noster rex Philippus donavit liberum ecclesiae beati Martini”, Ep.144, Louis VII to Alexander III, *RHGF* XV, p.822.
lxvii Prou, #CXL.
lxviii Ibid., #XIII.
lxix Ibid., #LXXIX.
lxx Ibid., #XCVIII.
lxxi Ibid., #CXXX.
lxxii Ibid., #CIV.
lxxiii Ibid., #CXL.
lxxiv Ibid., #XCI.
lxxv J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l’abbaye de Molesmes* II, #254.
lxxvi Prou, #LXXXVI.
lxxvii Ibid., #LXIII.
lxxviii Ibid., #CXXX.
lxxix Lastyrie, *Cartulaire general de Paris*, #161.
lxxx J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l’abbaye de Molesmes* II, #20, p.29.
lxxxi Lastyrie, *Cartulaire general de Paris*, #161.
lxxxii Bruel, *Recueil de Chuny* V, #3936.
lxxxiii Lastyrie, *Cartulaire general de Paris*, #161.
lxxxiv Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.122.
lxxxv Prou, #LXXIII.
lxxxvi Ibid., #CIX.
lxxxvii Ibid., #XCVIII.
lxxxviii Ibid., #XL.
lxxxix Ibid., #XCI.
xc Ibid., #CLV.
xci Prou, #XCVI; Bruel, *Chuny* 4, #3379.
xcii Prou, #XCI.
xciii Ibid., #LXIII.
xciv Bruel, *Chuny* 5, #3936.
xcv Prou, #CXL.
xcvi Ibid., #LXXXVII.

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- xcvii Ibid., #LIII.
 xcvi Ibid., #IX.
 xcix Ibid., #LXIII.
 c Ibid., #LXXXVII.
 ci Ibid., #IX.
 cii Ibid., #LXVIII.
 ciii Ibid., #CXLVI.
 civ Ibid., #XLI.
 cv J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesmes* II, #254.
 cvi Prou, #LXIII.
 cvii J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesmes* II, #254.
 cviii Prou, #LXIII.
 cix Ibid., #CIX.
 cx Ibid., #LXIII.
 cxii Ibid., #LXIII.
 cxiii Ibid., #CIV.
 cxiiii Ibid., #XXXVIII.
 cxv Ibid., #CLV.
 cxvi Prou, #CXVIII.
 cxvii Ibid., #IX.
 cxviii L. Ciani, *Les monnaies royales françaises*, pp.19-23.
 cxix Ibid., pp.19-23.
 cxix Ibid., pp.19-23.
 cxx Prou, #XL.
 cxci Ibid., #LI.
 cxcii Ibid., #CXXIII.
 cxci Prou and Vidier, *Chartes de St-Benoit-sur-Loire* I, #103.
 cxci Prou, #CIV.
 cxci Prou and Vidier, *Chartes de St-Benoit-sur-Loire* I, #103.
 cxci Ibid., #103.
 cxci Prou, #LI.
 cxci Prou and Vidier, *Chartes de St-Benoit-sur-Loire* I, #103.
 cxci Prou, #XCVII.
 cxci Prou and Vidier, *Chartes de St-Benoit-sur-Loire* I, #103.
 cxci Prou, #CI.
 cxci Ibid., #LXVII.
 cxci Ibid., #CLV.
 cxci Ibid., #XCII.
 cxci Ibid., #IV.
 cxci Depoin, *Le Prieuré de St-Germain-en-Laye*, #3.
 cxci Prou, #XL.
 cxci Ibid., #XLVI.
 cxci Ibid., #LXXVII.
 cxci Ibid., #CXLV.
 cxci Ibid., #XL.
 cxci Ibid., #CXXIII.
 cxci Ibid., #IV.
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 cxci Bruel, *Chuny* V, #3936.
 cxci Prou, #LXIV.
 cxci Depoin, *Le prieuré de St-Germain-en-Laye*, #3.
 cxci Prou, #XL.
 cxci Ibid., #CIV.
 cxci Ibid., #CIV.

- clii Tardif, #357.
- cliii Prou, #LI.
- cliv Ibid., #CI.
- clv Ibid., #CI.
- clvi Depoin, *Cartulaire de St-Martin de Pontoise*, #28.
- clvii Prou, #s LXIII, XC.
- clviii Ibid., #s LXIII, XC.
- clix Ibid., #s LXIII, XC.
- clx Lastyrie, *Cartulaire general de Paris*, #161.
- clxi Prou, #CLII.
- clxii Ibid., #s XLVI, CXXVII.
- clxiii Ibid., #LIX.
- clxiv Ibid., #CIX.
- clxv Silvanectis vero episcopus, accepta investiture de manu Regis..., Hugh of Die, Ep.79, *RHGF* XIV, pp.613-614.
- clxvi Interea fungitur abbas Renaldus, et instigante spiritu ambitionis, Pontius quidam pseudo-monachus gradu comparative. Non secundum grammaticam, sed secundum simoniam a Rege Francorum Philippo nomen et sedem abbatis adispiscitur. Hariulf, 'Vita S. Arnulfi Suessionensis Episcopi' in *RHGF* XIV, p.53; A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne* I, p.359.
- clxvii ... ita etiam hic tante probitatis episcopus apud Romanam sedem cepit accuser, quod per pecuniam regi datam adeptus fuisset episcopatum. Herimann, 'Liber de Restauratione Monasterii S. Martini Tornacensis' 73 in *MGH SS* XIV, p.309.
- clxviii W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.216.
- clxix Prou, #CLXXI; Gervasius vero, filius Hugonis comitis de Roistest, ecclesiam Remensem per manum Philippi et filii eius Ludovici invasit. 'Annales Cameracenses' in *MGH SS* XVI, p.511; See Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, pp.448-449 for the details of this event.
- clxx Missa quoque legatio est ad Philippum Regem Gallorum, qui, ubi comperit Godefridum electum... ststueratque Rex, opportunitate oblate, eum ad episcopo munus provehere. Iussit igitur more regio eius promotionem accelerari. 'Vita Godefridi Ambianensis Episcopi', c.xix in *RHGF* XIV, p.175.
- clxxi 'Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium', II, c.51-52 in *MGH SS* XIII, p.646; A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne* II, p.256.
- clxxii Sed cum clericorum primo ingenio, postea violentia regi fuissem praesentatus et inde, cum virga pastoralis a rege mihi intrusa, ad ecclesiam Carnotensem adductus..., Ivo of Chartres, Ep.8.
- clxxiii Ivo of Chartres, Ep.65; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.433.
- clxxiv Prou, #CXLIV.
- clxxv W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.216.
- clxxvi Quod autem scripsistis praedictum electum investituram episcopatus de manu regis accepisse..., Ivo of Chartres, Ep.60; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, p.432.
- clxxvii Autossiodorensis infra annos ordinatus, investituram quidem de manu regis non accepit quamquam per familiars Regis gratiam eius consecutus sit., Hugh of Die, Ep.79, *RHGF* XIV, p.614; Inter reliquos etiam auxiliaries, exercitum de Burgundia adventare iubet. Qui accepto mandato, in Freanciam properant, dux videlicet eiusdem Burgundiae Odo, Nivernensium comes Guillelmus, Autissiodorensium pontifex Gaufredus, et alii quamplures, quos retexere perlongum putavimus. Raoul Tortaire, 'Miracula Sancti Benedicti' in *PL* 160, [col.1212B].
- clxxviii Hic igitur Turonensis nullo modo canonice electus non potuit obtinere a rege donum episcopatus. Hugh of Die, Ep.7, *PL* 157, [col.510C].
- clxxix C. Pfister, *Robert II*, p.190; W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.216.
- clxxx A. Fliche, *La Réforme Grégorienne* II, pp.117-118.
- clxxxi Preterea eum (Frotger, bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône) quem per saecularem potestatem, id est regiam investituram, Cabilonensem aeccliam intrasse significastis, ab omni regimine et spe ipsius aeccliae alienum esse, apostolica auctoritate decernimus., Gregory VII, *Epistolae Vagantes* 30, ed. H. Cowdrey; W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.216.
- clxxxii Prou, #XLIII.
- clxxxiii Ibid., #CXXXII.
- clxxxiv Ibid., #s XLIII, XCV.

- clxxxv Ibid., #XC.
- clxxxvi Ibid., #XC.
- clxxxvii Monasterium S. Leodegarii in sylava Aquilina (also known as the forest of Yvelines)” Helgaud, ‘Vita Roberti Regis’, c.xxxi in *RHGF* X, p.115.
- clxxxviii *Gallia Christiana* VII, pp.434-435; C. Pfsiter, *Robert II*, p.311.
- clxxxix W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.202.
- cx W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.202; L. Levillain, ‘Études sur l’abbaye de St-Denis’, *BEC* 1926, p.86; Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, c.27, pp.208-210.
- cxci Prou, #XXXVII.
- cxcii W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.202.
- cxciij Prou, #XXX.
- cxciiv Sanctae itidem Mariae genetricis... fabricatae, Helgaud, ‘Vita Roberti Regis’, c.xxxi in *RHGF* X, p.115; L. Halphen, *Actes de Lothaire et Louis V*, #69.
- cxci v Et monasterium sancti Vincentii Martyris..., Helgaud, ‘Vita Roberti Regis’, c.xxxi in *RHGF* X, p.115; L. Halphen, *Actes de Lothaire et Louis V*, #69.
- cxci vi Prou, #CLIV.
- cxci vii Monasterium S. Mariae in Miliduno castro..., Helgaud, ‘Vita Roberti Regis’, c.xxxi in *RHGF* X, p.115; Tardif, #395.
- cxci viii Helgaud, ‘Vita Roberti Regis’, c.xxxi in *RHGF* X, p.115; Soehnée, *Henri Ier*, #73; Tardif, #395.
- cxci ix “Nunc autem, quoniam ecclesia S. Petri-Vivi nostra est.” Louis VI, Ep.4, *RHGF* XV; C. Pfister, *Robert II*, p.311.
- cc Prou, #XLIII.
- cci Ibid., #XLIII.
- ccii Interea fungitur abbas Renaldus, et instigante spiritu ambitionis, Pontius quidam pseudo-monachus gradu comparative, non secundum grammaticam, sed secundum simoniam a Rege Francorum Philippo nomen et sedem abbatis adipiscitur. Hariulf, ‘Vita S. Arnulfi Suessionensis Episcopi’ in *RHGF* XIV, p.53.
- cciii Morel, *Cartulaire de St-Corneille de Compiègne* I, #s 15, 31.
- cciv Prou, #XL.
- ccv *Gallia Christiana* XIV, p.170; “quoniam en quae in querela errant ad feodum vestrum pertinebant.” Louis VII, Ep.210, *RHGF* XVI.
- ccvi Prou, #CXXXVII.
- ccvii Dumque, adhuc virtutibus in dies succrescens, rumore omnium celebris haberetur, regis Francorum auctoritate cenobio Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis, quamquam contra sacros canones, abbas constituitur. ‘Simonis Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium’ 18 in *MGH SS* XIII, p.640; Quantin, *Cartulaire general de l’Yonne* I, #82.
- ccviii W. Newman, *Le Domaine*, p.212.
- ccix Ibid., pp.204, 212-213.
- ccx *Gallia Christiana* IX, p.588.