

King Philip I and the Church: Ruling France in an Age of Reform

PhD (Medieval Studies)

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Declaration of Original Authorship

Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and that the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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Abstract

King Philip I of France (r. 1060-1108) has traditionally been seen as a man of poor reputation in matters of religion, portrayed as a cynical exploiter of the Church in his lands and a king whose personal vices, exemplified especially by his highly controversial second marriage to Bertrada of Montfort, compromised his effectiveness as a ruler. Whilst the second half of the eleventh century saw a drive for ecclesiastical reform which coincided with an invigorated papacy challenging the existing relationship between secular and spiritual power, Philip has generally been seen as the antithesis of such change, a stubborn relic of the past who remained fiercely opposed to any attempts to undermine his control over the Church. His religious initiatives, when acknowledged, have tended to be underappreciated or overshadowed by his faults. This thesis argues instead that, when viewed across his whole reign, Philip's relationship with the Church and with ecclesiastical reform should be seen in a less negative light. It is suggested that, while Philip certainly did pursue his own ends with an eye to political imperatives, he also showed himself, right to the end of his long reign, to be an astute and highly adaptable monarch who skilfully navigated the changing times and personalities with whom he collided. Furthermore, he showed himself keen to support the Church in his realm when he felt able and capable of working with reform-minded figures such as Ivo of Chartres, without allowing himself to be dominated by them. Through examining Philip's relationship with the French prelates, the popes and their legates, through interrogating his approach to such matters as elections, patronage, and the crusade, and through a fresh look at his marriage controversy, this thesis asserts that it is time for a different approach to Philip's religious attitudes.

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List of Abbreviations

AA SS, Aprilis	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. the Bollandists, <i>Aprilis</i> , vol. 1 (1675; repr. Brussels, 1968).
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. Alfred Baudrillart et al. (Paris and (later) Turnhout, 1912-Present).
GC	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa</i> , ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe et al., 16 vols (Paris, 1715-1865; repr. Farnborough, 1970).
Jaffé ³	Philipp Jaffé, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII</i> (1851), 3 rd edn (ongoing), vol. 4, <i>Ab a. MXXIV usque ad a. MLXXIII</i> , ed. Judith Werner (Göttingen, 2020), vol. 5, <i>Ab a. MLXXIII usque ad a. MXCIX</i> , ed. Klaus Herbers (Göttingen, 2023).
Mansi	Joannes Dominicus Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> , vol. 19 (967-1070) and vol. 20 (1070-1109) (edn Paris, 1902; repr. Graz, 1960).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica (many volumes accessible via Monumenta Germaniae Historica, dMGH [website],

<<https://www.dmgh.de/index.htm>>, (accessed 29 January 2025)).

PL

J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-65).

PUF, NF

Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge, vols 5, ed. Johannes Ramackers (Göttingen, 1956), 7, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann (Göttingen, 1976), 9, ed. Rolf Große (Göttingen, 1998).

RHF

Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, vols 11-16, new edn, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1869-78).

INTRODUCTION

After his irregular union with the countess of Anjou he did nothing worthy of the royal majesty, for he was carried away by lust for the married woman he had carried off and gave himself over to gratifying his desires. He indulged himself too much and did not take care of his noble and handsome body. The condition of the realm prospered only because others both feared and loved his son and successor.¹

These are the words of Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis, in his life of King Louis VI of France, written in the mid-twelfth century.² The focus of Suger's criticism in these lines was Louis' father, King Philip I (r. 1060-1108), one of the longest-reigning kings of France and the central figure of this thesis. The passage captures the key points of Suger's overwhelmingly negative portrayal of Philip, which is built around the period of Louis' youth, when Philip abandoned Louis' mother, Bertha of Holland, and entered into a controversial marriage with Bertrada of Montfort, who is the 'countess of Anjou' referred to in the quote.³ For Suger, this marriage marked Philip's descent into depravity as a man and incompetence as a monarch, rendering him stupefied by the lust he felt for his new bride, and henceforth unable to act as required of a king. The realm, as Suger would have it, owed its rescue to the actions of Philip's son, Louis, who became king in all but name.

As will be seen, Suger's portrayal has left a lasting impression on interpretations of Philip's reign. But the forty-eight years in which Philip occupied the throne of France witnessed so much more than the controversy over his marriage to Bertrada, the significance of which was inflated by Suger and others to the extent that it obscures Philip's importance to the wider context of this period in history. The aim of this thesis is not to provide a complete reassessment of Philip's reign, but to situate his achievements and actions as king against the

¹ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. and French trans. by Henri Waquet, as: *Vie de Louis VI le Gros* (1929; repr. Paris, 1964), pp. 82-3: 'neque enim post superductam Andegavensem comitissam quicquam regia majestate dignum agebat, sed raptè conjugis raptus concupiscentia, voluptati sue satisfacere operam dabat. Unde nec reipublice providebat nec proceri et elegantis corporis sanitati, plus equo remissus, parcebat. Hoc unum supererat quod timore et amore successoris filii regni status vigeat'; English trans. by Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead, as: *The Deeds of Louis the Fat* (Washington, DC, 1992), p. 61.

² Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. X-XI; Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London and New York, 1998), esp. pp. 36-42.

³ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 4-5, 10-11, 36-41, 54-7, 81-5, 132-3; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 24, 27, 40-2, 48-9, 61-2, 85.

backdrop of religious reform and change which was occurring in France and further afield at this time. In doing so, it will ask to what degree Suger's image of Philip, as well as those put forward by other writers and in subsequent modern historiography, provides a fair reflection of his attitude towards religion and reform. It will be argued that a new appreciation of Philip is required, one in which he is seen not as the slothful and fickle king of Suger's narrative, but as a ruler who not only confronted religious matters, but actively engaged with and responded to them, mindful of the developing context of reform, to which he was neither subservient nor averse. Indeed, Philip acted with an astute pragmatism and a clear sense of purpose which nonetheless allowed for flexibility, balancing agitations for religious change with his own personal convictions as well as the needs of his realm and the monarchy. He was by no means universally hostile to reform. Moreover, in defiance of the impression communicated by Suger, his willpower and engagement as a ruler did not dissipate towards the end of the reign, in the period after his second marriage, instead remaining as strong as ever, if not stronger.

Philip I and the Historiography of his Reign

Philip I was probably born in 1052.⁴ He was the eldest son of Henry I, king of France (r. 1031-1060), and his wife, Anna, the daughter of Jaroslav of Kyiv.⁵ He had at least two siblings, both brothers. Hugh (d. 1101) became count of Vermandois and would participate in the First Crusade.⁶ Another brother, Robert, appears in *acta* from the early part of Philip's reign, but

⁴ Philip I (King of France), *Acta*, ed. M. Prou, as: *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er} roi de France (1059-1108)* (Paris, 1908), pp. XV-XXIII.

⁵ On Henry, see: Egon Boshof, 'Heinrich I.: 1031-1060', in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters: Von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, Heribert Müller and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich, 1996), pp. 99-112; Cécile Dejardin-Bazaille, 'Henri I^{er}: image et souvenir d'un roi', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 51 (2008), 343-59; Jan (Jean) Dhondt, 'Les relations entre la France et la Normandie sous Henri I^{er}', *Normannia*, 12 (1939), 465-86; Jan (Jean) Dhondt, 'Henri I^{er}, l'Empire et l'Anjou (1043-1056)', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 25 (1946), 87-109, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1946.1735>>, (accessed 17 November 2022); Jan (Jean) Dhondt, 'Quelques aspects du règne d'Henri I^{er}, roi de France', in: *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 199-208; Jan (Jean) Dhondt, 'Une crise du pouvoir capétien 1032-1034', in: *Miscellanea Mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer* (Groningen, 1967), pp. 137-48; Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* (1980), 3rd edn with Charles West (London and New York, 2020), pp. 90-4; Frédéric Soehnée, 'Étude sur la vie & le règne de Henri I^{er} roi de France (Avril ou Mai 1008 – 4 Août 1060)', *École nationale des chartes. Positions des thèses* (1891), 45-51. On Anna, see: Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XI^e siècle: Étude critique de la documentation', *Revue des études slaves*, 57 (1985; Paris, 1986), 539-64, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 10 [pagination retained]; Emily Joan Ward, 'Anne of Kiev (c.1024-c.1075) and a Reassessment of Maternal Power in the Minority Kingship of Philip I of France', *Historical Research*, 89 (2016), 435-53, via Oxford Academic [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12139>>, (accessed 20 July 2024); Carsten Woll, *Die Königinnen des hochmittelalterlichen Frankreich 987-1237/8* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 109-16.

⁶ On Hugh, see below, pp. 249-55.

died fairly young.⁷ Virtually nothing is known of Philip's life prior to his accession.⁸ On 23 May 1059, he was consecrated king at Reims in the presence of his father.⁹ This 'anticipatory association' was a frequent practice among the early Capetians and affirmed Philip's place as Henry's chosen successor.¹⁰ A little over a year later, on 4 August 1060, Henry I died, and Philip became king.¹¹

Due to his young age, Philip's rule was at first managed by others.¹² Traditionally, his principal guardian has been identified as his uncle, Baldwin V, count of Flanders (r. 1035-1067), who was married to Philip's paternal aunt, Adela.¹³ However, while Baldwin was, at least from 1062 onwards, surely a key figure, Ward has recently argued for a greater appreciation of the vital role of Philip's mother, Anna, especially in the early part of his minority.¹⁴ The exact end date of the minority is not clear, but was likely in late 1066 or early 1067.¹⁵ Baldwin himself died on 1 September 1067.¹⁶

The early part of Philip's reign saw him battle to secure his power in and around the royal domain. In particular, he had to adjust to the difficulties created by the Norman

⁷ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, as: 'Alberici monachi Triumfontium Chronicon', in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 23 (Hannover, 1874), pp. 631-950, at p. 792; Hugh of Fleury, *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus*, ed. Georg Waitz, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), pp. 376-95, at pp. 388-9; *Miracles of Saint Benedict*, ed. and French trans. by Anselme Davril, Anne Dufour and Gillette Labory, as: *Les miracles de saint Benoît | Miracula Sancti Benedicti* (Paris, 2019), pp. 462-3; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. CXXXV and nos. 4 (pp. 13-15), 5 (pp. 15-17), 10 (pp. 30-1), 16 (pp. 47-9); Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris, 1912), pp. 1-2 and n. 2.

⁸ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 2; cf. Joel T. Rosenthal, 'The Education of the Early Capetians', *Traditio*, 25 (1969), 366-76, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27830880>>, (accessed 19 October 2020), esp. pp. 372-3.

⁹ *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of the Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard A. Jackson, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA, 1995-2000), pp. 217-39; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 2-7.

¹⁰ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens: recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, ann. 1987-8 (Paris, 1989), 7-56, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 2 [pagination retained]; Andrew W. Lewis, 'Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France', *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), 906-27, via JSTOR [website], <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1867651>>, (accessed 1 July 2024); Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1981), pp. 37-42.

¹¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXV-XXVIII; Soehnée, 'Étude', p. 50.

¹² Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 7-32.

¹³ For the marriage, see: *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. and English trans. by Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, as: *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992-5), vol. 2, pp. 52-3; *Miracles of Saint Adalhard of Corbie*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, as: 'Ex Miraculis S. Adalhardi Corbeiensibus', in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 15.2 (Hannover, 1888), pp. 859-65, at p. 863; Dhondt, 'Une Crise', pp. 138-9 and n. 8; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 24-5.

¹⁴ Ward, 'Anne', passim. See also: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXVIII-XXXII; Bautier, 'Anne'; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 16-25.

¹⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXXII-XXXIV.

¹⁶ 'Annales Elnonenses maiores', ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 5 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 11-17, at p. 13; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.

Conquest of England in 1066, through which his northern neighbour, William II, duke of Normandy (r. 1035-1087), had become William I 'the Conqueror', king of England (r. 1066-1087), gaining a royal title and establishing a powerful cross-Channel realm with the might to pose a serious threat to Philip's lands.¹⁷ Philip also became involved in the war of succession in Flanders which followed the death of Baldwin V's son, Baldwin VI (r. 1067-1070).¹⁸ It was out of this conflict that Philip's first marriage, to Bertha of Holland (d. 1094), step-daughter of Robert, the new count of Flanders, arose.¹⁹

Philip and Bertha's son, Louis, was born in 1081 or possibly early 1082.²⁰ As he grew to maturity, Louis' prominence, particularly concerning military matters, grew considerably.²¹ He was invested, perhaps as early as c. 1092 but conceivably several years later, with the French Vexin, an important border area between the Paris region and Normandy, and also become count of Vermandois in the early twelfth century.²² However, as alluded to in the quote above, Bertha was put aside by Philip in 1092, when he entered into a union with Bertrada of Montfort, who was already the wife of Fulk IV, count of Anjou, a decision which sparked a decade-long controversy with the popes, first Urban II (1089-1099), then Paschal II (1099-1118), until a resolution was finally reached in 1104.²³ Philip died on 29 or 30 July 1108 at Melun.²⁴ He was buried at the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, also known as Fleury, and succeeded by Louis, who became King Louis VI (r. 1108-1137).²⁵

Given the length of Philip's reign, it is surprising that he has attracted only a modest body of scholarship. The only detailed scholarly account of his reign remains Augustin Fliche's *Le règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France*, published in 1912, which has proved enduring and

¹⁷ See below, p. 18.

¹⁸ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London and New York, 1992), p. 52; Charles Verlinden, *Robert I^{er} le Frison Comte de Flandre: Étude d'histoire politique* (Antwerp, Paris, and 'S Gravenhage, 1935), pp. 43-72.

¹⁹ See below, pp. 217-18.

²⁰ *Vitae, Miracula, Translatio et Alia Hagiographica Sancti Arnulphi Episcopi Suessionensis*, ed. Renée Nip (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 61-3, 144-5, 152-4; Éric Bournazel, *Louis VI le Gros* (s.l.: Fayard, 2007), pp. 25-7; Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne v. 950 – v. 1150* (Nancy, 1977), p. 223; Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros: Annales de sa vie et de son règne* (Paris, 1890), no. 1 (p. 3), and pp. 285-9; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 129-30.

²¹ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 31-77; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 78-86, 313-26; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. xii-xxxii, 289-93.

²² Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and English trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, as: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), vol. 4, pp. 262-5, vol. 6, pp. 54-5; Bournazel, *Louis*, pp. 36-9, 53-4; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, nos. 4 (p. 4), 27 (p. 16), 35 (p. 22); Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 79, 83-4.

²³ See below, pp. 215-49.

²⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXXIV-XXXVIII; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 81-5; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 61-2.

²⁵ See below, pp. 259-64.

influential.²⁶ An early project of Fliche's, the biography was partly dedicated to Maurice Prou, whose magisterial study and edition of Philip's *acta*, published in 1908, helped to lay the foundations for it.²⁷ Fliche highlighted Philip's contributions to the development of the French monarchy and noted the successes of his earlier years, but adhered to Suger in seeing the Bertrada marriage as a turning point.²⁸ In religious matters, Fliche noted Philip's support for the regular Church and presented his relationship with the various popes as vacillating, reaching an accommodation in the final years of the reign during the pontificate of Paschal II.²⁹ But he saw Philip as an exploiter of the Church above all, unsympathetic to that which did not benefit his own power or wealth, and conniving with unscrupulous prelates to use ecclesiastical resources to his own benefit.³⁰

A similar judgement of Philip can be found in the works of Fliche's contemporary, Achille Luchaire, who stresses the latter part of the reign as a point at which the king's flaws appeared most clearly, but also when his relationship with the pope began to move towards some sort of agreement.³¹ For Luchaire, Philip's sole motivation was his own desires, and he sees him as being in a state of near constant conflict over ecclesiastical matters, claiming bluntly that 'he was opposed to the introduction of Gregorian Reform in his state'.³² Luchaire was particularly sensitive to the dangers which reform might pose to Philip's power, but denied him the perseverance or interest to mount any sustained opposition.³³ He did however temper his criticism of Philip by admitting that our sources would have been influenced by the controversy which Philip's style of government – such as Luchaire painted it – generated.³⁴ Like Fliche, Luchaire allowed that Philip displayed acts of piety, but this was not linked to any sympathy for reform.³⁵

²⁶ Fliche, *Le règne*; cf. Ivan Gobry, *Philippe I^{er}: Père de Louis VI le Gros* (2003; edn Paris, 2006), which is nowhere near as useful or detailed.

²⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou.

²⁸ Fliche, *Le règne*, esp. pp. 527-9. Cf. also: Louis Halphen, 'France in the Eleventh Century', in: *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin et al., vol. 3, *Germany and the Western Empire* (1922; repr. Cambridge, 1936), pp. 99-133.

²⁹ Fliche, *Le règne*, esp. pp. 335-498.

³⁰ Fliche, *Le règne*, esp. pp. 342-5, 411.

³¹ Achille Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180)*, 2nd edn, 2 vols in 1 (Paris, 1891), vol. 2, pp. 241-52; Achille Luchaire, *Les premiers Capétiens (987-1137)* (1901; repr. with an introduction by Éric Bournazel, s.l.: Éditions des Équateurs, 2009), pp. 168-75; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, esp. pp. cxx-cxxiv.

³² Luchaire, *Les premiers*, p. 168: 'Il s'est opposé à l'introduction de la réforme gregorienne dans son État'.

³³ Luchaire, *Les premiers*, pp. 168-9, 172-3.

³⁴ Luchaire, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 241; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, p. 168.

³⁵ Luchaire, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 242-3; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, p. 168-9.

In the mid-twentieth century, Charles Petit-Dutaillis was scathing of Philip's character, accusing him of 'unbelievable apathy' and of being dominated by Bertrada in the later years of the reign.³⁶ Philip, says Petit-Dutaillis, 'shamelessly accepted simony as customary' and did little to protect the Church.³⁷ In his relations with the popes, Philip 'was sunk in a cynical indifference from which he was roused only by debauchery or vulgar intrigues, and he seemed to look for nothing except to gain time and disarm his opponents by his very inertia'.³⁸ Though Petit-Dutaillis admits that reform progress was made in France during Philip's reign, he does not give Philip himself any credit for this. A slightly later work, Robert Fawtier's *The Capetian Kings of France*, is more forgiving of Philip, taking a line which is closer to Luchaire's.³⁹ He notes that Philip did collaborate with the popes, but again says that he 'showed no favour to the Gregorian movement for church reform', fearful of the dangers this reform might pose to the monarchy.⁴⁰

The second half of the twentieth century saw important advances in our understanding of Philip. The hugely valuable study of Alfons Becker, although focused around investiture in France rather than specifically on the king, nevertheless spends much of its time dwelling on events with which Philip was connected.⁴¹ Becker presented Philip's attitude to reform as complex, viewing him as guilty of simony and a frequently cynical approach, but at the same time allowing him some sympathy for efforts to reform the Church, albeit not from a principled standpoint and only when it did not harm to his own agenda.⁴² A little later, the work of Georges Duby offered significant new interpretation of Philip's marriage controversy.⁴³ Duby highlighted the royal perspective of this matter, painting a more humane picture of Philip, who he saw as principled in sticking by Bertrada, even though these principles differed from those of his ecclesiastical opponents.⁴⁴ Though Duby's work has been critiqued

³⁶ Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century*, first published as: *La monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre, Xe-XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1933), English trans. by E. D. Hunt (London, 1936), pp. 76-7, 81-3, 85-96.

³⁷ Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy*, quote at p. 76.

³⁸ Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy*, quote at p. 91.

³⁹ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France*, first published as: *Les Capétiens et la France: Leur rôle dans sa construction* (Paris, 1942), English trans. by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (1960; repr. London, 1978), pp. 16-19.

⁴⁰ Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, quote at p. 18.

⁴¹ Alfons Becker, *Studien zum Investiturproblem in Frankreich: Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049-1119)* (Saarbrücken, 1955).

⁴² Becker, *Studien*, esp. pp. 48, 66, 79, 138.

⁴³ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, English trans. by Elborg Forster (Baltimore, MD, and London, 1978), pp. 28-45; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, first published as: *Le Chevalier, la Femme et le Prêtre* (Paris, 1981), English trans. by Barbara Bray (London, 1984), pp. 3-21.

⁴⁴ See esp. Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 16-18.

and added to in more recent scholarship, it broke the mould of previous historiography which rarely painted the marriage issue as anything other than a disgrace to Philip and a blight on his character.⁴⁵

Elizabeth Hallam's *Capetian France* first appeared in 1980, giving a brief overview of Philip which synthesised much of the previous scholarship, maintaining that he was opposed to, or at least generally uninterested in, reform, and that it was Louis who was left to run the realm in the final years of the reign.⁴⁶ This presentation changed little in the subsequent editions of this work.⁴⁷ Yet, in a short piece on Philip in 1996, Rolf Große gave a more complex picture.⁴⁸ Much like Becker a few decades prior, Große saw Philip's approach to reform as mixed; indeed, this thesis will argue that his insistence on Philip's flexibility is entirely justified, and offers a vital counterweight to scholarship which has seen the king's attitude more straightforwardly and which, for such a long time, tended to ignore, undervalue or unfairly deride his engagement with the Church, indeed with ecclesiastical reform itself. One historian has spoken recently of Philip adopting a 'seemingly twin-track position', encompassing both support and resistance, with regard to his attitude towards the Church and reform, and this thesis ties in well with such an idea, even though such phraseology perhaps underplays the complex motivations behind Philip's approach.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the nuance is gradually breaking through. Jim Bradbury's *The Capetians*, published in 2007, offers a quite sympathetic portrait of Philip, including in relation to reform, and recognises that whilst he has attracted so much criticism from historians, some have also, to a greater or lesser degree, found cause to praise aspects of his rule and question negative characterisations of him.⁵⁰ In addition to the general surveys, recent scholarship has also cast new light on various more specific features of Philip's reign. James Naus, for example, has highlighted Philip's connections to the early crusading movement.⁵¹ Studies on Philip's mother, Anna, have enhanced our understanding of the early years of the reign.⁵² This thesis

⁴⁵ For the more recent scholarship, see below, pp. 215-49.

⁴⁶ Hallam, *Capetian France*, 1st edn, pp. 75-8.

⁴⁷ 2nd edn with Judith Everard (Harlow, 2001), pp. 98-102; 3rd edn with Charles West (London and New York, 2020), pp. 94-7.

⁴⁸ Rolf Große, 'Philipp I.: 1060-1108', in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters: Von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, Heribert Müller and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich, 1996), pp. 113-26.

⁴⁹ Kriston R. Rennie, *Law and Practice in the Age of Reform: The Legatine Work of Hugh of Die (1073-1106)* (Turnhout, 2010), esp. p. 164.

⁵⁰ Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France, 987-1328* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 111-28.

⁵¹ Esp. James L. Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (2016; edn Manchester, 2018), pp. 28-56. See below, pp. 249-55.

⁵² See above, p. 9.

picks up and develops the important work of Éric Bournazel, who in looking at Louis VI has also proposed a more positive evaluation of Philip, seeing him as a monarch who was determined to protect the royal majesty and who helped prepare Louis to succeed him but did not, contrary to accounts which overstate the impact of Philip's second marriage, allow his son's authority to eclipse his own in his later years.⁵³ Bournazel sees Louis' attitude towards reform, which could be supportive when it did not conflict with his own interests, as similar to that of his father.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Matthew Gabriele has brought new insight on such topics as the Carolingian influence on Philip and his court, and has recently published an important reassessment of the marriage controversy.⁵⁵

Overall, presentations of Philip have for a long time been dominated by a characterisation which presents him as at best unsympathetic or uninterested, at worst deeply hostile, to reform, and which is hugely reliant on the presentations of him stemming from the years of the marriage controversy, leading in turn to an extreme playing down of his personal activity in the later part of the reign. Gradually, this image of Philip is being challenged from various angles, and it is the purpose of this thesis to add to this new historiography through a thorough reassessment of Philip's attitude to ecclesiastical matters and, most specifically, reform.

Early Capetian France: An Overview

In 1060, Philip inherited a kingdom which had undergone significant dynastic and territorial change over the preceding centuries.⁵⁶ As the Roman empire disintegrated in the

⁵³ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, esp. pp. 17, 31-2, 53-4 and n. 4, 60-2, 347-8, 366-7.

⁵⁴ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, esp. pp. 362-7.

⁵⁵ Matthew Gabriele, 'The Provenance of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*: Remembering the Carolingians in the Entourage of King Philip I (1060-1108) before the First Crusade', *Viator*, 39 (2008), 93-117; Matthew Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship, Political Exegesis and the Ghost of Charlemagne in the Diplomas of King Philip I of Francia', in: *The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts*, ed. William J. Purkis and Matthew Gabriele (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 9-32; Matthew Gabriele, 'Not So Strange Bedfellows: New Thoughts on King Philip I of Francia's Marriage to Bertrada of Montfort', *Journal of Medieval History*, 46 (2020), 499-512, via Taylor & Francis Online [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2020.1814393>>, (accessed 18 September 2024). For further assessments of Philip, see also: Michel Amyot, 'Philip I of France (1060-1108) and the Development of Royal Authority', MLitt Thesis (Trinity College Dublin, 2006), via edepositireland (Trinity College Library, Dublin) [website], <<https://edepositireland.ie/handle/2262/78270>>, (accessed 2 February 2025); Olivier Guillot, *Hugues Capet et les premiers Capétiens 987-1180* (Paris, 2002), pp. 59-85, esp. pp. 74-6; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *House of Lilies: The Dynasty that Made Medieval France* (s.l.: Allen Lane, 2024), pp. 47-60.

⁵⁶ For what follows in the next two paragraphs, see: Bradbury, *The Capetians*, pp. 1-128; Constance Bouchard, 'The Kingdom of the Franks to 1108', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.2, c. 1024-c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 120-53; Jean Dunbabin, 'West Francia: The Kingdom', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, c. 900-c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 372-

fifth century, King Clovis I (d. 511), who converted to Christianity, built up a substantial Frankish kingdom with its centre of power in northern Gaul. His dynasty, known as the Merovingians after Clovis's grandfather, Merovech, would continue to rule into the eighth century, with the realm undergoing many changes and divisions across this time. A decline in royal power opened the door to the arrival of a new dynasty, the Carolingians, who definitively replaced the Merovingians in 751. It is from the most remarkable monarch of this lineage, Charles the Great or Charlemagne (r. 768-814), that this dynasty gets its name. Charlemagne forged a huge European realm extending into Italy, Saxony and Iberia, and was crowned emperor in 800.⁵⁷ That empire subsisted for a time after Charles's death, but eventually broke down, with the Treaty of Verdun of 843 paving the way for separate west and east Frankish realms, the future France and Germany.

In 888, for the first time since 751, a non-Carolingian became king of France, this being Odo (r. 888-898), from a family known to historians as the Robertians, but who were in fact the direct ancestors of the Capetians.⁵⁸ The next hundred years would see a mixture of Carolingian and non-Carolingian kings, including the short reign of Odo's son, Robert I (r. 922-923). In 987, upon the death of King Louis V (r. 986-987), Robert I's grandson, Hugh Capet (r. 987-996) was made king, despite the presence of a Carolingian claimant, Charles of Lower Lorraine. Hugh was able to establish himself as monarch and to achieve what neither Odo nor Robert I was able to do by handing the throne to his son, Robert II 'the Pious' (r. 996-1031), who was crowned during Hugh's reign.⁵⁹ Thus, Hugh Capet is considered the first 'Capetian' king, to distinguish him from his Robertian predecessors. Robert was succeeded by his son, Henry I, who in turn was succeeded by his son, Philip.

97; Rolf Große, 'La royauté des premiers Capétiens: «Un mélange de misère et de grandeur»?', French trans. by Isabelle Hausser, *Le Moyen Âge*, 114 (2008), 255-71; Paul Fouracre, 'Frankish Gaul to 814', and Janet Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: The West', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, c. 700-c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 85-109, 110-41, respectively; Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500-1000* (London and Basingstoke, 1982); Raymond Van Dam, 'Merovingian Gaul and the Frankish Conquests', and Paul Fouracre, 'Francia in the Seventh Century', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1, c. 500-c. 700, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 193-231, 371-96 respectively.

⁵⁷ Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (s.l.: Allen Lane, 2019).

⁵⁸ Reinhard Schneider, 'Odo: 888-898', in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters: Von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, Heribert Müller and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich, 1996), pp. 12-21.

⁵⁹ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'avènement d'Hugues Capet et le sacre de Robert le Pieux', in: *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil: Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987. La France de l'an Mil. Paris – Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 27-37.

However, the realm which Philip ruled was a mere shadow of the great empire of Charlemagne and his successors.⁶⁰ Indeed, he could not even make his presence felt across the whole of West Francia, much of which, particularly in the south, operated either partly or wholly independently of the king.⁶¹ Determining the amount of influence which the king could wield in any given area of France at this time is no easy matter, for not only was it changeable, but it can be measured in various ways. From one perspective, there was the so-called royal domain, which was largely concentrated in a relatively small area of northern France in a fairly narrow strip extending through Paris and Orléans.⁶² The domain was not merely constituted of lands administered by the king, but of rights he could claim, which makes trying to draw any neat geographical map of it virtually impossible, as several people or communities could hold rights in any given place. Nevertheless, the domain was the backbone of royal power from at least an economic perspective. It is sometimes divided into the 'secular' and 'ecclesiastical' domain to distinguish the king's various rights over the Church and its properties from those with a less ostensibly spiritual focus, but given that the secular and spiritual spheres were intertwined in so many different ways, such a distinction is not necessarily very helpful. It is worth highlighting here, however, that one facet of the ecclesiastical domain was the royal rights over elections to certain bishoprics and religious houses, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

The royal domain overlapped and competed with the evolving domains of the various other powers, both lay and ecclesiastical, within France. At the ecclesiastical level, there were the lands and rights controlled by the various bishops, cathedral chapters and religious houses. The diocesan structure of France, which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 1, provided some level of geographical structure to episcopal power, but ecclesiastical domains could extend beyond the diocesan borders of the bishop in question; the cathedral at

⁶⁰ See generally: Dominique Barthélemy, *La France des Capétiens 987-1214*, first published as: *Nouvelle Histoire des Capétiens (907-1214)* (Éditions du Seuil, 2012), repr. (Paris, 2015); Bouchard, 'The Kingdom', passim; Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Constructing Identities of Medieval France', English trans. by Marcus Bull, in: *France in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Marcus Bull (Oxford, 2002), pp. 15-42; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (1985; 2nd edn, Oxford, 2000), pp. 124-245; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 93-333; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 1-138; Jean-François Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987-1108)* (Paris, 1965).

⁶¹ On the south, see for example: Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 67-77.

⁶² On what follows, see: William Mendel Newman, *Le domaine royal sous les premiers capétiens (987-1180)* (Paris, 1937). Also useful is: Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 72-117, 211-15, 234-8; Nicolas Civel, *La fleur de France: Les seigneurs d'Île-de-France au XII^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 81-6; Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 162-9; Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, pp. 96-109; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 97-111; Geoffrey Koziol, 'Political Culture', in: *France in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Marcus Bull (Oxford, 2002), pp. 43-76, at pp. 56-7.

Chartres, for example, held lands in the dioceses of Évreux and Lisieux.⁶³ Religious houses too could be granted lands, rights and property, including dependent houses, which sat far away from the mother house, even in a different realm entirely.

As for the secular powers, the Capetians competed on various levels. Theoretically, at the highest stratum were the so-called 'territorial princes', those rulers who had, over time, concentrated their power over particularly large territorial blocs.⁶⁴ These included, to the north of the main royal lands, the duchy of Normandy.⁶⁵ Philip had much to fear from William the Conqueror (d. 1087) and his sons: Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy from 1087 until his deposition following the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106; William II 'Rufus', king of England from 1087 until his death in 1100, who warred with his brother Robert but also administered his lands from 1096 when Robert went on crusade; and Henry I, who succeeded Rufus as king of England, defeated Robert at Tinchebray and ruled as king of a re-united Anglo-Norman realm until his death in 1135.⁶⁶ The Norman Conquest made what was already a very powerful territory which had caused much trouble for Philip's father into a truly formidable foe, and Philip spent much of his reign either in conflict with these men or trying to capitalise on divisions between them, which on several occasions led to him lending a degree of measured support to Robert.⁶⁷

Between the Norman and Capetian lands there was, at the start of Philip's reign, part of the conglomeration of territories accumulated by Ralph of Crépy (Ralph IV of Valois), who as already noted was also the second husband of Philip's mother, Anna of Kyiv.⁶⁸ Ralph possessed rights over important abbeys, including Saint-Denis, and his lands included the

⁶³ *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, publ. E. de Lépinos and Lucien Merlet, 3 vols (Chartres, 1862-5), vol. 1, p. 12, n. 2, and no. 12 (pp. 85-6); Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: Piety, Politics and the Peace in the Diocese of Chartres', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1991; publ. 1992), 131-52, at p. 139 and n. 34; Rolf Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 90, 105.

⁶⁴ Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 44-100, 162-222; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 35-6.

⁶⁵ For a recent overview of the politics of Normandy around this time, see: Mark Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy, 911-1144* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 105-79.

⁶⁶ William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy (c. 1050-1134)* (Woodbridge, 2008); Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (1983; edn New Haven, CT, and London, 2000); David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2016); Charles Wendell David, *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1920); John Gillingham, *William II: The Red King* (s.l.: Allen Lane, 2015); Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (2006; pbk edn Cambridge, 2009); C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. and completed by Amanda Clark Frost (2001; New Haven, CT, and London, 2003); Edmund King, *Henry I: The Father of His People* (s.l.: Allen Lane, 2018); Emma Mason, *William II: Rufus, the Red King* (Stroud, 2005); Marc Morris, *William I: England's Conqueror* (s.l.: Allen Lane, 2016).

⁶⁷ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 58-9, 86-90, 95-6, 99, 124, 126-7, 139-40, 146-7, 150-1, 205-6, 231; Dhondt, 'Les relations', esp. pp. 472-86; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 188-223, 269-312.

⁶⁸ Bur, *La formation*, pp. 211-17; P. Feuchère, 'Une tentative manquée de concentration territoriale entre Somme et Seine: La principauté d'Amiens-Valois au XIe siècle', *Le Moyen Âge*, 60 (1954), 1-37.

Vexin, a crucial buffer zone between France and Normandy.⁶⁹ Ralph's son, Simon, was the inheritor of this formidable power base, but his decision to become a monk in 1077 led to its dissolution, with the lands and rights divided up among several magnates, including Philip.⁷⁰

To the east of Normandy was the county of Flanders, standing in a border zone between the German Empire and the kingdom of France, its counts having ties to both.⁷¹ As already noted above, Philip had close familial bonds to the ruling family here through the marriage of Count Baldwin V (1035-1067) to Adela, Philip's paternal aunt.⁷² However, Flanders had important relations with Normandy and England too, and Baldwin V's daughter, Matilda, was married to William the Conqueror.⁷³ Baldwin acted as Philip's guardian during his minority, and died around the time that it ended. He was succeeded firstly by his son, Baldwin VI (1067-1070), but the latter's death produced a succession dispute between his son, Arnulf III (1070-1071), and uncle, Robert the Frisian (1071-1093). Philip lent support to Arnulf, but the count was killed at the Battle of Cassel in 1071, paving the way for Robert to assume power.⁷⁴ This *fait accompli* was sealed by a marriage alliance between Philip and Robert through the latter's step-daughter, Bertha. Later, Robert's son, Robert II 'of Jerusalem' (1093-1111), was one of the major participants in the First Crusade.⁷⁵ Throughout Philip's reign, the counts of Flanders played a careful game, balancing their relationships with the king of France, the Anglo-Norman rulers, and the emperor respectively.

⁶⁹ On Saint-Denis and the counts, see also: Rolf Große, *Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König: Die Zeit vor Suger (1053-1122)* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 30-7, 84-5.

⁷⁰ *Life of Simon of Crépy*, ed. as: 'Vita beati Simonis comitis Crespeiensis auctore synchrono', in: *PL*, vol. 156, cols 1211-24; Civel, *La fleur*, pp. 44-5, 389-94; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Count Simon of Crépy's Monastic Conversion', in: *Papauté monachisme et théories politiques. 1: Le pouvoir et l'institution ecclésiastique. Études d'histoire médiévale offerts à Marcel Pacaut* (Lyon, 1994), pp. 253-66, repr. in: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 11 [pagination retained]; Feuchère, 'Une tentative', pp. 13-15; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'D'une moral statutaire à une éthique absolue? La place idéale des laïcs à Cluny (v. 930 – v. 1150)', in: *Guerriers et moines: conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval (IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, ed. Michel Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), pp. 291-316, at pp. 307-12; Michel Lauwers, 'Du pacte seigneurial à l'idéal de conversion. Les légendes hagiographiques de Simon de Crépy († 1081-2)', in: *Guerriers et moines*, ed. Lauwers, pp. 559-88.

⁷¹ On what follows, see: Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 207-13; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, p. 50; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 48-58.

⁷² See above, p. 10.

⁷³ See below, p. 242.

⁷⁴ On Robert, see: Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 56-7; Verlinden, *Robert*.

⁷⁵ M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade', in: *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. K. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 79-100.

The nexus of the Capetian royal domain was sandwiched east and west by the lands of the Thibaudians, a family whose interests spanned a vast and varied collection of territories.⁷⁶ Although the lands and counties possessed by the ruling family here in the eleventh century were held with varying degrees of control and not necessarily concentrated in the hands of one person, together they formed a large and significant consideration in the politics of northern France. For the first decades of Philip's reign the family was headed by Theobald III (d. 1089), who lent his support to the reform activity of the pope and his legates, but equally avoided major conflict with the king.⁷⁷ Upon his death, his lands were divided between two of his sons, Stephen-Henry, count of Blois, Chartres, and Meaux, and Odo, count of Troyes, though the latter's death in 1093 led to his title passing to another brother, Hugh, who was married for a time to Philip's daughter, Constance.⁷⁸ Stephen-Henry died in 1102 whilst on crusade, with his wife Adela (d. 1137), a daughter of William the Conqueror, playing a key role in governing the Thibaudian holdings and managing her many children in the years which followed.⁷⁹

In north-west France, the other major power which the Capetians had to contend with was the counts of Anjou.⁸⁰ The Angevin counts were major rivals of the Norman dukes, and during the reign of Henry I, Count Geoffrey Martel (1040-1060) had worked with the Capetian king in attempts to combat Norman power.⁸¹ Anjou also competed with the counts of Blois, achieving a major success in the 1040s through the extension of their power in the Touraine.⁸² Both Henry and Geoffrey died in 1060. Martel's successor, Geoffrey the Bearded, was overthrown by his brother, Fulk IV le Réchin (1068-1109).⁸³ Despite Geoffrey's transgressions,

⁷⁶ For what follows, see: Bur, *La formation*; Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 190-6; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 41-9; Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067-1137)* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2007); Charles West, 'Count Hugh of Troyes and the Territorial Principality in Early Twelfth-Century Western Europe', *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), 523-48.

⁷⁷ Bur, *La formation*, esp. pp. 222-9; Hallam and West, p. 46; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, esp. pp. 58-9, 282-8; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 162-6, 187.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 60-70. On Hugh and Constance, see below, p. 254.

⁷⁹ James A. Brundage, 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 380-95, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27830413>>, (accessed 17 July 2024); LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*; Simon Thomas Parsons, 'The Letters of Stephen of Blois Reconsidered', *Crusades*, 17 (2018; publ. 2019), 1-29.

⁸⁰ For what follows, see: Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 184-90; Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 56-124; Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e siècle* (1906; repr. Geneva, 1974); Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 65-6.

⁸¹ Dhondt, 'Henri I^{er}, l'Empire et l'Anjou', *passim*

⁸² Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 46-9.

⁸³ For assessments of Fulk, see: Jim Bradbury, 'Fulk le Réchin and the Origin of the Plantagenets', in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 27-4; Basit Hammad Qureshi, 'Crusade, Crisis, and Statecraft in Latin

which helped to precipitate this overthrow, Fulk attracted significant controversy himself by keeping his brother imprisoned for most of his life. Indeed, Fulk spent a great deal of time excommunicated and came into conflict with religious powers on a number of occasions; some of these controversies will be brought to light in this thesis. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, Fulk's relationship with Philip came under strain in the 1090s, when the king took the count's wife, Bertrada, as his own.⁸⁴

To the south, the Capetians still maintained strong ties to the dukes of Aquitaine, who were also counts of Poitou.⁸⁵ However, the dukes possessed significant autonomy and although, as will be seen, Philip still interacted with and at times exerted an influence on these men, they were by no means beholden to him.⁸⁶ Two dukes reigned concurrently with Philip. William VIII (1058-1086), also known as Guy-Geoffrey, attended Philip's association in 1059, and was eventually succeeded by his son, William IX (1086-1126).⁸⁷

In the east, the duchy of Burgundy was ruled by a cadet branch of the Capetian family, having been granted by Henry I to his brother, Duke Robert I, in 1032.⁸⁸ Robert I was not present at Reims in 1059 when Philip was associated with the kingship as his father's successor, but the duke's son Hugh did attend.⁸⁹ Relations between the king and the dukes were sporadic at best during the later eleventh century. Nevertheless, there were Burgundian dioceses where the king still had considerable sway.⁹⁰

Other areas of France – Brittany in the north-west, as well as lands in the south – were largely outside Capetian control during Philip's reign.⁹¹ However, the shrunken royal power base made the king's relations with the lesser magnates, especially the lords and knights based around the Paris area, all the more crucial. Lordly power, based around fortified residences, gave these figures a vital significance as Philip dealt with the princes around him and sought

Christendom: The Case of Fulk V of Anjou (1090-1143)', Doctor of Philosophy dissertation (University of Minnesota, 2017), via University Digital Conservancy (University of Minnesota) [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/11299/206404>>, (accessed 4 February 2025), pp. 33-143.

⁸⁴ See below, pp. 215-49.

⁸⁵ For what follows, see: Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 173-9; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 73-4; Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, 2 vols (Paris, 1903; repr. London: Forgotten Books, s.d.), vol. 1, pp. 266-506.

⁸⁶ See below, pp. 82-3, 90, 196-8, 243-4.

⁸⁷ *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, p. 231.

⁸⁸ For what follows, see: Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1987); Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 179-84; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 36-41; Jean Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1954), pp. 1-167.

⁸⁹ *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, p. 231.

⁹⁰ See below, c. 1.

⁹¹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, passim

to secure and, in places, expand, the boundaries of his power.⁹² Some of these families, such as the Rocheforts, Garlandes, and Montforts – became very influential at the royal court.⁹³ As we have seen already, the Montforts even married into the royal family through Philip and Bertrada’s controversial union.

The Eleventh Century: A Time of Religious Change

Historians have long referred to the period from the mid-eleventh century to the early decades of the twelfth as a time of intense ecclesiastical reform.⁹⁴ How to define and interpret ‘reform’ has been the subject of much debate.⁹⁵ However, it is important to note that it was

⁹² André Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile de France du XI^e au XIII^e siècle* (Nonette, 1983), pp. 13-24; Nicolas Civel, *La fleur*; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 14-21. On royal expansion, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 138-52.

⁹³ Éric Bournazel, *Le gouvernement capétien au XII^e siècle 1108-1180: Structures sociales et mutations institutionnelles* (s.l.: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975); André Rhein, ‘La seigneurie de Montfort en Iveline depuis son origine jusqu’à son union au duché de Bretagne (X^e-XIV^e siècles)’, *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Rambouillet*, 21 (1910), 1-363, at pp. 25-57.

⁹⁴ On reform, see: Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols (Louvain, 1924-37); Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne (1057-1123)* (s.l.: Bloud & Gay, 1950); Patrick Henriët, ‘La réforme grégorienne: historiographie et tendances récentes de la recherche’, Nicolangelo D’Acunto, ‘La réforme du XI^e siècle’, Jean-Hervé Foulon, ‘La réforme de l’Église entre ecclésiologie, pouvoir et société (X^e-XII^e siècles)’, Pascal Montaubin, ‘La construction de la monarchie pontificale’, in: *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)*, ed. Christine Bousquet-Labouérie and Patrick Henriët (Paris, 2023), pp. 12-27, 28-38, 39-65, 68-98 respectively; I. S. Robinson, ‘Reform and the Church, 1073-1122’, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.1, 1024-c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (2004; pbk Cambridge, 2015), pp. 268-334; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1989; repr. Oxford, 2001), pp. 1-173; Rennie, *Law and Practice*; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990); Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, first published as: *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits* (Leipzig, 1936), English trans. by R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940); Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, first published as: *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1988), English trans. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993). On the French context in particular, see also: Dominique Barthélemy, ‘Église et pouvoirs dans le royaume capétien (jusqu’au début du XII^e siècle)’, in: *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)*, ed. Christine Bousquet-Labouérie and Patrick Henriët (Paris, 2023), pp. 221-44.

⁹⁵ A recent debate has been sparked by: *Nouvelle histoire du Moyen Âge*, ed. Florian Mazel (s.l.: Éditions du Seuil, 2021), esp. the chapters: Florian Mazel, ‘Introduction’, pp. 5-9; Florian Mazel, ‘La réforme grégorienne: Un tournant fondateur (milieu XI^e-début XIII^e siècle)’, pp. 291-306; Florian Mazel, ‘La réforme grégorienne: Un nouvel ordre social et seigneurial (milieu XI^e-XIII^e siècle)’, pp. 307-20; Michel Lauwers and Florian Mazel, ‘Le *dominium* universel de l’Église’, pp. 321-31. For responses, see: Dominique Barthélemy, ‘Domination seigneuriale et réforme grégorienne. À propos d’un livre récent’, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 65 (2022), 151-63; Dominique Barthélemy, ‘Archives monastiques et société féodale dans les Gaules (X^e et XI^e siècles). Essai historiographique’, Michel Lauwers, ‘Qu’est-ce que le *dominium* ecclésiast? Entre traditions historiographiques et bricolage conceptuel’, Patrick Henriët, ‘Le pangrégorianisme et ses excès. À propos d’une nouvelle histoire du Moyen Âge’, and Florian Mazel, ‘Réforme grégorienne, écriture de l’histoire et renouvellement historiographique. Réponse à quelques critiques de la *Nouvelle histoire du Moyen Âge*’, in: *Le Moyen Âge*, 129 (2023), 75-111, 113-48, 149-79, 181-213 respectively; Dominique Barthélemy, ‘Liberté pour l’histoire de la France féodale!’, and Patrick Henriët, ‘De quelques assertions fausses, outrancières ou déraisonnables. À propos de la réforme « grégorienne » et de la méthode historique’, in: *Le Moyen Âge*, 130 (2024), 177-84, 185-95 respectively. Note also: Florian Mazel, ‘Pour une redéfinition de la réforme « grégorienne ». Éléments d’introduction’, in: *La réforme « grégorienne » dans le Midi (milieu XI^e-début XIII^e siècle)*, ed. Michelle Fournié, Daniel Le Blévec, and Florian Mazel (Toulouse, 2013), pp. 9-38.

a continuous process in the Middle Ages, framed around competing ideas.⁹⁶ Thus, to describe someone as ‘anti-reformist’ tells us very little, unless this is qualified by explaining what *kind* of reform they stood against.

Indeed, it is too simplistic to speak merely of ‘reformist’ and ‘anti-reformist’ figures, when rather we should envisage a scale of sympathy on reform issues, with each issue treated separately and then placed together to help frame the religious attitude of the person in question.⁹⁷ This should also warn us against making too strong an equation between someone’s attitude to reform and their own piety. As Tellenbach observes, there is a danger that scholarship can be too ‘reform-friendly’.⁹⁸ Whilst a certain act might be regarded as pious and reformist at the same time, this very much depended upon the onlooker’s perspective. If someone acted in an ‘anti-reformist’ way, did they themselves in fact view it as such? If not, then can it really be used to question their inward piety?⁹⁹ These are questions which historians might consider, but when it comes to inner belief, it is often wise to retain a healthy degree of doubt and admit the limits of our knowledge. We can judge whether Philip I supported or opposed reform in its various guises, but as to whether he personally believed that the path he followed was the most righteous, it is impossible to say for sure.

Although reform was a continuous and ever-changing process, there is general agreement that, even if reformist ideas often developed out of earlier thought, this period nonetheless saw a more intense application of certain principles and ideas which led to pressures and challenges – both for clerics and laypeople – which had not been present before, at least not so acutely. It is against such developments that we can assess Philip’s attitudes.

The reformist ideas emanating from Rome – ‘papal reform’ – began to gather pace from the mid-eleventh century with the pontificate of Leo IX (1049-1054).¹⁰⁰ The papal reform drive focused at first on so-called ‘moral reform’. In particular, there was a renewed vigour to stamp out the abuse of simony, whereby the obtaining of ecclesiastical office was contingent on the say-so of another, such as a king, who might receive money or some other kind of gift

⁹⁶ On continuous reform, see, for example: Joachim Wollasch, ‘Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform’, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.1, 1024-c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (2004; pbk Cambridge, 2015), pp. 163-85, at pp. 163, 165-7.

⁹⁷ Such terminology is also rejected by, for example: John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050-1150* (2015; pbk edn Cambridge, UK, 2017).

⁹⁸ Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 157-61.

⁹⁹ See: Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society*, pp. xii, 61-2.

¹⁰⁰ See esp. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, pp. 129-58.

in return.¹⁰¹ Another key strand of this moral reform was an effort to enforce the chastity of the clergy, many of whom at this point had wives or otherwise engaged in sexual relationships.¹⁰²

The crushing of these perceived abuses promised to break links between the Church and lay concerns, and as the period progressed, this severing of the secular from the spiritual world became an increasingly prominent dimension of papal reform. Arguably the most dramatic manifestation of this developing tendency came under Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), who issued a decree forbidding the investiture of prelates by laypersons. The exact process by which this decree developed, and the timing of its first clear and universal enunciation, are not quite certain, but it may be that, contrary to past historiography which often dated the defining moment to 1075, in fact a later date is more likely, with the legatine councils held in France at Autun (1077) and Poitiers (1078) preceding a general investiture decree which was pronounced at the synod held in Rome in November 1078.¹⁰³

Investiture was a key stage in the electoral process for new bishops and abbots, with the prelate-elect receiving their office from the monarch or magnate in question, making a commitment to them and being bestowed with the pastoral staff and (though not in France) ring in return.¹⁰⁴ The effort to suppress this process gave rise to what was once commonly referred to as the 'Investiture Contest', a battle between the popes and lay powers, especially the German kings/emperors Henry IV (r. 1056-1106) and Henry V (r. 1106-1125), with the latter seeking to hold onto the right to invest their prelates.¹⁰⁵ This term now tends to be either avoided or qualified to prevent it obscuring the various other issues, such as simony,

¹⁰¹ For example: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 101-3; Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 128; Charles West, 'The Simony Crisis of the Eleventh Century and the "Letter of Guido"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 73 (2022), 229-53, via: Cambridge Core [website], <doi:10.1017/S0022046921000063> (accessed 7 November 2024). See below, pp. 100-1.

¹⁰² For example: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 103-5; Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 161-7. See below, pp. 209-13.

¹⁰³ See esp.: Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots für den deutschen König* (Stuttgart, 1981). Also: Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. Claudia Zey, in: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 67 (Hannover, 1994), pp. 211-12; Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 400-6 (6.5b); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 281-3; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII: 1073-1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 100-8, 546-50; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 118-19; Beate Schilling, 'Die Kanones des Konzils von Poitiers (1078) (mit Textedition): ein Versuch', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 103 (2017), 70-130, via De Gruyter [website], <https://doi.org/10.26498/zrgka-2017-0103>, (accessed 24 December 2024), esp. pp. 94-100.

¹⁰⁴ For a concise overview, see: Marcel Pacaut, 'L'investiture en France au début du XII^e siècle', in: *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel le Bras*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1965), pp. 665-72.

¹⁰⁵ For example: Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, passim. On France, cf.: Becker, *Investiturstreit*, passim; Willi Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit in Frankreich', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 42 (1923), 255-328, 43 (1924), 92-150.

which were live and fuelled conflict between the popes and lay powers at this time.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, while the phrase ‘Gregorian reform’, popularised especially by Fliche, remains in use among certain scholars such as Mazel, a continuity which can perhaps be justified with qualification, it is still the case that it has potential to mislead or perplex, not only with its implicit emphasis on the central role of Pope Gregory VII, which risks masking the multiplicity of forces at play, but also due to the lack of a defined timescale which counts as ‘Gregorian’ across historiographical fault lines.¹⁰⁷ The phrase will therefore be avoided in what follows.

A drive for monastic reform played out alongside and interacted with these developments.¹⁰⁸ Long before the reign of Philip I, efforts had been initiated to improve the standard of religious life in monasteries all over France. Famously, in 909/10, the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy had been founded by Duke William I of Aquitaine.¹⁰⁹ This house championed not only a strict observance of the Benedictine Rule but also a strong sense of freedom from external lay and episcopal power, and was under the direct protection of the pope.¹¹⁰ The model of ‘Cluniac Reform’ has been seen as an important precursor to the later eleventh-century papal reform.¹¹¹ The Cluniacs gained dependencies far and wide, which in Philip’s reign expanded into northern France, though they had been active in reforming houses in this region in earlier decades.¹¹² In the age of their long-serving abbot, Hugh (1049-1109), Cluny served as a model for and oftentimes collaborator with the reforming popes, particularly Gregory VII, as an exemplar of the monastic life and monastic independence.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Augustin Fliche, ‘Y a-t-il eu en France et en Angleterre une querelle des investitures?’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 283-95; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁷ Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*; cf., for example: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 81-2.

¹⁰⁸ Noëlle Deflou-Leca and Alexis Gréolis, ‘La place des réguliers: moines et chanoines’, in: *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)*, ed. Christine Bousquet-Labouërie and Patrick Henriot (Paris, 2023), pp. 108-35; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 57-78; Steven Vanderputten, ‘Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century’, in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2020), vol. 1, pp. 599-617; Wollasch, ‘Monasticism’.

¹⁰⁹ *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, rev. and completed by Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Paris, 1876-1903), no. 112 (vol. 1, pp. 124-8).

¹¹⁰ Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten (eds), *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2022); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (1984; 4th edn, London and New York, 2015), pp. 76-99.

¹¹¹ For example: Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, pp. 39-60.

¹¹² Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 67-75; Philippe Racinet, ‘Implantation et expansion clunisiennes au nord-est de Paris (XI^e-XII^e siècles)’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 90 (1984), 5-37.

¹¹³ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, passim; H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘St Hugh and Gregory VII’, in: *Le Gouvernement d’Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, ed. B. Maurice (Cluny, 1988), pp. 173-90, repr. in: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 9 [pagination retained]; H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Cluny and Rome’, *Revue Mabillon*, NS 5 (Turnhout, 1994) 258-65, repr. in: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 10 [pagination retained]; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 659-73.

Alongside monks, there were also many communities of canons across France.¹¹⁴ Cathedral canons served the chief church of a diocese, but canons also inhabited separate communities known as collegiate churches. In the ninth century, the Rule of Aix, linked to the discipline introduced at Metz by Chrodegang, set out a set of requirements for living as a canon, at the same time drawing clear dividing lines between canons and monks (for example, the former, unlike the latter, could possess their own property). This helped to inspire the reform of many communities. However, in the eleventh century there was concern in some quarters that not only were many groups of canons not upholding strict enough standards, but also that the Rule of Aix was too lenient in what it allowed canons to do. From this concern arose various attempts to bring further reform to these communities. One manifestation of this was the adoption by some canons of a so-called 'Augustinian' rule, and it seems that Gervase, archbishop of Reims, was at the forefront of this movement in France, installing Augustinian canons at Saint-Denis at Reims in 1067.¹¹⁵ These newer reformed canons emerging in the eleventh century are referred to, somewhat confusingly, as 'regular canons' to distinguish them from their predecessors, who are often referred to instead as 'secular canons'. It is not always a simple task, however, to establish exactly what kind of life or rule a house of canons followed at points in its history.

Why might reform pose a problem to secular rulers such as Philip? Put simply, the Church, its people and its institutions were a vital and often lucrative resource for the Capetian monarchs, meaning that any initiative which sought to diminish the influence which lay powers could exert over the Church consequently threatened the king's ability to draw on

¹¹⁴ On canons, see: Charles Dereine, 'Chanoines (des origines au XIII^e s.)', in: *DHGE*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1953), cols 354-405; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 148-53; Jean-François Lemarignier, 'Aspects politiques des fondations de collégiales dans le royaume de France au XI^e siècle', in: *La vita commune del clero nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della Settimana di studio, Mendola, 1959* (Milan, 1962), pp. 19-49, repr. in: Jean-François Lemarignier, *Recueil d'articles rassemblées par ses disciples: Structures politiques et religieuses dans la France du haut Moyen Age* (s.l.: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1995), pp. 365-86; Brigitte Meijns, 'Les chanoines séculiers: histoire et fonctions dans la société (IX^e-XII^e siècle)', in: *Les chapitres séculiers et leur culture: Vie canoniale, art et musique à Saint-Yrieix (VI^e-XIII^e siècle): Actes du colloque tenu à Limoges, Saint-Yrieix et Poitiers, du 18 au 20 juin 2009*, ed. Claude Andrault-Schmitt and Philippe Depreux (Limoges, 2014), pp. 15-30; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 74-8; Yannick Veyrenche, 'Quia vos estis qui sanctorum patrum vitam probabilem renovatis... Naissance des chanoines réguliers, jusqu'à Urbain II', in: *Les chanoines réguliers: Émergence et expansion (XI^e-XIII^e siècles): Actes du sixième colloque international du CERCOR: Le Puy en Velay, 29 juin-1er juillet 2006*, ed. Michel Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009), pp. 29-69.

¹¹⁵ Gervase, Archbishop of Reims, 'Gervasii Diplomata', in: *PL*, vol. 143, cols 1401-4, at no. 2 (cols 1402-4); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 31 (pp. 94-7); Patrick Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale: Les archevêques de Reims et leur Église aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Langres, 2005), pp. 88-9, 324-8; Dereine, 'Chanoines', col. 387; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 452-3; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 167-8.

ecclesiastical assets to consolidate his own power.¹¹⁶ It should be remembered that the prelates of France played a key political role as advisors to the monarch and administrators of vast collections of lands and rights.¹¹⁷ It was thus of critical importance to the king that he could exercise a supervision over them and over elections to key ecclesiastical positions such as bishoprics, as we will see Philip doing on many occasions throughout his reign.¹¹⁸

In the world of the religious houses, the kings had to tread a fine line around reform. After all, these were the places which prayed for the souls of the king, his family and his ancestors.¹¹⁹ However, the reformed monasticism championed by the Cluniacs and others had at its core the withdrawal of religious houses from unwanted external interference.¹²⁰ Many houses possessed, or claimed to possess, rights – distinguished variously, and not entirely consistently, as immunities, liberties, exemptions, etc. – which differed greatly in form and origin (notably, many had ties to royal beneficence) but could limit the influence which ‘outside’ forces, namely the diocesan bishop and lay powers, were in theory able to exert over the house, with this in turn potentially underlining the position of the pope as ultimate authority.¹²¹ Therefore, in patronising these houses, the kings had to play a delicate balancing act: in seeking to preserve their influence over a community whilst also supporting it and confirming its privileges, they were aware that this might come at the expense of alienating local forces (including the bishop) or aggrandising the power of the pope.

This strikes at one of the central points around the secular-spiritual relationship of the later eleventh century: if the king’s power over the Church was being taken away through reform, whose power was replacing it? Clearly, one of the chief beneficiaries of this power realignment was the Holy See, embodied by the popes and their legates and emissaries.¹²²

¹¹⁶ See, for example: Becker, *Studien*, p. 9; Hartmut Hoffmann, ‘Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich 936-1060’, in: *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000-1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz, 2000), pp. 79-127, at pp. 98-124; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, pp. 172-3.

¹¹⁷ See below, c. 1.

¹¹⁸ On elections, see below, c. 2.

¹¹⁹ On this, see, for example: Bouchard, *Sword*, pp. 195-7, 225-9.

¹²⁰ See above, p. 25.

¹²¹ Benjamin Pohl, ‘The Problem of Cluniac Exemption’, in: *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, ed. Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2022), pp. 288-305; Ludwig Falkenstein, *La papauté et les abbayes françaises aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: Exemption et protection apostolique* (Paris, 1997).

¹²² On legates, see: Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 355-75; Rudolf Hiestand, ‘Les légats pontificaux en France du milieu du XI^e à la fin du XII^e siècle’, in: *L’église de France et la papauté (X^e-XIII^e siècle): Actes du colloque historique franco-allemand organisé en coopération avec l’École nationale des chartes par l’Institut historique allemande de Paris (Paris, 17-19 octobre 1990)*, ed. Rolf Große (Bonn, 1993), pp. 54-80; Kriston R. Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (Basingstoke, 2013); Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom*

Reform initiatives interacted with a bold and challenging assertion of papal authority over the Christian world, which threatened to undermine the authority of the secular rulers not only by severely tempering their power over the Church, but by placing the power of the pope over them in hitherto unthinkable ways.¹²³ As his reign progressed, Philip had to become accustomed to the power of Rome becoming ever more enmeshed in his realm. We shall see it constantly throughout this thesis, in the activities and interventions of papal legates, in papal warnings and sanctions directed at Philip himself, and in the penetration of papal reform into his realm.

In sum, we have seen already how historians have differed in their assessments of Philip's attitude to reform, whilst usually maintaining an unfavourable overall opinion of it. These historians are rarely blind to the challenges which Philip faced, but they have in general been too willing to accept the negative characterisations of him in the most prominent primary sources and used these to infer a lack of interest in reform. A bad character such as Philip, it has been reasoned, could only ever adopt a negative, or at best cynical, attitude towards movements which portrayed themselves as having the noble goal of re-edifying and purifying the Church. Not only does this assessment undervalue the principled resistance – from laypeople and clerics alike – to reform, but it also overplays the cohesiveness of this reform, which as shown above was a fluid and multifaceted movement playing out in various settings, not a single unchanging idea or neat set of principles. Through bringing these points into higher focus, and through evaluating Philip's approach to reform from multiple angles and across his whole reign, placing the king at the centre of the narrative by focusing on the reasons why *he* chose to do as he did, this thesis aims to frame Philip's religious attitudes in a new light.

Verträge von Meerssen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130 (1935; repr. Vaduz, 1965); Claudia Zey, 'L'opposition aux légats pontificaux en France (XI^e-XII^e siècles)', French trans. by Julian Führer, in: *Schismes, dissidences, oppositions: La France et le Saint-Siège avant Boniface VIII*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Rolf Große (Paris, 2012), pp. 49-57; see below, c. 1.

¹²³ For example: Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, esp. pp. 107-8.

Source Material¹²⁴

Acta

One of the most important types of sources for studying Philip are the documents which were either produced in his name, or to which he attached his assent as one of perhaps several people who subscribed to the deed in question by adding their name or sign. The terminology of royal documents can be variable and confusing, but broadly speaking, we can employ *acta*, or acts, as an all-encompassing term. Philip's *acta* were edited in 1908 by Prou, with a few further pieces discovered since.¹²⁵

Philip's *acta* are mostly charters through which he signalled his own intent (a confirmation, a donation or a concession, for example), or affirmed his assent to the action of someone else through the addition of his name to the document. However, a small number of Philip's letters have also survived, which are sometimes distinguished as being either mandates (French: *mandements*), which revolve around a verb of command, or missives, which do not possess this clear directive element.¹²⁶ The earliest of Philip's known letters, dating to the mid-1060s and addressed to Pope Alexander II, has been uncovered in recent decades by Rolf Große.¹²⁷ However, the total number of mandates and missives to have survived from Philip's reign is small in comparison to his other *acta*, and this reflects their

¹²⁴ For a general overview, still useful is: Auguste Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France: Des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*, vol. 2, *Époque féodale, les Capétiens jusqu'en 1180* (Paris, 1902). See also: Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings*, pp. 1-12.

¹²⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou. For some additional discoveries, see: Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Notice inédite d'une donation faite par le roi Philippe I^{er} au prieuré de Saint-Arnoul de Crépy', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 132 (1974), 95-6, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1974.449987>>, (accessed 3 April 2023); Rolf Große, 'Ein unbekannter Brief König Philipps I. von Frankreich an Papst Alexander II.', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 43 (1997), 23-6; *PUF, NF*, vol. 9, no. 22 (pp. 127-8); Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La prise en charge du Berry par le roi Philippe I^{er} et les antécédents de cette politique de Hugues le Grand à Robert le Pieux', in: *Media in Francia..., Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire* (Maulévrier: Hérault-Éditions, 1989), pp. 31-60, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 9 [pagination retained], at pp. 58-9; Marie-José Gasse-Grandjean, 'Retour sur trois actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 158.2 (July-December 2000), 531-46; Jean Martin-Demézil, 'À propos de deux chartes pour Marmoutier confirmées par Philippe I^{er}', in: *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), pp. 19-41; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 128-32. See also: Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship'; Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Les actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous Philippe I^{er}', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 147 (1989), 29-48.

¹²⁶ On mandates and missives, see: Louis VI (King of France), *Acta*, ed. Jean Dufour, as: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI roi de France (1108-1137)*, 4 vols (Paris, 1992-4), vol. 3, pp. 184-6; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. CCV-CCVII; Guyotjeannin, 'Les actes établis', pp. 43-4; Lemaignier, *Le Gouvernement*, pp. 159-62.

¹²⁷ Große, 'Ein unbekannter Brief'; *PUF, NF*, vol. 9, no. 22 (pp. 127-8).

temporary character. Undoubtedly many have been lost.¹²⁸ Ultimately, they were not designed to be permanent records of the king's will, only in-the-moment instruments.

Charters, on the other hand, were more likely to survive because of their enduring value to the beneficiary as a record of the king's will, though even here the records of some places have survived far more intact than others.¹²⁹ Beneficiaries could produce historic documents as proof in later years, when someone, even a future king, might seek to challenge or clarify what had happened. For Clanchy: 'The writings of kings were a bastion against human frailty and a warning or encouragement to their successors'.¹³⁰ But we must be mindful of the form in which these acts have survived. An original, by which is meant a charter which survives from the time of initial composition, in its earliest mode of composition (allowing for the possibility of redrafting to produce the final text), can be of immeasurable value, for it provides a snapshot of diplomatic practice in that particular moment.¹³¹ As a material object, these originals also allow one to grasp the way in which acts were arranged on a page, taking into account such things as the size of the document, variations in hand, text size and colour, as well as arrangement of the text, which can be particularly important, for example, when considering witness lists. All of these things can be hard to reproduce in modern printed editions.¹³²

Unfortunately, we frequently lack the originals of Philip's *acta* and are forced to rely instead on copies produced after the fact, often recorded in monastic cartularies produced at a later date. Though copies are not necessarily unreliable, their production involved the risk of accidental or less accidental mistakes. As an example of this, Prou points to a document concerning the gift of Saint-Martin-des-Champs to Cluny, where a copy of the act, preserved in a bull of Pope Alexander IV (1254-61), omits a phrase concerning the rights of the Parisian Church which *is* present in other copies preserved in the Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Cluny

¹²⁸ Cf. Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Erich Caspar, as: *Das Register Gregors VII.*, in: *MGH, Epistolae selectae*, vol. 2, 2 vols (Berlin, 1920-3; vol. 1 repr. Berlin, 1955), vol. 1, 1.75 (p. 106); English trans. by H. E. J. Cowdrey, as: *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085: An English Translation* (2002; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 178.

¹²⁹ Cf. for example: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 11-14.

¹³⁰ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (1979; 3rd edn Chichester, 2013), pp. 155-6.

¹³¹ On the complexities of redrafting, see for example: Martin-Demézil, 'À propos de deux chartes'.

¹³² For digitised images of French charters from this period, see: 'Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France', ed. Cédric Giraud, Jean-Baptiste Renault, and Benoît-Michel Tock (Nancy and Orléans, 2010; updated 2012), via TELMA [website], <<http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr/outils/originaux/index/>> (accessed 5 February 2025). For another useful resource, see: 'CARo: Corpus des actes royaux de la France médiévale – VIII^e-XIII^e siècles', via CARo [website], <<https://caro.huma-num.fr/>>, (accessed 5 February 2025).

cartularies.¹³³ Documents could also be forged to suit an agenda, though this did not necessarily prevent them from being based on something more concrete; the absence of a genuine document might have made a forgery necessary, but that need not mean that they were always completely contrived.¹³⁴

Whilst bearing these reservations in mind, the uses of Philip's *acta* are manifold. For example, they help us to track where he directed his patronage, who was around him at any given moment, and where his royal itinerary took him, though we do not possess enough *acta* to produce a full account of Philip's movements.¹³⁵ Furthermore, by tracking the presence or absence of particular figures through their appearances as subscribers or witnesses to Philip's *acta*, we can gain an impression of what sorts of people were more frequently found in Philip's company, and how this shifted over the course of the reign.¹³⁶ Caution must be exercised here too though.¹³⁷ Indeed, the number of subscribers to Philip's *acta* vary wildly from a couple to over 50, suggesting that different decisions and different scribes provoked different requirements regarding the level of corroboration sought.¹³⁸ Furthermore, it is not always clear whether or not a subscription in a royal act indicates that the subscriber was there at the same time as the king or not, or, if they were, whether this presence beside the king was merely incidental.¹³⁹ Note also, for example, that Philip's queens, Bertha and Bertrada, appear very infrequently as subscribers, but clearly must have spent a significant amount of time with him.¹⁴⁰

In addition to Philip's own *acta*, it should be mentioned that we can draw on the *acta* of other individuals and communities too. There is no modern edition of the acts of Philip's

¹³³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XLVI-XLVII.

¹³⁴ Clanchy, *Memory*, pp. 31, 150-1, 160, 298-9, 314, 318-28.

¹³⁵ For a detailed discussion, see: Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 122-60, 216-24. Cf. Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, pp. 199-218.

¹³⁶ Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement*, passim.

¹³⁷ See: David Bates, 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', in: *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 89-102; Dunbabin, *France*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, 129-31.

¹³⁸ On the variation, see: Lemarignier, *Gouvernement*, table 2d.

¹³⁹ A flavour of these difficulties can be grasped by comparing the approaches to subscriptions taken by Jean-François Lemarignier (*Le gouvernement*) and Olivier Guyotjeannin ('Les évêques dans l'entourage royal sous les premiers Capétiens', *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil: Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987. La France de l'an Mil. Paris – Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 91-8).

¹⁴⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. CXXXV-CXXXVI.

father, Henry I, or grandfather, Robert II, but they have been catalogued.¹⁴¹ The acts of Louis VI, on the other hand, have been edited by Dufour, including those which pertain to the period prior to Philip's death in 1108.¹⁴² We also have numerous charters, often preserved in cartularies, from religious houses all across France, which can provide helpful corroborating material and context on the connections which these houses possessed, be that to other houses, to local magnates, or to wider networks.

Narrative Sources: Chronicles and Annals

Besides the more formulaic *acta*, much of our information on Philip and his reign is derived from narrative sources. Almost all of these sources are written by churchmen – of the examples mentioned below, only Fulk of Anjou's *Chronicle* stands apart in this respect. It is convenient for our purposes to treat chronicles and annals together, for they share many similarities and drawing a neat distinction between them is not always easy, even though annals arguably tend to have a stricter, year-by-year chronological framework than might be found in chronicles, where the narrative is often more meandering, with fuller elaboration on the topics discussed.¹⁴³ Significantly, the Capetians rarely find themselves the main focus of such narratives; as will be seen from the examples below, the writers' priorities were often elsewhere or, at best, divided. Thus, to learn about Philip from these kinds of sources, one has to comb through numerous mentions, often brief and incidental, which connect him in some way or other to the central theme of a narrative which otherwise feels no need to speak of him. The picture thus created can therefore only ever be piecemeal, weighted towards certain moments thought worthy of mention and neglecting so much else. We should not expect too much of the narrative sources of Philip's reign, and this is a key point to be borne in mind.

The chronicles and annals stemming from northern France around this time tend to have a local focus, connected to particular religious houses. Prominent examples include the

¹⁴¹ Henry I (King of France), *Acta*, coll. Frédéric Soëhnée, as: *Catalogue des actes d'Henri I^{er}, roi de France* (Paris, 1907); Robert II (King of France), *Acta*, coll. William Mendel Newman, as: *Catalogue des actes de Robert II roi de France* (Paris, 1937); Guyotjeannin, Olivier, 'Les actes d'Henri I^{er} et la chancellerie royale dans les années 1020-1060', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 132 (1988), 81-97, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.1988.14575>>, (accessed 29 July 2021).

¹⁴² Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour

¹⁴³ Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', ed. Nancy Partner (London, 2005), pp. 88-108; Sarah Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles in Western Europe', in: *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 2, 400-1400, ed. Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson, with Ian Hesketh (Oxford, 2012), pp. 346-67; Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Turnhout, 1995).

Morigny Chronicle, composed by various writers in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ The abbey of Morigny, near Étampes, had reason to be thankful to Philip as he had confirmed them in certain possessions.¹⁴⁵ As such, he receives favourable treatment in this work, though it rarely mentions him, besides noting his death, or when he showed beneficence towards the abbey.¹⁴⁶ The only exception is a brief mention the *Chronicle* makes of Philip quarrelling with his impatient son Louis, in which Philip is implied to be more worldly-wise and prescient than his young heir.¹⁴⁷ Overall, however, the job of the *Chronicle's* compiler was to record anything important to Morigny. Philip's gifts counted as this, as did his death for it signalled the start of a new reign. But as for his wider character traits, general deeds or notable disputes such as the royal marriage controversy, whatever the monks of Morigny may have felt about them, they were of no concern to the memorialisation of the abbey's history and so are not found in the house chronicle.

Similar limitations present themselves with another house narrative, the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens*.¹⁴⁸ The history behind this work was illuminated by Bautier and Gilles, whose edition showed how its previous attribution to an obscure Sens monk called Clarius required revision, with the chronicle in fact showing the influence of several hands working over a prolonged period.¹⁴⁹ Unlike Morigny, Saint-Pierre-le-Vif did have a particular interest in Philip's marital troubles because of the role played by Richer, archbishop of Sens, in efforts to resolve the controversy, centring around his important role at a council held at Reims in 1094.¹⁵⁰ The *Chronicle's* few mentions of Philip are quite neutral in tone, but the author could not quite prevent himself from passing judgement on the marriage issue, telling of how the king had put aside his first wife Bertha, 'disregarding justice'.¹⁵¹ Unsurprisingly, this chronicle too notes Philip's beneficence towards the abbey and his eventual death.¹⁵² It also

¹⁴⁴ *Morigny Chronicle*, English trans. [with a reprint of the Latin edn in: *La Chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)*, ed. Léon Mirot (2nd edn, Paris, 1912)] by Richard Cusimano, as: *A Translation of the Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny, France c. 1100-1150* (Lewiston, NY, 2003).

¹⁴⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 144 (pp. 356-8), and cf. nos. 154 (pp. 387-8), 156 (pp. 189-91).

¹⁴⁶ *Morigny Chronicle*, trans. Cusimano (ed. Mirot), pp. 20-1, 30-1, 74-5, 94-5; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, pp. 168-9.

¹⁴⁷ *Morigny Chronicle*, trans. Cusimano (ed. Mirot), pp. 44-7.

¹⁴⁸ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens*, ed. and French trans. by Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, with Anne-Marie Bautier, as: *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius* (Paris, 1979).

¹⁴⁹ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, esp. pp. VII-XII.

¹⁵⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 136-7.

¹⁵¹ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, p. 137: 'reclamante justicia'.

¹⁵² *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 146-7, 152-3.

took an interest in Christian-Muslim warfare, noting the otherwise unknown fact that Philip sent troops to aid Alfonso VI of León-Castile against an Almoravid force in 1087.¹⁵³

That these two house chronicles are among the most informative of our narrative sources on Philip's reign illustrates the dearth of material of this type which is available to us. For substantial further detail we are forced to look further afield, in particular into the Anglo-Norman world, where we find a number of writers who produced major works which, although they were not focused on the French kings *per se*, have much to say about them as a product of the importance of the relations between Normandy, England, and the Capetian lands. Three in particular merit highlighting here: Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon.

Orderic Vitalis (1075-c. 1142) was born in England, but at a young age entered the Norman monastery of Saint-Evroult.¹⁵⁴ His masterpiece, the *Ecclesiastical History*, which was edited by Marjorie Chibnall in no less than six volumes, is a treasure trove of information on the Anglo-Norman world.¹⁵⁵ Though Orderic does show a particular interest in his own house, his narrative could never be accused of being confined to such a narrow scope. He casts his net to consider events far beyond Normandy, including in the Capetian kingdom.

Orderic's portrayal of Philip tallies well with that provided by Suger, and is indicative of contact between the works of these two men.¹⁵⁶ Like Suger, Orderic sees in Philip's repudiation of Bertha a moment of shame brought on by lust, with Philip obstinately refusing to make amends, so that he 'rotted away shamefully in the filth of adultery'.¹⁵⁷ Like Suger, Orderic implies that Louis was the real power behind the French throne in the later years of Philip's reign.¹⁵⁸ Like Suger, Orderic attributes Philip's decision to be buried away from Saint-Denis to feelings of shame, albeit he embellishes his account with a grand confected speech in which Philip explains his reasoning.¹⁵⁹ Orderic was, however, perhaps more susceptible to

¹⁵³ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 134-7. See below, p. 255.

¹⁵⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall; Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984); J. O. Prestwich, 'Orderic Vitalis (1075-c. 1142), Benedictine Monk and Historian', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004; updated 28 September 2006), via Oxford DNB [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20812>>, (accessed 17 February 2023) [unpaginated].

¹⁵⁵ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall.

¹⁵⁶ See: Elisabeth Van Houts, 'Suger, Orderic Vitalis, and the Vexin: Some Observations on Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 2013', in: *Political Ritual and Practice in Capetian France: Studies in Honour of Elizabeth A. R. Brown*, ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 55-76.

¹⁵⁷ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 5, pp. 10-11: 'tabidus in adulterii stercore flebiliter computruit', and cf. vol. 4, pp. 260-5.

¹⁵⁸ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 264-5.

¹⁵⁹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5.

rumour than Suger, as is evidenced for example by his claim that Bertrada tried more than once to have Louis poisoned, about which Suger, despite his obvious disdain for Bertrada, has nothing to say.¹⁶⁰ Overall, Orderic seems to have blamed Philip for not maintaining peace in his lands, and accuses him of weakening the French monarchy.¹⁶¹ But we must be careful about placing too much faith in his words; he was writing at a distance, and was no French court insider.

William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-1142 or later), one of the most prominent writers of the Middle Ages, was a monk at Malmesbury in southern England, but may have known Orderic.¹⁶² His *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (*Deeds of the English Kings*) is a chronicle of England from the fifth to the mid-twelfth century.¹⁶³ Unlike Orderic, William was only a child during Philip's reign, but his presentation of it is strikingly similar to that of his Norman counterpart. His portrayal of Philip is mocking and disdainful. He accuses him of being gluttonous and fickle, and we see again the implication that his lust for Bertrada drove him into a state of near uselessness.¹⁶⁴ Philip's obesity is used to poke fun at the hypocrisy of the Capetian monarch, with William claiming that Philip divorced Bertha on account of her own corpulence.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, when Philip dared to mock William the Conqueror's weight, Malmesbury has the latter produce the appropriate retort that: 'When I go to mass after my lying in, I will offer a hundred thousand candles on his behalf'.¹⁶⁶ It must be remembered that for an Anglo-Norman audience, looking back on Philip's reign in the knowledge that the arch-rival of their time, Philip's son Louis VI, was also succumbing to obesity, this presentation of Philip fulfilled a helpful propagandistic purpose.¹⁶⁷ Philip probably was obese, but it suited William to emphasise this and exploit it to illustrate his sinfulness more than it did for him to highlight

¹⁶⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 50-5, and cf. vol. 4, pp. xxiv-xxv.

¹⁶¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 256-7, vol. 6, pp. 156-7. Cf. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic*, pp. 118, 136.

¹⁶² Chibnall, *The World of Orderic*, pp. 89-90; R. M. Thomson, 'Malmesbury, William of (b. c. 1090, d. in or after 1142), Historian, Man of Letters, and Benedictine Monk', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), via Oxford DNB [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29461>>, (accessed 24 July 2023) [unpaginated].

¹⁶³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* | *The History of the English Kings*, ed. and English trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-9).

¹⁶⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 438-9, 510-11, 548-9, 730-3.

¹⁶⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 474-5.

¹⁶⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 510-11: 'Cum ad missam post partum iero, centum millam candelas ei libabo'; cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 283-4 and n. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Amyot, 'Philip I', pp. 48-51; Bournzael, *Louis VI*, pp. 40-1. For Louis' obesity, see: Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet pp. 270-1, trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 152; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 732-3.

any more positive traits which he may have possessed, especially once his narrative turned to the very public controversy of the marriage issue.

The *Historia Anglorum* (*History of the English*), begun in the 1120s by Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon (c. 1088-c. 1157), says very little about Philip, being less concerned with events in France than Orderic or William of Malmesbury were.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, what little Henry does say about Philip shares similarities with their works. Though with less mocking vitriol than William, Henry bands together Philip and Louis in being overcome by their obesity. He asks: 'Was not Philip often defeated by his own men? And was he not often put to flight by the vilest of people?'¹⁶⁹ In concert with William of Malmesbury, Henry claims that Philip became a monk at the end of his life.¹⁷⁰ Overall, it is the image of an unremarkable man with a lack of self-restraint which Henry constructs of Philip.

The works of Orderic, William, and Henry all possess a scope far greater than the French house histories covered earlier, meaning that despite the distance from which they are reporting, they remain highly valuable for our understanding of Philip. The similarities between them, and with other writers such as Suger, indicate that, whatever connections may or may not have been present between them, by the early-to-mid twelfth century, a broadly consistent and mostly negative historical narrative had been constructed around Philip, largely reliant upon the controversies of his later reign.

Works of comparable scope deriving from France itself are quite rare in this period, but a couple are worth highlighting here. Firstly, there is the *Chronicle* of Hugh, a monk of Flavigny in the diocese of Autun, whose narrative sometimes brought him to comment on matters which touched Philip.¹⁷¹ As will be seen later on, the ties of this diocese to the monarchy were not strong during Philip's reign, but Flavigny itself is known to have received

¹⁶⁸ Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* | *The History of the English People*, ed. and English trans. by Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996); D. E. Greenway, 'Henry [Henry of Huntingdon] (c. 1088-c. 1157), Historian and Poet', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004; updated 8 September 2022), via Oxford DNB [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12970>>, (accessed 24 July 2023) [unpaginated].

¹⁶⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenway, pp. 606-7: 'Nonne Philippus a suis sepe uictus est? Et a personia uilissimis sepe fugatus est?'

¹⁷⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenway, pp. 480-1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, 732-3. See below, pp. 262-3.

¹⁷¹ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 8 (Hannover, 1848), pp. 280-503.

an act from him.¹⁷² Hugh was highly critical of the king's marriage to Bertrada, reproaching the connivance of certain bishops who were willing to condone it.¹⁷³

From his monastery on the banks of the Loire near Orléans, the monk Hugh of Fleury composed a number of works, including the *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus*, a fairly short history of France which ends with Philip's death in 1108.¹⁷⁴ It was dedicated to Matilda, the daughter of Henry I of England, who was empress of Germany as wife to Henry V at the time of its completion.¹⁷⁵ The part of the work which covers Philip's reign is a chronological procession of events lacking in great detail but not devoid of comment. Its assessment of Philip, though brief and arguably largely formulaic, is amongst the most positive, describing him as 'a wise and gentle man'.¹⁷⁶ The close ties between Philip and Fleury – including his burial there – add an extra element of interest to Hugh's work. Unlike Suger and Orderic, Hugh does not highlight the choice of burial site as remarkable, even though this might have been expected given that it was his own house. However, this lack of embellishment is in keeping with the tone of the work as a whole.

Narrative Sources: Deeds

The term 'deeds' (*gesta*) can encompass a variety of different medieval narrative types, including so-called *gesta principum* such as the above-mentioned *Gesta regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, which focused on the history of a particular family or office.¹⁷⁷ Other works were oriented around the *gesta* of bishops and abbots, with certain dioceses and religious houses producing works which recounted the deeds of their leaders in a chronological procession.¹⁷⁸ Among the most useful of these narratives for our purposes is the *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, which was written by various hands, with the sections on those bishops of Philip's reign likely composed not too long after their respective

¹⁷² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 112 (pp. 283-5). See below, pp. 84-5.

¹⁷³ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Pertz, pp. 492-4; French trans. in: RHF, vol. 16, pp. xliv-xlv xlvi, lxxv, lxxvii-lxxviii, lxxxiv-lxxxvii; see below, pp. 215-49.

¹⁷⁴ Hugh of Fleury, *Liber*, ed. Waitz; Molinier, *Sources*, no. 2191 (pp. 308-9); Julian Führer, 'Hugues de Fleury: L'histoire et la typologie', in: *La typologie biblique comme forme de pensée dans l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Marek Thue Kretschmer (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 97-118; Alexandre Vidier, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire et les miracles de saint Benoit*, posthumous work ed. by the monks of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Paris, 1965), pp. 76-81, 100, 111-12, 213-14.

¹⁷⁵ Hugh of Fleury, *Liber*, ed. Waitz, pp. 376-7.

¹⁷⁶ Hugh of Fleury, *Liber*, ed. Waitz, p. 395: 'vir mitis et sapiens'.

¹⁷⁷ On *gesta principum*, see: Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, esp. pp. 20-4, 33-42.

¹⁷⁸ Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981).

incumbencies.¹⁷⁹ Philip could exert influence over the episcopal elections here, so the detail offered in the *Deeds* can be very helpful in unpacking how this worked.¹⁸⁰

Aside from works which recounted the various occupants of a lay or ecclesiastical position over an extended period of time, there were also those which focused on one individual, though outside of hagiography these were relatively rare. The *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers is one such example, recounting the life of William the Conqueror.¹⁸¹ No such work exists for the French kings Hugh Capet, Henry I or Philip I, or for that matter the English kings William II or Henry I. Philip's grandfather, Robert II, was the subject of a biographical treatment by the monk, Helgaud of Fleury, in a work which exalts the king's virtues and borders on the hagiographical.¹⁸² However, we must not fall into the trap of assuming that, just because we do not possess a biographical work of a particular figure, nobody thought that they were worthy of being written about.¹⁸³ Even ignoring the potential for material to be lost over the centuries, we must recognise that to write specifically about someone else could involve specific motivations or connections.¹⁸⁴ For example, William of Poitiers was a chaplain to the Conqueror, and Helgaud was a contemporary of Robert whose work highlighted, among other things, the latter's connections to Fleury.¹⁸⁵

The personal connection was very important for Suger's life of Louis VI, which we have already had cause to mention several times. Suger may have known Louis in some capacity from a young age, the young prince having been educated at Saint-Denis.¹⁸⁶ When Suger himself became abbot in 1122, he soon became a key counsellor of the king, whose entire

¹⁷⁹ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. and French trans. by Michel Sot et al., as: *Les gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, 3 vols (Paris, 2002-9).

¹⁸⁰ See below, pp. 65-6, 120, 135-7.

¹⁸¹ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and English trans. by R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1998).

¹⁸² Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert the Pious*, ed. and French trans. by Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, as: *Vie de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1965).

¹⁸³ Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 124-5.

¹⁸⁴ See, for example: David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, 'Introduction', in: *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 1-13; Jay Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages', in: *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (London, 2005), pp. 22-41.

¹⁸⁵ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 9-50; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, pp. 78-9, 184-5, 258-61; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, pp. xv-xix, xxx-xxxi; David Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of his Biography', in: *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 129-41.

¹⁸⁶ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 33-5; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 78-9.

reign he lived through.¹⁸⁷ The *Life* was written to emphasise Louis' ties to Saint-Denis and illustrate the royal role as protector of the Church, which Louis began fulfilling even prior to becoming king in his actions against the belligerent lords of the Paris region and beyond.¹⁸⁸ Louis, the active king-in-waiting of Suger's own youth, was the hero of this writer's story, with Philip, the aged king whose affair with Bertrada began when Suger was still a child, acting as a helpful and appropriate contrast.¹⁸⁹ By exalting Louis' virtues whilst tutting reproachfully at Philip's debilitating moral infirmity, brought on by the temptress Bertrada whose children posed a threat to Louis' undoubted rights, Suger had the narrative hooks on which to construct his vision of good kingship. It was one which found in Philip's second marriage the helpful impetus for explaining Louis' rise to be an altogether greater king than what had come before.

Suger does not so much make Philip a villain; rather he is the necessary mediocrity to bring the hero Louis into greater focus.¹⁹⁰ Significantly, Suger does not present Philip as completely inept or unremorseful for his sins. Louis may have captured Montlhéry, but it was Philip who Suger has warn his son of the danger posed by this settlement.¹⁹¹ Philip's decision to be buried away from Saint-Denis was not used to show him as forgetful of his royal bond to this abbey, but rather as a moment of epiphany where he recognised the sins of his life and decided that he was unworthy.¹⁹² Whether Philip ever expressed such sentiments is beside the point; they suited Suger's narrative, but Philip could have been made to seem a lot worse than he was. Indeed, Suger saw the value of emphasising the worst parts of Philip's image in order to make Louis appear better. Because Philip had no major literary defender of his own, and because Suger's renown and influence were so high, this has had a devastating and disproportionate effect on Philip's subsequent reputation, as seen above.

These considerations about Suger's work only further highlight that as useful as all of the historical narratives outlined above are, they are a step removed from Philip's own voice. The Capetians did not write autobiographies of themselves; had they done so, authorial bias

¹⁸⁷ Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 108-41. For a recent assessment of Suger, see: Rolf Große, 'Suger: An Abbot's Fame', English trans. (from the original German) by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, in: *Political Ritual and Practice in Capetian France: Studies in Honour of Elizabeth A. R. Brown*, ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 23-54.

¹⁸⁸ Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, ed. Waquet, pp. 14-43, 68-81, trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 24-43, 55-60; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 36-42.

¹⁸⁹ For Suger's date of birth, see: Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 10-11; p. 61, note a; Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 16-17, 52-3; Barthélemy, *La France*, pp. 263-5.

¹⁹¹ Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, ed. Waquet, pp. 36-9, trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 40.

¹⁹² Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 16-17; see below, pp. 259-64.

would have naturally still been an issue, but we would undoubtedly possess greater insight into the character of the kings. Unfortunately, we have nothing of the sort. One of the key figures of Philip's story, Fulk IV of Anjou, did leave us something of an autobiographical record in the shape of his *History of the Angevins*.¹⁹³ Unfortunately this only exists in fragmentary form, but it is an important source nonetheless, especially as it comes from a lay voice. As for clerical autobiography, we must mention Guibert of Nogent, a monk and abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy who died no later than 1129 and whose works included the *Monodiae*, or *Memoirs*, an introspective text where Guibert traces his life, illuminating his feelings and ruminating on his faults – and those of others – against the social background in which he lived.¹⁹⁴ He provides a few interesting comments on Philip's reign, for example the praise he gives to Ralph of Crépy, which is perhaps surprising from a moralist such as Guibert given the controversy Ralph attracted for his marital affairs.¹⁹⁵ He is also a key source for Philip's influence in the bishopric of Laon.¹⁹⁶

Letters: Ecclesiastical

Philip I lived at a time in which letter writing among ecclesiastics in northern France was enjoying something of a resurgence.¹⁹⁷ As will be seen below, a number of prominent figures who either knew or had cause to think about Philip have left behind some of their written correspondence, which might survive within chronicle narratives or as collections of letters. These collections are an invaluable resource for Philip's reign, but must be handled with care. What we see from the late tenth century is not a sudden rediscovery of the potential to write letters, but rather a renewed appreciation for letter writing as a literary genre worthy of preservation and with the potential to instruct future generations. As Constable says, letters' 'worth as historical sources must always be evaluated in the light of their literary character'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ 'Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis', in: *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, publ. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris, 1913), pp. LXXXIX-XC, 232-8; Jane Martindale, 'Secular Propaganda and Aristocratic Values: The Autobiographies of Count Fulk le Réchin of Anjou and Count William of Poitou, Duke of Aquitaine', in: *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 143-59; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 83-97.

¹⁹⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. and French trans. by Edmond-René Labande, as: *Autobiographie* (Paris, 1981); English trans. by Joseph McAlhany and Rubenstein, in: *Monodies and On the Relics of Saints: The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 2011), pp. 3-184.

¹⁹⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 58-63; trans. McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 25-6.

¹⁹⁶ See below, pp. 146, 155.

¹⁹⁷ Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections* (1976; repr. Milton Keynes: Lighting Source UK Ltd, s.d.), pp. 31-8.

¹⁹⁸ Constable, *Letters*, pp. 11-12.

A letter collection might be collated by the writer themselves, or by those around them. The process of writing, collating and preserving letters created the strong temptation to frame one's words (or, if a third party was collating, to edit the words of another) in order to create a better literary product.¹⁹⁹ Letters were not, then, merely throwaway documents of which happenstance has provided us with some survivals. When these works have come down to us, it is always pertinent to ask why, in what form and, moreover, what we might be missing. Some letters we have may not have actually been sent, though it can be extremely difficult to prove this. Furthermore, oral communication functioned alongside what was written, so we should not assume that a letter always contains all the details which were conveyed.²⁰⁰ Sometimes the purported author of the letter may actually have relied on another scribe to put his broad feelings into the letter format. Indeed, Constable draws attention to a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, where Bernard apologises for his scribes apparently having misunderstood the meaning which he intended to be communicated by his letter.²⁰¹

However, even accounting for the fact that much of the epistolary material of this period has been lost without a trace, and that what remains to us may be confectioned to some degree, letters are still a very useful source. Arguably, they can still offer a good vehicle for personal expression. Furthermore, the content within letters had to relate to reality on at least some level. Often, they contain details which are so mundane or seemingly unnecessary that they are unlikely to be completely contrived. Overall, ecclesiastical letters may often be literary constructions, but that does not make them fiction.

The most crucial letter collection contemporaneous with Philip's reign is that of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, which contains around 300 pieces.²⁰² Ivo is one of the figures who will loom largest over this thesis, as he did over Philip's later life, and more will be said of his career in later chapters. The collection spans Ivo's entire career as bishop, and there are a wide

¹⁹⁹ On the issues of dealing with letters, see: Constable, *Letters*, pp. 42-62.

²⁰⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, trans. by H. E. J. Cowdrey, p. xvi; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, esp. p. 265; Constable, *Letters*, p. 48.

²⁰¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1977), no. 387 (pp. 385-6); English trans. by Bruno Scott James, as: *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux* (1953; edn Kalamazoo, MI, 1998), no. 308 (pp. 378-9); Constable, *Letters*, p. 44.

²⁰² This thesis has used the edition and French translation of Ivo's letters by Geneviève Giordanengo: *Lettres d'Yves de Chartres*, online TELMA (IRHT) edn (Orléans, 2017, with later updates), available at: <<http://telma-chartres.irht.cnrs.fr/yves-de-chartres>>, (accessed 5 February 2025) [unpaginated]. Occasional reference is also made to the edition and French translation of Ivo's early letters by Jean Leclercq: *Yves de Chartres, Correspondance*, vol. 1, (1090-1098) [no further volumes published] (Paris, 1949).

variety of recipients, both secular and ecclesiastic, ranging from popes (Urban II and Paschal II) to the patriarch of Jerusalem, unidentified monks, English bishops, secular magnates and royalty.

The exact circumstances in which Ivo produced his letters are impossible to tell.²⁰³ We are surely only left with a fraction of his correspondence. The nature of the collection as it now stands has led, in Rolker's words, to 'a constructed image of Ivo', with matters presented from his standpoint.²⁰⁴ This is important to bear in mind whenever we are reliant on this source, which is quite often. The letters form a valuable record of certain issues, but perhaps more importantly they served as a reference bank of canonical quotations and arguments to supplement Ivo's positions and discussions. Rolker refers to 'the medieval image of Ivo as a fount of canonical wisdom' and points to evidence that Ivo knew that his correspondence was circulating during his own lifetime.²⁰⁵ This might provoke some doubt as to the authenticity of the extant material – is it truly what Ivo wrote, or is it a distorted concoction produced after the event? The truth is we will never know for sure, but there is no good reason to doubt Ivo's authorship, even if we allow for some later tweaks. In numerous letters, Ivo notes his capacity to expound upon points if so required. In a letter to the abbot of Saint-Wandrille, he apologises for giving a short reply to the abbot's question concerning the repositioning of altars.²⁰⁶ One wonders if this is because he would normally spend time accumulating quotations and precedents to back up his points, something which he felt he did not have time to do here. That the letter was still preserved in this form is reassuring of its authenticity. In a later letter to the abbot of Fécamp, Ivo not only mentions his earlier letter to Saint-Wandrille, but gives a lengthy quote from it, suggesting he kept records of his writings at Chartres.²⁰⁷

The other major letter collection of a northern French ecclesiastic which is particularly useful for the subject of this thesis is that of Lambert, bishop of Arras (1093-1115), whose letters are contained as part of a collection which can conveniently be called the *Codex*

²⁰³ For what follows, see: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Leclercq, pp. XIX-XXXVI; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, introduction; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 606-12; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Ivo von Chartres und die Lösung des Investiturproblems', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 15 (1959), 393-440, at pp. 393-4; J. Leclercq, 'La collection des lettres d'Yves de Chartres', *Revue Bénédictine*, 56 (1945-6; publ. 1947), 108-25; Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (2010; pbk edn Cambridge and New York, 2013), pp. 5-6, 127-30; Christof Rolker, 'Manuscripts of Ivo's Correspondence', via Ivo of Chartres [website], <<https://ivo-of-chartres.github.io/letters/webmanuscripts.pdf>> (23 September 2015; revision stamp: 898fb) (accessed 18 September 2024); Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 14-15.

²⁰⁴ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 5-6.

²⁰⁵ Quote in: Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 5.

²⁰⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 72.

²⁰⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 80.

Lamberti and which includes several sections: a narrative on the secession of the diocese of Arras from Cambrai; a record of councils and privileges related in some way to Lambert; materials pertaining to King Philip's absolution for his second marriage; a record of a dispute between Arras and Saint-Martin at Tournai; a section on parish rights; and further letters to and from Lambert, or relating to matters which concerned him.²⁰⁸ The first section is very useful for piecing together the events around Urban II's establishment of the independent diocese of Arras, of which Lambert was the first bishop.²⁰⁹ The section on the absolution is also particularly helpful for understanding the closing stages of Philip's marriage controversy, and brings out Lambert's prominent role in this.²¹⁰

The *Codex* is obviously a heavily concocted document. The exact circumstances in which it was compiled are not completely clear, but as its editor, Giordanengo, has noted, a desire to illustrate Lambert's suitability and significance as a bishop can be detected, and it is very possible that Lambert himself played an important role in organising at least some parts of the work.²¹¹ We must therefore be mindful of the distortions which these factors may have created, especially in the absence of corroborating material.

Ivo and Lambert were both active in the later years of Philip's reign, and it cannot be stressed enough how reliant we are on these sets of correspondence, especially Ivo's, for Philip's activity during this time. From around the same time, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109) and previously abbot of Le Bec of Normandy, has also left us an enormous epistolary collection, which occasionally offers insight into affairs which touched Philip, such as electoral politics at Beauvais.²¹² It is a shame that we do not have such epistolary collections as these for the earlier decades of the reign. Nevertheless, smaller collections and survivals do exist. Particularly noteworthy are a few surviving letters of Gervase and Manasses I, both archbishops of Reims.²¹³ Regrettably, only a handful of the

²⁰⁸ *Codex Lambertii*, ed. and French trans. by Claire Giordanengo, as: *Le Registre de Lambert Évêque d'Arras (1093-1115)*, ed. and French trans. Claire Giordanengo (Paris, 2007).

²⁰⁹ See below, pp. 205-7.

²¹⁰ See below, pp. 215-49.

²¹¹ *Codex Lambertii*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 13-17.

²¹² Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, in: *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Opera Omnia*, 6 vols (edn Edinburgh, 1946-61), vols 3-5; English trans. by Walter Fröhlich, as: *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, 3 vols (Kalamazoo, MI, 1990-4); ed. and English trans. by Samu Niskanen, as: *Epistolae Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi | Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. 1: *The Bec Letters* (Oxford, 2019).

²¹³ On these figures, see below, pp. 66-8. For Gervase, the key letters for the purposes of this thesis are: Gervase, Archbishop of Reims, *Letters*, ed. as: 'Gervasii Remorum Archiepiscopi, Epistolæ', in: *RHF*, vol. 11, pp. 498-9. For Manasses' letters: *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Carl Erdmann, in: *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs*

letters of Hugh, abbot of Cluny, have survived, though one of these is to Philip himself, written towards the very end of the reign.²¹⁴

Finally, a sizeable body of letters has been left to us by Hugh of Die, a fervent reformist who served as a papal legate for much of Philip's reign and, from 1082/3, as archbishop of Lyon.²¹⁵ He will make many appearances in the subject matter below, and a total of 32 of his letters have survived, deriving from various sources.²¹⁶ The recipients are quite diverse, though most of the letters are addressed either to popes or senior French ecclesiastics, including Ivo of Chartres. Unfortunately, there are no extant letters from Hugh directly to Philip.

Letters: Papal

In addition to those letters outlined above, we also have a vast body of papal correspondence from this period, which often sheds valuable light on Philip and his affairs. Philip's reign coincided with six pontificates: Nicholas II (1059-1061); Alexander II (1061-1073); Gregory VII (1073-1085); Victor III (1086-1087); Urban II (1088-1099); and Paschal II (1099-1118).²¹⁷ There were also a number of antipopes – most notably Clement III (Wibert of Ravenna) – set up in opposition to these figures, but Philip did not, so far as we know, have any direct interaction with them.²¹⁸ All of the six popes mentioned above have left us with correspondence relevant to France, but a formal register of letters has only survived for one of them, Gregory VII.²¹⁹ Gregory's *Register* consists of nine books, the first eight of which are ordered sequentially by pontifical year, with Book 9 being far less ordered.²²⁰ It survives as *Registrum Vaticanum 2* of the Vatican Archives, though there is also a later manuscript.²²¹ Some further letters of

IV., ed. Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, as: *MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 5 (Weimar, 1950), pp. 1-187, no. 107 (pp. 178-82); Manasses I, Archbishop of Reims, to Pope Gregory VII, and Manasses I, Archbishop of Reims, to Hugh of Die, both ed. in: *RHF*, vol. 14, new edn, pp. 611-12, 781-6 respectively.

²¹⁴ Hugh of Cluny, *Letters*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey, in: *Two Studies in Cluniac History 1049-1126* (Rome, 1978), 'Memorials of Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1049-1109)', pp. 11-175, at pp. 141-56 (pp. 153-5 for the letter to Philip (= 'Chartes originales antérieures à 1121', ed. Giraud et al., no. 1952)). See below, pp. 262-3.

²¹⁵ Wilhelm Lühe, *Hugo von Die und Lyon: Legat von Gallien* (Breslau, 1898); Rennie, *Law and Practice*, passim.

²¹⁶ Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 18-20, and the calendar of Hugh's letters at pp. 211-17, which does not however include the letter in: 'Aus der Werkstatt der Magdeburger Centuriatoren. Unedierte Briefe der Salier- und Stauferzeit', in: Martina Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik: Matthias Flacius Illyricus als Erforscher des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 257-309, at no. 9 (pp. 293-4).

²¹⁷ See above, p. 22, n. 94.

²¹⁸ On Philip and schism, see below, pp. 98, 239-40.

²¹⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar; English trans. by Cowdrey.

²²⁰ Still useful is the discussion in: Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, pp. 1-31.

²²¹ See also the introduction to: Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Cowdrey, pp. xi-xvii, esp. p. xi.

Gregory's, known as the *Epistolae vagantes*, survive outside of the *Register*, thus proving that it is not a complete account of his correspondence.²²²

Our record of the epistolary exchanges between Philip and the popes is one-sided, with only one letter from Philip to a pope surviving.²²³ Although the papal letters may contain hints about what Philip communicated, we are left to infer a great deal. This makes it harder to draw conclusions about how much reverence Philip showed to the papacy and its objectives, and can obscure what arguments he may have put forward in disputes. Furthermore, lost material means that certain issues can be obscured or magnified depending on how much has survived about them. This in turn can distort our perception of how important they were to contemporaries. For example, the election of Lambert as bishop of Thérouanne is mentioned in multiple letters of Gregory VII.²²⁴ Although through these letters we know that it was a shocking and violent affair which tested to the limit Gregory's relationship with Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders, it was only one election and it is easy for the historian to get drawn into flashpoints like this at the expense of the wider picture which might not be so amply sampled in the extant material.

Other Material

The primary source categories reviewed above form the key basis for this study, but they are not the only types of sources which can be of use. For example, works of hagiography are sometimes illuminating on Philip's attitudes, even if he was not their prime focus.²²⁵ This period was also important in the development of canon law through works such as the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms and the canonical collections of Ivo of Chartres.²²⁶

We can also extrapolate ideas about rulership from coronation *ordines*, which are documents recording the process of a royal inauguration. Practices changed over the course

²²² Gregory VII (Pope), *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. and English trans. by H. E. J. Cowdrey, as: *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford, 1972).

²²³ See above, p. 29.

²²⁴ See below, pp. 129-31.

²²⁵ For example: *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 1-202; *Life of Simon of Crépy*, ed. PL; *Lives of Walter of Pontoise*, ed. in: *AA SS, Aprilis*, vol. 1, pp. 753-68.

²²⁶ Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, ed. as: Burchardus Vormatiensis Ecclesiae Episcopus, 'Decretorum libri viginti', in: *PL*, vol. 140, cols 537-1058; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, ed. in: *PL*, vol. 161 (Paris, 1853), cols 47-1036; Greta Austin, 'Canon Law in the Long Tenth Century, 900-1050', and Christof Rolker, 'The Age of Reforms: Canon Law in the Century before Gratian', in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 46-61, 62-78 respectively; Jacques Péricard, 'Église, droit et société (X^e-XIII^e siècle)', in: *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)*, ed. Christine Bousquet-Labouérie and Patrick Henriët (Paris, 2023), pp. 147-56; Rolker, *Canon Law*, passim.

of the Middle Ages, a process which can be tracked by examining and comparing surviving *ordines*.²²⁷ For Philip I, we are fortunate to have an account which is unusual not only in that it specifically relates to *his* coronation (generally, *ordines* are not tied to any one monarch) but that it has a narrative structure that is untypical of such documents. As its editor, Richard Jackson, has noted, it is better thought of as a ‘memorandum’ than an *ordo*.²²⁸ The text outlines how Henry I had his son Philip consecrated as king at Reims in May 1059. It is a short account, but contains valuable information, for example on the ecclesiastical and lay attendees at the ceremony. For the purposes of this thesis, it is worth highlighting especially that young Philip made a vow before the assembled prelates, which contained the commitment to preserve the laws and privileges of the Church. Thus, before he was sole king and whilst still a child, Philip recognised his duty to the religious powers of his realm. We may reflect, over the course of this thesis, on to what degree, and with what caveats, he was able to make good on this duty.

This thesis primarily draws on written sources over material culture. Depictions of Philip I are rare, but it is important to highlight an exception found in a remarkable manuscript deriving from the Parisian abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, now preserved in the British Library.²²⁹ The folios of this manuscript contain several depictions of Philip’s father, Henry I, who founded the house, as well as one of Philip himself, shown as a bearded man sitting wearing a crown beside a representation of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, over a line-up of prelates and lay magnates, the former in a row above the latter, with the figures shown corresponding to those who subscribed to Philip’s 1067 inauguration act for the house, which is printed in the manuscript. Not only is this a nice visual representation of a royal act, but it also makes a statement as to Philip’s fundamental importance to the abbey and encapsulates the interplay of relationships between religious houses, the king, local and more distant prelates, and lay potentates. It ties in well to the coronation memorandum just mentioned, as another

²²⁷ *Ordines*, ed. Jackson; Johanna Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and Female Accession Rituals in England, France and the Empire* (2019; pbk edn, Woodbridge, 2021).

²²⁸ *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, pp. 217-39; Amyot, ‘Philip’, pp. 24-33; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 2-7.

²²⁹ British Library Add MS 11662, ‘A Versified Chronicle from the Priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Imperfect), followed by a Modern Copy of the Cartulary’, digitised online via British Library [website], <iif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iif/ark:/81055/vdc_100055965720.0x000001>, (accessed 6 February 2025). For an edition of the text, see: *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs monastère parisien*, ed. J. Depoin, vol. 1 (Ligugé and Paris, 1912), pp. 13-23. See also: Maurice Prou, ‘Dessins du XI^e siècle et Peintures du XIII^e siècle’, *Revue de l’Art chrétien*, 33 (1890), 122-8.

illustration of the role of the monarch as a guarantor of the prosperity of the Church. The context to this manuscript will be explored further below.²³⁰

Due to the large amount of material available in printed works, coupled with the fact that a significant proportion of this thesis was undertaken during the COVID pandemic, unpublished material has not been consulted for the purposes of this work, though this is an area which could potentially provide further revelations in future.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first looks at the ecclesiastical figures which crossed Philip's path in the context of his royal court and entourage, as well as more widely in the context of the dioceses of France. It ends by branching out further to survey Philip's relations with the popes and their legates. The second chapter is focused on Philip's approach to episcopal and abbatial elections, evaluating how this changed over the reign as he became more conscious of evolving reformist ideas. The third chapter considers Philip in the wider context of ecclesiastical business. It is devoted primarily to his patronage and what it reveals about his attitudes, ending by discussing a series of prominent ecclesiastical matters which involved his realm and can offer further insight into his approach to reform. Finally, the fourth chapter homes in on a few crucial matters pertaining to that later part of the reign which has been so influential in the historiography, considering Philip's marriage to Bertrada of Montfort, his approach to the advent of crusading, and his preparations for his own death and burial.

Overall, this thesis aims to provide a more nuanced appreciation of Philip I's religious attitudes and his approach to ecclesiastical reform. It offers the first detailed investigation into this topic from Philip's own perspective since Fliche's biography more than a century ago. By tapping into the historiography which has developed since then, and by re-examining the crucial primary source material, it will be argued that Philip's opposition to reform has been overstated and that he was flexible – as Große especially recognised – in his approach, adeptly changing with the times whilst not compromising his own position. Moreover, he showed an active interest in a variety of ecclesiastical matters, displaying a care and concern for the Church in his realm which belies the notion that his approach was purely dominated by cynicism or greed. For the entirety of his reign – including the later years when Louis became

²³⁰ See below, pp. 189-92.

a clear, but not overbearing, presence – he negotiated these matters with skill and purpose, finding ways to manage and account for the new demands of reform, not simply opposing it, but picking his battles in order to control its emergence as best he could.

Chapter 1

Framing Reform: Royal and Ecclesiastical Power in the France of Philip I

Before we can begin to interrogate the ways in which Philip reacted to the manifestations of Church reform during his reign, it is important to consider the kind of politico-religious environment in which he operated. Royal and ecclesiastical power functioned side-by-side in eleventh-century France, but as we have already seen, the reform movement placed this relationship under strain, posing awkward questions which threatened to undermine its very foundations. Nevertheless, the connection between the king and his prelates was multiform and durable, even though Philip's reign saw outside influence from the popes and their legates become a much more visible feature of ecclesiastical life in France. Thus, this chapter will consider Philip's place vis-à-vis his episcopate, beginning by looking at his court and entourage, before branching out to consider the diocesan structure of his realm, finally finishing with an examination of how he responded to the challenges of legatine and papal presence in France. It will be argued that, despite changes which in part responded to the progress of reform, throughout the reign Philip maintained strong personal links to key bishoprics and his prelates, bolstered by a respect for his royal dignity. This in turn helped him to frame his attitude towards reform.

Philip and his Entourage

The early Capetians were itinerant monarchs. Paris, though arguably the most important royal city, was not yet firmly established as the capital of the realm, so the kings spent their reigns traversing their lands, staying in various settlements and royal residences.¹ Attached to the roaming royal court would have been a household of officers and servants,

¹ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Quand et comment Paris devint capitale', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 105, year 1078 (Paris, 1979), 17-46, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 1 [pagination retained]; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 94-6; Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*; Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Résidences et palais des premiers Capétiens en Ile-de-France', in: *Vincennes aux origines de l'état modern: Actes du colloque scientifique sur Les Capétiens et Vincennes au Moyen Age, organisé par Jean Chapelot et Elisabeth Lalou à Vincennes les 8, 9 et 10 juin 1994* (Paris, 1996), pp. 123-35; Andreas Sohn, *Von der Residenz zur Hauptstadt: Paris im hohen Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2012); Annie Renoux, 'Palais capétiens et normands à la fin du X^e siècle et au début du XI^e siècle', in: *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil: Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987. La France de l'an Mil. Paris – Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 179-91.

though exactly how this functioned in Philip's time is often unclear.² The royal *acta* are generally our best indicator of which people were in attendance around Philip at any given time, though a look at those who subscribed reveals how figures came and went, balancing their own priorities with any business which brought them to the royal court.³ Furthermore, as noted in the introduction above, we can only rely on lists of subscribers up to a point.⁴

Nevertheless, bishops appear frequently as subscribers to Philip's *acta*. Though they moved in and out of the royal entourage, they were an integral part of it. They needed Philip to add weight to their own documents and donations, and to listen to their pleas.⁵ It is important to remember that several French bishops at this time, such as those at Beauvais, held comital powers in addition to their episcopal prerogatives.⁶ Furthermore, bishops could offer counsel to the king, sometimes at the behest of a third party such as the pope.⁷ It seems that they were more likely to be sought to add their name to royal charters than abbots, who very rarely appear in Philip's *acta*. However, this need not mean that abbots were a rarity at the royal court. An act of 1085 concerns a council held at Compiègne over a dispute between the canons of Saint-Corneille there and the bishop of Soissons, with the text preserving a list of attendees which includes 11 bishops and no less than 20 abbots.⁸ Even though the impressive collection of prelates had assembled to discuss a Church matter, they had done so in the king's presence. Philip asserted the judgement through his act, and this is a good illustration of how royal and ecclesiastical business could overlap.

Our ability to track the presence of prelates at the royal court is reduced in the later decades of Philip's reign by what appears to be significant change of diplomatic practice. As outlined by Lemarignier, from c. 1077 onwards, subscriptions of prelates in Philip's charters become much scarcer, whilst at the same time subscriptions by the key royal officers – the

² Bournazel, *Le gouvernement*; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 93-122; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, esp. pp. 151-3. Cf. Hincmar of Reims, *On the Governance of the Palace*, ed. and German trans. by Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, as: Hinkmar von Reims, *De ordine palatii*, in: *MGH, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 3 (Hannover, 1980); English trans. by David Herlihy, in: *The History of Feudalism*, ed. David Herlihy (New York, Evanston, and London, 1970), pp. 208-27; *Constitutio Domus Regis | Disposition of the King's Household*, ed. and English trans. by S. D. Church (Oxford, 2007), pp. xxxviii-lxvii, 195-215.

³ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, tables 2d, 3.

⁴ See above, p. 31.

⁵ See below, c. 3.

⁶ Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes: Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, X^e - début XIII^e siècle)* (Geneva, 1987), pp. 1-66 for various examples.

⁷ For example, see below, pp. 106-7.

⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 117 (pp. 297-300).

chamberlain, seneschal, constable, and butler – become more visible.⁹ Lemarignier suggested that the ethos of Gregorian reform, seeking to separate the spheres of Church and state, may have helped to spur on the decline in episcopal subscriptions.¹⁰ However, while perhaps some bishops may have felt inclined to be less intimately involved in court affairs, it would be an extremely risky assumption to suggest that a general change occurred, especially so rapidly. Indeed, historians have come to question Lemarignier, urging a more nuanced appreciation of the *acta* and noting that episcopal subscriptions did not completely cease, with their decrease probably due more to evolving scribal norms, rather than either a snubbing of the king by the bishops or, even less likely, the inverse.¹¹ The decline in episcopal subscriptions, it has been recognised, need not mean that bishops ceased attending Philip’s court on a regular basis. Rather, what it indicates is that they were sought out less as subscribers to royal *acta*; thus, this was more of a procedural change than a dramatic re-ordering of the court. In short, though our documentary sources remain problematic and must be approached with caution, we can be reasonably confident that bishops – and probably abbots too – were frequently in attendance around Philip across the reign.

Such contact allowed for both the cultivation of relationships between Philip and his prelates and the manifestation of his religious role as king. When he was associated with the kingship in 1059, Philip swore to look after the churches under his care, ‘just as by right a king should protect any bishop or church committed to him in his realm’.¹² The royal inauguration, including the coronation and anointing with holy oil, was a ceremony replete with religious imagery and meaning and not necessarily confined to one sole event.¹³ The coronation would be recalled at solemn crown-wearings over the course of the reign, and we know that Philip

⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XLVIII-LXIV, LXVII-LXXII, CXXXVI-CL; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 112-22; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 146-57.

¹⁰ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 146-7.

¹¹ David Bates, ‘Le rôle des évêques dans l’élaboration des actes ducaux et royaux entre 1066 et 1087’, in: *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (30 septembre – 3 octobre 1993)*, ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen, 1995), pp. 103-15; Bates, ‘The Prosopographical Study’, p. 95; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement*; Olivier Guyotjeannin, ‘Les évêques dans l’entourage royal sous les premiers Capétiens’, *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l’an Mil: Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987. La France de l’an Mil. Paris – Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987*, ed. Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris, 1992), pp. 91-8; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 120-1.

¹² *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, pp. 217-39, esp. pp. 227-8: ‘sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesie sibi commissę per rectum exhibere debet’; Amyot, ‘Philip’, pp. 24-33.

¹³ See, for example: Dale, *Inauguration*.

participated in several.¹⁴ In sum, Philip, from the very start of his reign – which in his case also meant from a very young age – was committed to taking care of the Church in his realm. Of course, this did not mean that he would always do so, but the weight of this promise, which in turn fostered contact and mutual dependency between Philip and his episcopate, should not be underestimated.

In this context, it is also worth noting a comment made in Guibert of Nogent's *On the Relics of the Saints*, written during the reign of Louis VI, where after claiming that Louis frequently sought to heal people of *scrophas* through his touch, Guibert adds that: 'His [Louis'] father, Philip, used to perform this glorious miracle often, but he lost it – I don't know what faults prevented him'.¹⁵ The history of this healing practice is not completely clear, though Helgaud of Fleury alludes to royal healing during the reign of Philip's grandfather, Robert II.¹⁶ Guibert was surely being coy when he declined to name the reason for Philip's apparent loss of this power. It is hard to believe that he did not intend his readers to understand that it was the controversy of Philip's later reign, especially – as Bloch notes – his marriage to Bertrada, which robbed him of the ability.¹⁷ It may be that Guibert saw this sin as compounding another, namely that of simony, a crime of which he accuses Philip in his *Monodiae*.¹⁸

We should, however, avoid reading too much into Guibert's claim. Amidst the heightened tensions of the 1090s and early 1100s, it would be easy for the royal touch to be seen as a point of vulnerability for Philip: if he practiced it and it did not work, even once, such could be interpreted as evidence of his sinfulness. Recognising this, Philip may have shied

¹⁴ 'Annales S. Benigni Divionensis', ed. G. Waitz, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 5 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 37-50, p. 43; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 66-7, 84; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 61 (p. 162); Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 39-47; Bautier, 'Anne', p. 558; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens: recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, ann. 1987-8 (Paris, 1989), 7-56, repr. in: Bautier, *Recherches*, no. 2 [pagination retained], p. 53; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 64, 93-4; Luchaire, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 73-4.

¹⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *On the Relics of Saints*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in: Guibert de Nogent, *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat; De bucella iudae data et de veritate dominici corporis; De sanctis et eorum pignerebus* (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-175, at p. 90: 'Cuius gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater eius alacriter exerceret, nescio quibus incidentibus culpis amisit'; English trans. by Joseph McAlhany and Rubenstein, in: *Monodies and On the Relics of Saints: The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 2011), pp. 187-290, at p. 198.

¹⁶ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 126-9; Frank Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 3-27, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/569080>>, (accessed 17 July 2024), esp. pp. 14-19, 25-6; Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (1924; edn s.l.: Gallimard, 1983), pp. 29-40; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 394-6.

¹⁷ Bloch, *Les rois*, p. 31; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 395-6.

¹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 272-5, 282-3; trans. McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 108-9, 112-13. See below, pp. 146, 155.

away from making such a public test of himself.¹⁹ Nevertheless, through failing to practice it, Philip also allowed commentators like Guibert to speculate on his ability to do so. Unfortunately, we simply lack the evidence to assess how much damage this did to Philip's authority, but the fact that Guibert mentions it is perhaps indicative that it was significant, at least to some people. However, it cannot be ruled out that Guibert was simply passing on gossip which had arisen in the years following the marriage, and that in fact there was little or no change in Philip's practice of the royal touch. What seems probable, however, is that Philip did participate in this ritual for at least some of his reign, which offers another illustration of how, in his person and the places in which he and his entourage found themselves, secular and spiritual were visibly fused.

The Royal Officers

We have already encountered the royal officers in our discussion above, but what sort of people filled these court positions during Philip's reign? Was there a path from service to the king to high ecclesiastical office, or vice versa? As noted above, bishops were frequent attendants at Philip's side. But it was quite another thing to be there long-term. Whoever held these offices would have had rare and close-up access to the king.

Among the most consistent attestors to Philip's acts are the members of the royal chancery, the king's writing office. The chancery was closely linked to the royal chapel and its chaplains.²⁰ However, although in many cases we only have their names, in some instances it appears that service as a royal chaplain could lead to promotion to chancellor.²¹ At the head of the chancery was the archchancellor. Whether this was a title with any constant, practical responsibility is unlikely, but its honorific value was such that Gervase, archbishop of Reims, secured at Philip's association a commitment that he would act as archchancellor, his predecessors having regularly fulfilled this role since Carolingian times.²² This did not mean that Gervase would henceforth have a permanent place at court; this would be impractical for him and unnecessary to ensure the proper functioning of the chancery. A chancellor fulfilled the day-to-day chancery tasks, with notaries underneath him.²³ The title of *archchancellor* was

¹⁹ Cf. Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 33-6.

²⁰ Hincmar of Reims, *On the Governance*, ed. Gross and Schieffer, pp. 62-5; trans. Herlihy, p. 216; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LII-LIII; Luchaire, *Les institutions*, vol. 1, pp. 186-8.

²¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. CLIII.

²² *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, p. 232; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XLVIII-L.

²³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LXXIV-LXXIII.

for Gervase a means of stressing his Church's royal associations and boosting his own personal prestige.²⁴ Indeed, the latter may have been key, as during Philip's reign Gervase's successors at Reims do not seem to have used the title of archchancellor.²⁵ Whether this was because it was denied to them or because they declined to claim it is unclear.

Gervase of Reims is not the only bishop to head the royal chancery during Philip's reign. The title would be revived by Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, who appears as chancellor in 1073-1074/5 and 1081-1085, then as archchancellor, with chancellors working beneath him, from 1085 to 1092.²⁶ Prou suggested that Philip may have bestowed the title of archchancellor on Geoffrey to undermine his ambition to become archbishop of Reims.²⁷ As we will see, both Gervase and Geoffrey were among Philip's closest episcopal contacts, which may have also influenced the decision.²⁸ Interestingly, another bishop, Ursio of Senlis, subscribes as chancellor to an act of 1090, so whilst Geoffrey was archchancellor, but this is a one-off so he was likely just filling in for Geoffrey.²⁹ For Gervase his chancery role was in reality minimal, but for Geoffrey this was not so. Already placed in close proximity to Philip by virtue of holding the Parisian see, acquiring the title of archchancellor allowed Geoffrey to build on his prestige and highlight his privileged position. Nevertheless, a bishop having official ties to the court, even masked in an honorific light, might be seen to contrast with the spirit of ecclesiastical reform. Philip is not known to have employed any bishops in his chancery after Geoffrey's death, which can be taken perhaps as a sign of recognition of this tension. Whether the impetus came from Philip or his prelates is unclear, but given that, as noted above, bishops were called on less as subscribers anyway as the reign progressed, it may be that a chancery staffed by lesser clerks was part of this natural evolution.

Service in the royal chapel or chancery was no guaranteed stepping stone to higher ecclesiastical office.³⁰ However, and this might have been an uncomfortable truth for reformers, it could be, and there are several instances during Philip's reign to illustrate this.³¹ Gervase and Geoffrey were exceptions, having already acquired their bishoprics before assuming their chancery roles. However, Peter (chancellor 1067-1071/2), a native of Apulia,

²⁴ On Reims and royalty, see below, p. 66.

²⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. L.

²⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LVII-LIX.

²⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LVIII-LIX.

²⁸ See below, pp. 61-2, 66-7.

²⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 120 (pp. 304-6).

³⁰ Cf. Hoffmann, 'Der König', pp. 93-6.

³¹ For what follows, see: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. L-LXIV.

would in 1072 become abbot of the Parisian abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.³² Hubert (chancellor 1091-1094) is perhaps, following Prou's suggestion, to be identified with the like-named individual who went on to become bishop of Senlis in 1099.³³ Most famously of all, Stephen of Garlande was an archdeacon at Paris and a candidate (ultimately unsuccessful) for the bishopric of Beauvais.³⁴ He also served as a chaplain to Philip, and from 1106 as chancellor.³⁵ It may well be that other abbots and bishops served in the royal chancery for a time prior to their election, but that this information has been lost to us.

The chaplaincy and chancery were thus vehicles through which Philip could promote or invigorate the careers of ecclesiastics whom he was fond of or who shared his ideals. It was also an arrangement with the potential for mutual benefit, namely by helping ecclesiastics to further their own ambitions through forging links with the king and his entourage. It was a no doubt a troubling *fait accompli* for reform-minded clerics, but given that these were offices tied directly to the king, there was little they could do beyond suggest that it was improper, and there is little indication that they did even that. After all, just because they were in the royal circle and performed, or had performed, chancery functions for the king did not automatically make them royal stooges.

The other major offices of the court were the seneschal, constable, chamberlain and butler.³⁶ For their occupants during Philip's reign, in many cases again we know only names, not identities. However, they were reserved for secular figures rather than ecclesiastics, and were often drawn from influential magnate families of the Ile-de-France such as the Garlandes and the Rocheforts.³⁷

Philip and the Dioceses

In the introduction above, it was observed how, in the age of Philip I, royal power and influence was not felt evenly across all of the lands of what is now identified as France, which was crisscrossed at the time with networks of rights and domains, and included regions in which Philip's authority was of minimal relevance.³⁸ However, amidst the competition and

³² 'Ex continuatione historiarum Aimoini', in: *RHF*, vol. 11, pp. 274-6, vol. 12, pp. 122-3, at vol. 11, p. 276; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LIII-LIV.

³³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LX-LXI; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1395-7.

³⁴ See below, pp. 149-54.

³⁵ On Stephen under Philip, see: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. LXI-LXIV.

³⁶ See above, p. 50-1, n. 9.

³⁷ For the occupants of these offices, see: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. CXXXVI-CXLVIII.

³⁸ See above, pp. 17-18.

competing claims which complicated the political landscape sat the diocesan structure of France, which mapped out its metropolitan sees with their dependent (suffragan) bishoprics.³⁹ Its historic framework, although it changed over time, was outlined in the centuries-old Roman *Notitia Galliarum*, which listed the various provinces (metropolitan archdioceses) of France and the seats of the suffragan bishops bound to each.⁴⁰

However, we should not interpret diocesan boundaries too strictly. It was already noted above how bishoprics and religious houses held possessions beyond their own regions, and how some houses possessed rights of exemption from episcopal oversight.⁴¹ The amount of authority which a metropolitan could command over his suffragans also varied, and the revival of notions of primacy – whereby one archbishop held authority over others – complicated matters still further.⁴² So too did the fact that provinces might overlap lay territorial boundaries.⁴³ The city of Lyon, for example, lay in imperial lands at this time.⁴⁴ With reservations such as these in mind, let us now examine the diocesan structure as it stood in Philip’s reign in more detail.⁴⁵ The survey below is not intended to be exhaustive, and focuses on those dioceses where royal influence was most keenly felt. For our purposes, it has two key advantages: firstly, it highlights that, in matters of reform, Philip’s room to manoeuvre differed according to the place in question and the prelates concerned; secondly, it confirms that, despite the increasing pressure of reformist demands across the reign, links between Philip and the bishops remained strong, their ties rooted in mutual respect and the dynamics which played out at a local level.

³⁹ Hallam, *Capetian France*, 3rd edn, pp. 1-2; see below, Appendix 2.

⁴⁰ Jill Harries, ‘Church and State in the *Notitia Galliarum*’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 68 (1978), 26-43, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/299625>>, (accessed 2 August 2024).

⁴¹ See above, pp. 17-18, 27.

⁴² On metropolitan authority over suffragans, see below, for example, pp. 103-4, 123-4. On primacy, see below, pp. 202-5.

⁴³ See: Marcus Bull, ‘The Church’, in: *France in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Marcus Bull (Oxford, 2002), pp. 134-66, at pp. 141-3.

⁴⁴ François Demotz, ‘De l’Empire à la France: de la ville libre de l’Empire à la bonne ville du roi’, in: *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon et de la métropole*, ed. Paul Chopelin and Pierre-Jean Souriac (Toulouse, 2019), pp. 179-210, at pp. 179-86; René Fédou, ‘“L’Église de Lyon” (950 environ – 1320 environ)’, in: *Le diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Jacques Gadille, with René Fédou, Henri Hours, and Bernard de Vrégille (Paris, 1983), pp. 62-75; see below, pp. 202-5.

⁴⁵ Cf. Becker, *Studien*, pp. 21-5; Newman, *Le domaine*, esp. pp. 67-85, 94-6, 202-24; Pacaut, *Louis VII*, esp. pp. 105-46.

(1) Archdiocese of Sens

Sens

The relationship between the Capetian monarchy and the archbishops of Sens in the second half of the eleventh century was not straightforward. Until quite recently, Sens itself, positioned south-east of Paris, had been under the control of the counts of Blois, but Henry I had brought the city more firmly under royal oversight.⁴⁶ Only two of Philip's acts were given there, both of which date to the same day, 25 April 1071, and concern donations made by the count and bishop of Troyes respectively to the monastery of Montier-la-Celle.⁴⁷ This suggests that it was not a frequent stopping-ground on the royal itinerary. Indeed, within its own archdiocese, Sens was overshadowed in this respect by two of its suffragan sees, Paris and Orléans, both of which hosted Philip repeatedly across the reign.⁴⁸

This does not mean that Philip's relationship with the archbishops of Sens was distant. Even before Henry I had strengthened the royal grip on the city, the Capetians had been able to enforce a degree of oversight on archiepiscopal elections there.⁴⁹ The archbishop at the very start of Philip's reign was Mainard (d. 1062).⁵⁰ He was succeeded by Richer (1062-1097) and Daimbert (1097-1122), both of whom were raised from the cathedral chapter.⁵¹ Richer appears numerous times alongside Philip, suggesting he frequently found himself at court.⁵² Daimbert, on the other hand, does not subscribe to any royal *acta*, though as noted above, this may be due to changes in diplomatic practice.⁵³ Fliche considered Richer unenthusiastic regarding matters of reform, probably influenced in large part by his opposition to the Lyon primacy and to legatine intervention in episcopal elections in his diocese, but as we will see, in both cases the situation is not as clear cut as might appear.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, to describe Richer as at least sceptical about the growing reach of papal power seems fair, and this may

⁴⁶ Luchaire, *Les premiers*, pp. 161-2.

⁴⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 57-8 (pp. 151-4).

⁴⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou

⁴⁹ Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 220.

⁵⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 120-3, 126-7; *GC*, vol. 12, cols. 37-8.

⁵¹ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 126-7, 140-3; 'Les diplômes de Philippe I^{er} pour l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', ed. Maurice Prou, in: *Mélanges Julien Havet: Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895), pp. 157-99, at pp. 170-1; *GC*, vol. 12, cols. 38-44.

⁵² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 18 (pp. 51-4), 29 (pp. 86-91), 30 (pp. 91-4), 42 (pp. 118-19), 52 (pp. 140-2), 57 (pp. 151-2), 58 (pp. 153-4), 60 (pp. 155-60), 62 (pp. 163-5), 81 (pp. 207-11), 86 (pp. 224-6), 87 (pp. 227-8), 91 (pp. 234-6), 106 (pp. 270-2), 133 (pp. 337-9).

⁵³ See above, p. 50.

⁵⁴ Augustin Fliche, 'La primatie des Gaules depuis l'époque carolingienne jusqu'à la fin de la querelle des investitures (876-1121)', *Revue Historique*, 173 (1934), 329-42, via JSTOR [website], <<https://jstor.org/stable/40945427>>, (accessed 9 February 2023), p. 338. See below, cc. 2, 3.

have been received well by Philip, who needed able, combative and experienced prelates like him in order to sound out how far reformist claims posed a threat to his own power. Daimbert maintained an opposition to the primacy, but his election was backed by the influential Ivo, bishop of Chartres.⁵⁵ Later, Ivo and Daimbert would work together to ensure the stability of the realm following Philip's death through the rapid and unconventional coronation of Louis, over which Daimbert himself presided.⁵⁶

Chartres

To the south-west of Paris lay the diocese of Chartres. The bishops here could claim to hold the highest precedence in the archdiocese after the archbishop himself, as for example when Bishop Ivo administered the see for a time in the 1090s when the archbishop was suspended from office.⁵⁷ Chartres itself was part of the collection of lands held by the Thibaudian counts of Blois-Chartres, whose influence over the bishopric was considerable.⁵⁸ It was the counts, for example, who wielded control over the bishopric's possessions when the see was vacant, until this was renounced during Ivo's episcopate.⁵⁹

Chartres was not afforded the same stability as Sens during Philip's reign, seeing no less than seven bishops across this period. The early part of the reign was more inconstant, with the two final bishops, Geoffrey of Boulogne (c. 1077-1089) and Ivo (c. 1090-1115) enjoying longer episcopates.⁶⁰ Elections here often generated controversy which drew in Philip, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Philip never issued any *acta* at Chartres, which was probably too closely tied to the counts there to form part of his itinerary. However, its bishops do appear in some royal *acta* from the early decades of the reign.⁶¹ A combination of the geographical position of the diocese, combined with the political weight of the counts

⁵⁵ See below, pp. 141-2, 204-5.

⁵⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 189; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-9; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 62-4; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 79-96.

⁵⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, no. 50. On the suspension, see below, p. 204.

⁵⁸ Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 406-22; Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067-1137)* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2007), esp. pp. 232-3; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 95-100.

⁵⁹ *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, publ. De Lépinos and Merlet, vol. 1, no. 24 (pp. 104-8); Philip I, *Acta*, ed Prou, no. 152 (pp. 383-5); LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 102, 121-2, 219, 233, 246-7, and nos. 20, 36 (pp. 461-2).

⁶⁰ For the bishops of Chartres of Philip's reign prior to Ivo, see: *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1119-26; below, c. 2.

⁶¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 39 (pp. 110-14), 52 (pp. 140-2), 57 (pp. 151-2), 58 (pp. 153-4), 91 (pp. 234-6), 118 (pp. 300-2), and see also nos. 6 (pp. 17-21), 69 (pp. 176-7), 102 (pp. 263-4), 128 (pp. 324-7).

there and the spiritual weight of the bishops, meant that it was in Philip's interest to foster ties with the see, even if he was competing with the counts.

For the final 18 years of the reign, the bishopric was held by the famous Ivo, whom we have already encountered.⁶² Ivo was likely born into a relatively humble family based around Chartres.⁶³ He was appointed to become abbot of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, and it is likely in this capacity that he first encountered Philip; they are both present in an act for Saint-Quentin in 1079, and Philip issued a mandate in Ivo's favour in 1089.⁶⁴ In the early 1090s, Ivo was chosen to replace the disgraced Geoffrey as bishop of Chartres, an appointment which he did not achieve without difficulty, though he was seemingly bolstered by royal, papal and comital support.⁶⁵

The vacillating relationship between Philip and Ivo will emerge as one of the central themes of this thesis. Even allowing for the potential of Ivo's substantial surviving letter collection to distort our perception of his importance, it seems undeniable that his influence and authority was a major consideration for Philip from the 1090s onwards.⁶⁶ We will see that this produced both cooperation and conflict, in the latter case particularly concerning Philip's marriage to Bertrada.⁶⁷ However, Ivo's principles did not preclude an evidently healthy respect for the French monarchy. It has been argued that he adhered to an idea of *summa fidelitas*, a concept of loyalty which allowed him to oppose the king on a certain issue whilst still professing an overall loyalty to the monarchy.⁶⁸ Thus, areas of disagreement did not have to descend into a complete breaking of ties.

Ivo's consideration for the monarchy is also apparent in the position he came to adopt over lay investiture, which was spelt out most famously in a letter he wrote to the papal legate and archbishop of Lyon, Hugh of Die, in 1097.⁶⁹ In it, Ivo protests to Hugh that there is no pressing need to eradicate lay investiture, reasoning that: 'Whether this granting [investiture] is done by the hand, or by a nod, or by a word, or by a staff – what does it matter, given that

⁶² Rolker, *Canon Law*; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*.

⁶³ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 6-7; Sprandel, *Ivo*, pp. 5-8.

⁶⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 94 (pp. 242-5), 119 (pp. 302-4); Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 7-9.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 133-5.

⁶⁶ On the letter collection, see above, pp. 41-2.

⁶⁷ On the marriage, see below, pp. 215-49.

⁶⁸ Claude Carozzi, 'Les évêques vassaux du roi de France d'après Yves de Chartres', in: *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X-XII: Atti della dodicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 24-28 agosto 1992* (Milan, 1995), pp. 225-46.

⁶⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 60.

the kings do not think themselves to confer anything spiritual by it'.⁷⁰ He also talks of '*regnum* and *sacerdotium* divided, without the harmony of which human things can be neither unharmed nor protected', implying that it is this disharmony which is the real menace for the Church.⁷¹ Ivo's ideas, which advocated for a distinction between the spiritual quality of ecclesiastical office and its worldly goods and possessions, whereby only the latter could be invested by the king, were not completely new, but his voice was a particularly significant one.⁷²

It is impossible to know how well-acquainted Philip was with Ivo's viewpoint on this issue, but it seems unlikely that he would have been totally unaware of it. It may not have been the exact interpretation of investiture which Philip himself would have favoured, but significantly it stopped short of stripping him of his role in it. It was a position characteristic of Ivo's personality, which as we will see allowed him at times to work with Philip to significant mutual benefit, even amidst moments of strife between them.⁷³ But it is to Philip's credit too that he recognised in Ivo not just a vocal man of principle who was prepared to be combative in his beliefs, but also a measured and canny politician who would endeavour to find solutions when difficulties arose, and who had no wish to unduly asperse royal power.

Paris

Despite Chartres' prestige, the most important suffragan see of Sens, as far as Philip was concerned, was Paris. The city itself was at the very heart of the Capetian lands and a place where royal power and influence was particularly strong.⁷⁴ We have already noted

⁷⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 60: 'Quae concessio sive fiat manu, sive fiat nutu, sive lingua, sive virga, quid refert?, cum reges nihil spirituale se dare intendunt' (= Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Leclercq, no. 60 (pp. 246-9)). The translation is from Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 189-90. Cf. the views of Hugh of Fleury, for which see: Hugh of Fleury, *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, ed. Ernest Sackur, in: *MGH, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, vol. 2 (Hannover, 1892), pp. 465-94, at p. 472; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 151-3; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, pp. 218-19; McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender and Episcopal Authority*, pp. 198-200; Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp. 156-7.

⁷¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 60: 'divisum regnum et sacerdotium, sine quorum concordia res humanae nec incolumnes esse possunt nec tutae'.

⁷² Becker, *Studien*, pp. 143-51; Carozzi, 'Les évêques', esp. pp. 237-8; Hoffmann, 'Ivo von Chartres'; Rolker, *Canon Law*, esp. pp. 20-1, 189-90; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, esp. pp. 35-7, 129, 161-9.

⁷³ This cooperation is also noted in, for example: Rolker, *Canon Law*, esp. pp. 242-3.

⁷⁴ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', in: *Abélard en son temps. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 9^e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard (14 – 19 mai 1979)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 21-77; Jacques Boussard, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris: De la fin du siège de 885-886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste* (1976; 2nd edn with a supplement by Michel Fleury, Paris, 1996), pp. 73-127; Jean Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens: L'église de Paris relève ses ruines', in: *Le diocèse de Paris*, vol. 1, *Des origines à la Révolution*, ed. Bernard Plongeron et al. (Paris, 1987), pp. 61-81; Sohn, *Von der Residenz*.

above how more of Philip's *acta* can be assigned to Paris than any other settlement, with only Orléans coming remotely close. These acts are distributed throughout the entire reign. At the very heart of Paris, a royal palace sat on the Île-de-la-Cité, and Philip likely spent a great deal of time there.⁷⁵

Crucial though Paris may have been to Philip's rule, in the ecclesiastical structure it was only the seat of a suffragan bishopric; it did not become an archbishopric in its own right until 1622.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the bishops of Paris were, by virtue of this city's position and importance to the Capetians, among the most important prelates of the realm, and would have likely been in closer or at least more frequent contact with Philip than most others. At the very start of the reign, the bishopric was occupied by Imbert of Vergy, a Burgundian noble who had held the office for three decades.⁷⁷ His death in late 1060, just a few months into Philip's reign, deprived the young king of an experienced prelate who had witnessed the entirety of his father's rule. The appointment of Geoffrey, brother of Eustace, count of Boulogne, as Imbert's successor, was most likely down to the influence of the royal guardian, Baldwin of Flanders.⁷⁸

We have already met Geoffrey above, in his capacity as royal chancellor and archchancellor. He was in office for the majority of Philip's reign, with his position as bishop, probably coupled with his ties to Flanders and Boulogne, securing a prominence at court which does not seem to have waned. Indeed, he is amongst the most frequent episcopal subscribers to Philip's *acta*.⁷⁹ He was one of the prelates who provided support to Philip in the war over the Flemish succession, where his familial links may have come in useful.⁸⁰ He successfully steered clear of major controversy with the papacy, and Gregory VII looked to him as a potential collaborator in investigating ecclesiastical matters.⁸¹ Geoffrey probably tempered his response to such requests. For example, in 1077 Gregory asked him to enforce decrees on clerical celibacy, but the account of the 1074 Council of Paris in the *Life of Walter of Pontoise*

⁷⁵ Though cf. Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 99. For the geography of Paris around this time, see for example: Bautier, 'Paris'. For the positioning of the religious houses, there is a useful map in: Philippe Lorentz and Dany Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge. Espace Urbain, Habitat, Société, Religion et Lieux de Pouvoir* (Paris, 2018), p. 132.

⁷⁶ *GC*, vol. 7, col. 175 and instr., no. 191 (cols 169-72).

⁷⁷ Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 93; *GC*, vol. 7, cols 47-9.

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 102-3.

⁷⁹ Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

⁸⁰ 'Genealogia comitum Flandriae', ed. L. C. Bethmann, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), pp. 302-36, at pp. 321-3; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 252-66; Heather J. Tanner, 'The Expansion of the Power and Influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1991; publ. 1992), 251-86, at pp. 274-5; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 57-72, 74-7.

⁸¹ Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 326-9 (4.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 220-1; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 360-1.

(discussed below), indicates that Geoffrey would perhaps not have been very forthcoming in complying with this directive.⁸² Geoffrey and Philip did not always see eye-to-eye, notably over the rights of Saint-Denis and the ejection of Geoffrey's kinsman as bishop of Chartres.⁸³ However, Geoffrey seems to have played his part well, steering a productive middle course which avoided excessive controversy and allowed him to entrench and strengthen his own position. Between Gervase of Reims and Ivo of Chartres, he was probably, by virtue of his station and his character, the natural episcopal go-between in relations between king and pope, and it seems that both Philip and Gregory VII had confidence in him.

Geoffrey died in 1095.⁸⁴ His successor was none other than William of Montfort, brother to Philip's new wife, Bertrada.⁸⁵ But although it would be easy to dismiss this election as a seizing of the bishopric by a royal stooge, in fact William was a student of Ivo, who fiercely defended his protegee.⁸⁶ William, like Geoffrey and Imbert before him, possessed prominent familial ties – in his case close kinship links to the royal family itself – which would have been immensely valuable to Philip at this time, but his support for a prelate with an Ivonian education, who would now be placed in one of the most crucial sees of the realm, suggests that he had an eye to ecclesiastical accommodation too. William was young, but with guidance from the king and Ivo, he could be moulded into a prelate who would protect both royal and reformist interests. Philip and Ivo may not have conceived of this development in precisely the same way – Ivo noted William's over-obsession with hunting, for example, which is unlikely to have concerned Philip.⁸⁷ But both men saw the importance of having a stable, reliable and shrewd bishop in the Parisian see.

As it happened, William's episcopacy was cut short by his untimely death in 1102, which occurred during a voyage he undertook to the Holy Land in the wake of the First Crusade.⁸⁸ He was succeeded by Fulk, dean of the Paris chapter.⁸⁹ It seems that Ivo was less enamoured with this choice, but his opposition related to a specific dispute, and though it suggests that Philip and Ivo did not agree over Fulk as they had over William, this may be in

⁸² Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 326-9 (4.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 220-1; see below, p. 212.

⁸³ See below, pp. 133-5, 169-71.

⁸⁴ *GC*, vol. 7, col. 52.

⁸⁵ Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 100; *GC*, vol. 7, cols 52-4; Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens', pp. 71-2.

⁸⁶ See below, pp. 142-3.

⁸⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 65.

⁸⁸ *GC*, vol. 7, col. 54; Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens', p. 72.

⁸⁹ Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 101; *GC*, vol. 7, col. 54; Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens', p. 72.

large part the result of tensions at the time over the royal marriage, which produced posturing elsewhere, notably over the election at Beauvais.⁹⁰ Fulk's episcopate was, in any case, too short for us to assess his character with any certainty, for he died in 1104.⁹¹ By now the marriage controversy was approaching its resolution, and Philip consented to the election of another Ivonian protegee as Fulk's successor. This was Galo, who had succeeded Ivo as abbot of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais and for years had fought unsuccessfully, despite papal backing, to be recognised as bishop of Beauvais.⁹² In December 1104, Galo would host the Council of Paris, which ended the royal marriage dispute.⁹³ The overwhelming tendency during Philip's reign was for Paris to have prelates in whom he could rely, but as the cases of Geoffrey, William, and Galo above make clear, this did not mean that he resisted all manifestations of reform in this see. By necessity, he had to be careful about who he allowed to become bishop of Paris, but just like those bishops themselves, he executed a balancing act which reflected both his political concerns and his willingness to accommodate reform in a controlled manner.

Orléans

The settlement and episcopal seat of Orléans, located on the Loire River in the south of the main royal lands, was of comparable importance to Paris for the early Capetians. Robert II's links to the city were emphasised by his biographer Helgaud, who tells of the royal residence there and of Robert's major foundation of Saint-Aignan.⁹⁴ Helgaud himself was a monk at the abbey of Fleury, just a short distance outside of Orléans, which would benefit from Philip's later beneficence and, most notably, house his tomb.⁹⁵

As for the bishopric of Orléans itself, at the start of Philip's reign it had become something of a hereditary seat.⁹⁶ Isembard, the bishop at the start of Philip's reign, came from the family of the lords of Broye and had succeeded as bishop his kinsman Odolric. Isembard was followed briefly by his nephew, Haderic, though as we will see this appointment was not without controversy and likely opened up an opportunity to break the Broye dominance

⁹⁰ See below, pp. 149-54, 215-49.

⁹¹ *GC*, vol. 7, col. 54.

⁹² See below, pp. 149-54.

⁹³ See below, pp. 222-3, 227-8.

⁹⁴ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, esp. pp. 86-7, 102-3, 106-7, 130-1; Bautier, 'Quand et comment', pp. 33-4.

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 171-4, 259-64.

⁹⁶ For the bishops of Orléans, see: Abbot Duchateau, *Histoire du diocèse d'Orléans depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Orléans, 1888), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101045368717>>, (accessed 11 August 2024), pp. 101-20; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1434-48.

through the installation of a new bishop, Rainer of Flanders, whose elevation was probably – much like with Geoffrey of Paris – orchestrated by Count Baldwin V of Flanders.⁹⁷ If Rainer was more Baldwin’s choice than Philip’s, he was less successful than Geoffrey in maintaining the king’s confidence. Although Rainer subscribes to some royal *acta*, around the mid-1070s it appears that Philip was trying to remove him, though exactly how this matter was resolved is unclear.⁹⁸ A successor bishop, Arnulf, is poorly known.⁹⁹ By the 1090s, it seems that the bishopric had fallen under the sway of Ralph II, archbishop of Tours, who was a kinsman of Bishop John I of Orléans and who, upon John’s death in 1096, fought hard and successfully to get his candidate, John II, installed as his namesake’s successor.¹⁰⁰ Given Ralph’s prominence at the royal court, about which more will be said shortly, the episcopates of John I and John II can perhaps be seen as indicative of Philip’s desire to strengthen his hold over this see, using the archbishop as cover to avoid the increased reformist scrutiny over the royal electoral role. The bishops of Orléans may not have benefited from the same level of proximity to the monarch as the bishops of Paris, but nevertheless the city’s location and longstanding royal links meant that it was of prime importance to him.

Meaux, Troyes, Auxerre and Nevers

The remaining suffragan dioceses of Sens – the bishoprics of Meaux, Troyes, Auxerre and Nevers – present a mixed picture in their ties to Philip. None of his acts are known to have been given in these cities, though this is not overly surprising. Meaux and Troyes were both under the heavy influence of the Thibaudians.¹⁰¹ As for Auxerre and Nevers, these two seats lay outside of the key areas of Philip’s activity in terms of *acta*.¹⁰²

Despite the Thibaudian influence, much like at Chartres the bishops of Meaux were important at the royal court. Walter I, bishop for the first half of Philip’s reign, subscribes to many royal acts.¹⁰³ Early in his episcopate, he had been one of the prelates sent by King Henry

⁹⁷ See below, pp. 107-8.

⁹⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 37 (pp. 107-9), 57 (pp. 151-2), 58 (pp. 153-4), 81 (pp. 207-11), 86 (pp. 224-6); see below, p. 117.

⁹⁹ Duchateau, *Histoire*, pp. 111-12; *GC*, vol. 8, col. 1141.

¹⁰⁰ *GC*, vol. 8, cols. 1441-5. For the electoral dispute, see below, pp. 143-6.

¹⁰¹ Bur, *La formation*, pp. 185-9; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 386-400.

¹⁰² Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, map 5.

¹⁰³ Auguste Allou, *Chronique des évêques de Meaux suivie d'un état de l'ancien diocèse et du diocèse actuel* (Meaux, 1875), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnxq18>>, (accessed 18 September 2024), p. 36; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1608-9; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 202-3 and table 2d.

I to secure his marriage to Philip's mother, Anna of Kyiv.¹⁰⁴ His successor, Walter II, exchanged letters with Ivo of Chartres over the royal marriage controversy, which seems to have concerned him greatly.¹⁰⁵ Late in Philip's reign, he was succeeded by Manasses, archdeacon of Meaux, whose election delighted Ivo.¹⁰⁶

If Philip could retain strong links to Meaux despite its ties to the Thibaudians, it is unclear whether the same can be said for Troyes. Although Philip's Capetian forebears had exercised at least some degree of supervision over elections at Troyes, there is no indication that Philip did.¹⁰⁷ Bishop Hugh I, who was in post during the early part of Philip's reign, occasionally appears as a subscriber to the latter's *acta*, but his successors do not.¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, Hugh of Flavigny stated, most likely erroneously, that it was one of them, Bishop Philip, who officiated at the marriage between Philip and Bertrada.¹⁰⁹ Despite Hugh's error, does this imply that ties between the king and his like-named bishop were closer than at first appears? Or was Bishop Philip merely a plausible villain? In a letter of c. 1099, Ivo of Chartres refers vaguely to troubling rumours about his conduct.¹¹⁰ No more is heard of this, but the fact that Ivo co-authored the letter with other suffragans suggests that it was quite a serious matter.

Philip's influence at Auxerre can be inferred from his involvement in episcopal elections there, though as we shall see, this was moderated by comital influence too.¹¹¹ Since perhaps the early 1030s, the counts of Nevers had control of Auxerre, with their lands occupying a strategic position between the Capetians and the dukes of Burgundy.¹¹² However, whereas Philip could influence elections at Auxerre, there is no evidence that he did so at Nevers.¹¹³ Bishops from neither see appear as frequent subscribers to royal *acta*; indeed bishops of Nevers do not feature at all.¹¹⁴ However, Philip possibly assented in some form to

¹⁰⁴ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 122-3; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XVII-XIX.

¹⁰⁵ Allou, *Chronique*, p. 37; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1609-11; see below, pp. 127, 241.

¹⁰⁶ Allou, *Chronique*, pp. 37-8; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1610-11; see below, p. 156.

¹⁰⁷ Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 30 (pp. 91-4), 57 (pp. 151-2), 58 (pp. 153-4); *GC*, vol. 12, cols 495-6.

¹⁰⁹ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Pertz, p. 493; French trans. in: RHF, vol. 16, p. xlv, xlvi; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 49-50; see below, p. 238.

¹¹⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 79.

¹¹¹ See below, pp. 120, 135-7.

¹¹² Yves Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du Xe au début du XIIIe siècle* (Auxerre, 1980), pp. 30-62.

¹¹³ Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, p. 142 and n. 1; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 365-71; Newman, *Le domaine*, pp. 217, 220-1; Ch. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031)* (Paris, 1885), pp. 189-90.

¹¹⁴ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 202-3 and table 2d.

a donation made by Hugh, bishop of Nevers, to the abbey of Saint-Cyr.¹¹⁵ Overall, it seems likely that Philip's influence over these sees was largely confined to a role in elections at Auxerre and that his ties to the bishops there and at Nevers were not as tight as to those in the more northerly bishoprics of the Sens archdiocese. This illustrates well the complexities of political bonds in comparison to diocesan ties.

(2) Archdiocese of Reims

Reims

To the east of the royal heartlands lay the archdiocese of Reims, which stretched from the coast down the north-eastern region of the French kingdom and into imperial lands.¹¹⁶ The city of Reims itself, the site of an important cathedral school, was located towards the south of the province, far enough away from Paris that it does not seem to have formed a regular stop on Philip's itinerary; the only time he is known to have given *acta* there was during the minority.¹¹⁷ Under the Capetians, Reims gradually became established as the coronation site for the French kings.¹¹⁸ Philip himself was consecrated there in 1059, as we have seen.¹¹⁹ However, Reims' right was not yet unchallengeable. In 1108, following Philip's death, a group of prelates saw fit to proceed with a speedy coronation for Louis at Orléans just days after his father's passing, this being conducted by the archbishop of Sens and producing an indignant response from Reims.¹²⁰ Ivo of Chartres, who had been among the prelates at Orléans, produced an extraordinary letter in defence of their actions.¹²¹

Although Philip rarely visited Reims, the archbishops, by virtue of their status and the geographical extent of their province, were amongst the most important prelates of his realm, and figure regularly in his *acta*.¹²² At the start of the reign, the see was headed by Archbishop

¹¹⁵ *GC*, vol. 12, instr., no. 29 (cols 330-1); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. CXCVIII.

¹¹⁶ See below, appendix 2. On these border lands, see also: Lindy Grant, "'Avalterre" and "Affinitas Lotharingorum": Mapping Cultural Production, Cultural Connections and Political Fragmentation in the "Grand Est"', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 44 (2021; publ. 2022), 1-17

¹¹⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 10 (pp. 30-1), 26 (pp. 76-9); John R. Williams, 'Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 29-45, via JSTOR [website], <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2856200>>, (accessed 1 October 2021); John R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 661-77, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2847092>>, (accessed 10 October 2021).

¹¹⁸ Bautier, 'Sacres', pp. 52-6.

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 10.

¹²⁰ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, pp. 203-4; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-9; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 62-4; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 79-96; see below, p. 263.

¹²¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 189.

¹²² Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 202-3 and table 2d.

Gervase (1055-1067).¹²³ Gervase had previously been bishop of Le Mans, where his kin had held a monopoly over the bishopric, but after angering Count Geoffrey of Anjou by arranging a marriage for the young count of Maine, he was imprisoned and then exiled by Geoffrey, travelling first to Normandy before being appointed at Reims with the support of Philip's father, Henry I.¹²⁴

As we have seen, in 1059 Gervase presided over Philip's association and would serve as archchancellor to him. Although Gervase spent much time at Reims, Fliche believed that he acted as the spiritual head of the realm during the minority, describing him as 'in certain aspects the intermediary between the king and the Holy See'.¹²⁵ Certainly both Nicholas II and Alexander II looked to capitalise upon Gervase's influence, as will be seen clearly in the next chapter in connection with episcopal elections.¹²⁶ Gervase made efforts to reform religious houses in Reims, and pioneered the introduction of Augustinian canons in the area.¹²⁷ It would seem that he moved quite seamlessly between fulfilling his local role as archbishop and attending to wider concerns at the royal court; he was, after all, from a lordly background himself, with an apparent passion for the hunt, which may have helped him to fit in.¹²⁸ He was the type of prelate who could show a young Philip what was possible when it came to effective collaboration between secular and spiritual power, but he lived at a time before the pontificate of Gregory VII, which brought new challenges to this relationship.

Gervase's three successors at Reims all had lordly backgrounds. Following Mathieu, Archbishop Manasses I was the son of Hugh II of Gournay-en-Bray and Adelaide of Dammartin, in which case he may have been a kinsman of Philip if, as is possible, he was a great-grandson

¹²³ Demouy, *Genèse*, esp. pp. 608-10; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 68-70; N. Huyghebaert, 'Gervais de Château-du-Loir, évêque du Mans, ensuite archevêque de Reims', in: *DHGE*, vol. 20 (Paris, 1984), cols 1078-83; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 154-6.

¹²⁴ *Acts of the Bishops of Le Mans*, ed. Abbot G. Busson and Abbot A. Ledru, as: *Actus pontificum cenomannis in urbe degentium* (Le Mans, 1901), pp. 352-72; Bur, *La formation*, p. 203, n. 38; Demouy, *Genèse*, p. 538; Guillot, *Le comte*, esp. pp. 58-60; 64-70; 75-7; 91-2; 97; Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le X^e et le XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1910), pp. 26-30, 82, 84; Gérard Louise, 'Népotisme épiscopal et politique capétienne dans la cité du Mans: X^e-XI^e siècles', in: *Les prélats, l'église et la société XI^e-XV^e siècles: Hommage à Bernard Guillemain*, ed. Françoise Bériac with Anne-Marie Dom (Bordeaux, 1994), pp. 29-40; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 159-61.

¹²⁵ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. pp. 22-5: 'à certains égards l'intermédiaire entre le roi et le Saint-Siège'. Cf. Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 405-10, 609-10; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100.

¹²⁶ See below, pp. 102-9.

¹²⁷ Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 88-9, 282, 310, 324-8; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 452-3; see above, p. 26.

¹²⁸ See comments in: Huyghebaert, 'Gervais', esp. cols 1079, 1081. For Gervase and the hunt, see: Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 791; 'Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii', ed. L. C. Bethmann, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 7 (Hannover, 1846), pp. 526-50, at p. 539; Demouy, *Genèse*, p. 610; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 195-6. For Philip and the hunt, see: *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, p. 61.

of King Robert II through his mother's family.¹²⁹ He was certainly a kinsman of Hugh-Rainard, bishop of Langres.¹³⁰ According to Guibert of Nogent, Manasses once reportedly remarked that 'It would be good to be the archbishop of Reims if I didn't have to sing mass'.¹³¹ However, Heinrich Gaul, who published a biography of the earlier part of Manasses' life, argued that though the latter may have been bullish in his conduct, he has been depicted unfairly by 'reformist' sources.¹³² Arguably no prelate of Philip's reign produced as much controversy as did Manasses I of Reims, but the reasons behind this, as well as his eventual deposition in 1080, are complex, as we will see.¹³³

Manasses' successor, Rainald I, had important familial ties much further west than Reims around Tours, being related to the influential Langeais family and a kinsman of Ralph I, archbishop of Tours and Geoffrey, bishop of Angers.¹³⁴ Prior to becoming archbishop, he was treasurer at Saint-Martin at Tours.¹³⁵ Rainald did not generate the same level of controversy as Manasses I. His relationship with Philip shows little sign of major strain, though some tension may have been generated over the restoration of the diocese of Arras.¹³⁶ Crucially, although Pope Urban II looked to Rainald to help resolve the dispute over Philip and Bertrada's marriage, which can itself be taken as indicative of his perceived influence at court, the archbishop preferred not to openly oppose the king on this matter.¹³⁷

After Rainald, the archbishopric was taken up by Manasses II (1096-1106), who came from a local noble family and had previously been provost and treasurer in the cathedral

¹²⁹ *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs monastère parisien*, ed. Depoin, p. 15, n. 10; Demouy, *Genèse*, esp. pp. 611-14; Jean-Noël Mathieu, 'Recherches sur les premiers comtes de Dammartin', *Paris et Ile-de-France: Mémoires*, 47 (1996), 7-59, at pp. 15-17, 19. Cf. Heinrich Gaul, *Manasses I. Erzbischof von Reims: Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der gregorianischen Reformbestrebungen in Frankreich*, vol. 1, *Der unbekannt Manasses der ersten Jahre (1069 bis Frühjahr 1077)* (Essen, 1940) [no further volumes published], pp. 110-18.

¹³⁰ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 107 (p. 179).

¹³¹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 62-7: '« Bonus », ait, « esset Remensis archiepiscopatus, si non missas inde cantari oporteret. »'; trans. McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 26-7.

¹³² Gaul, *Manasses*. For other assessments of Manasses, cf.: Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 375-91; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 375-88; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 417-21, 423; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 134-41; I. S. Robinson, 'The Friendship Network of Gregory VII', *History*, 63 (1978), 1-22, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24410393>>, (accessed 2 August 2024), at pp. 15-18; John R. Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII', *American Historical Review*, 54 (1949), 804-24, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1844303>>, (accessed 5 February 2025).

¹³³ See below, pp. 93-4, and c. 2.

¹³⁴ Demouy, *Genèse*, esp. pp. 614-17; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 75-7; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 113-14, 252-6, 291-3.

¹³⁵ 'Narratio controversiæ inter capitulum S. Martini Turonensis et Radulphum ejusdem urbis archiepiscopum', in: RHF, vol. 12, pp. 459-61, at p. 460; *GC*, vol. 9, col. 75; Quentin Griffiths, 'The Capetian Kings and St. Martin of Tours', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 9 (Old Series, 19) (1987), 83-133, at p. 126 and n. 7; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, p. 254.

¹³⁶ See below, pp. 205-7.

¹³⁷ See below, pp. 220-1, 237-9.

chapter.¹³⁸ In the *Life of John of Théroouanne*, he is among a small group of prelates (alongside Hugh of Die/Lyon, Ivo of Chartres, Lambert of Arras, Odo of Cambrai, Galo of Paris and Godfrey of Amiens) who are praised as being among the best of the age.¹³⁹ However, much like Rainald before him, Manasses II did not mount any strong opposition to the royal marriage, and moreover he also refrained from recognising the papal candidate, Galo, during the major electoral controversy at Beauvais, preferring on both counts to preserve goodwill with Philip.¹⁴⁰ With the archbishops of Reims, Philip could count on this loyalty, which helps to explain why when an electoral conflict arose at Reims itself right at the end of the reign after Manasses II's death, Philip – and indeed Louis – fought hard to maintain their hold over the see.¹⁴¹

Senlis

In the west of the archdiocese of Reims, not far from Paris, lay Senlis.¹⁴² This small diocese was led by possibly nine different bishops during Philip's reign, many of whom are poorly known.¹⁴³ However, there is enough to indicate that the ties between these prelates and Philip's court were often strong.¹⁴⁴ From the start of the reign, these ties were in part familial, as Philip's mother, Anna of Kyiv, possessed dower lands around Senlis, where she restored the church of Saint-Vincent, re-founding it with Philip's approbation as a house of canons in memory of her husband, Philip's father, King Henry I.¹⁴⁵ It may have been here that she was buried after her death, which occurred sometime after 1075 and probably by 1078 at the latest.¹⁴⁶ Philip gave numerous acts at Senlis in the early part of the reign, but none after

¹³⁸ Demouy, *Genèse*, esp. pp. 617-19; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 77-80.

¹³⁹ Walter, Archdeacon of Théroouanne, *Life of John, Bishop of Théroouanne*, in: *Walteri Archidiaconi Tervanensis, Vita Karoli Comitum Flandrie et Vita Domni Ioannis Morinensis Episcopi, quibus subiunguntur poemata aliqua de morte comitis Karoli conscripta et quaestio de eadem facta*, ed. Jeff Rider with Sara Aliza Friedman and Dina Guth (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 81-155, at p. 136; English trans. by Jeff Rider, as: *The Life of Count Charles of Flanders, the Life of Lord John, Bishop of Théroouanne, and Related Works* (Turnhout, 2023), pp. 151-79, at p. 162.

¹⁴⁰ See below, pp. 149-54, 215-49.

¹⁴¹ See below, pp. 156-8.

¹⁴² Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 486-92.

¹⁴³ E. Dhomme and A. Vattier, *Recherches chronologiques sur les évêques de Senlis* (Senlis, 1866), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101067698819>>, (accessed 1 August 2024), pp. 40-55; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1392-7.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Gabriele, 'The Provenance', p. 111.

¹⁴⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 43 (pp. 120-3), 130 (pp. 329-31); Bautier, 'Anne', pp. 560-3; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 96; Ward, 'Anne', pp. 443-4, 450; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 114-15. Also, see below, pp. 199-200.

¹⁴⁶ Bautier, 'Anne', pp. 560, 562-3; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 97; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva and Paris, 1975), pp. 88-9. Erlande-Brandenburg traces the suggestion that she was buried at Saint-Vincent to: Jacques

February 1076.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps Anna's death meant it no longer formed a frequent stopping point on his royal itinerary, but given its location and the presence there of a royal residence, it is unlikely that he never ventured there again.¹⁴⁸

Regardless of how often the king was in Senlis, its bishops are regularly found by his side. Seven of the incumbents appear as subscribers to his *acta*, the only exceptions being Bishops Ivo II and Letald.¹⁴⁹ Ivo II, as we will see in the next chapter, had a tumultuous tenure and struggled to get recognised, whereas Letald was only bishop for a few years in the second half of the 1090s, when we have few surviving *acta* of Philip's anyway.¹⁵⁰ Among the other bishops of Senlis, we have already observed how Bishops Ursio and Hubert both served in Philip's chancery.¹⁵¹ Suger specifically mentions Hubert's presence, alongside the bishops of Paris and Orléans and the abbot of Saint-Denis, among those who participated in Philip's funeral.¹⁵² In this vein, however, perhaps most significant of all is that it was reportedly Bishop Ursio who performed the marriage ceremony between Philip and Bertrada, incurring major papal displeasure in the process.¹⁵³

Soissons

To the east of Senlis lay the diocese of Soissons. Interestingly, Philip's *acta* here display a similar pattern, with a few attestations in the 1060s before one final one in 1075, though this may be just coincidence.¹⁵⁴ Soissons had longstanding ties to the royal family dating back centuries, including at the prestigious abbey of Saint-Médard, which had served as a site of Merovingian royal burials.¹⁵⁵ Philip gave his 1075 act at the abbey, and we will see later on

Doublet, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris, 1625), via Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum [website], <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10004250-6>, (accessed 16 August 2024), p. 1276.

¹⁴⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 4 (pp. 13-15), 5 (pp. 15-17), 11 (pp. 32-4), 39 (pp. 110-14), 40 (pp. 114-17), 43 (pp. 120-3), 80 (pp. 202-6, 438-41), 81 (pp. 207-11); Ward, 'Anne', pp. 443-4.

¹⁴⁸ For the residence, see: Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 102-3.

¹⁴⁹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

¹⁵⁰ See below, pp. 119-20, 239. For Ivo and Letald, see: *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1393-5.

¹⁵¹ See above, pp. 54-5.

¹⁵² Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 80-5; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 61-2.

¹⁵³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7; see below, p. 238.

¹⁵⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 16 (pp. 47-9), 27 (pp. 79-83), 28 (pp. 83-6), 78 (pp. 197-200).

¹⁵⁵ On Soissons, see: Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 54-5; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 589-98; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 134-40; Henry Martin and Paul L. Jacob, *Histoire de Soissons, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 1 (Soissons and Paris, 1837), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044018926964>>, (accessed 11 August 2024), pp. 427-56; Dominique Roussel, 'Soissons', *Revue archéologique de Picardie, Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999), 129-37, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/pica.1999.2053>>, (accessed 11 August 2024).

that he could make his influence felt over abbatial elections there.¹⁵⁶ Much like with Senlis, there were a remarkably high number of bishops of Soissons during Philip's reign, and again many of them appear as subscribers to royal *acta*.¹⁵⁷ Elections here frequently generated controversy, especially in the early part of the reign, and Philip was often drawn into this.¹⁵⁸

However, local interests were also at play. From 1072 until 1080, the bishopric was in the hands of Theobald II, from the lordly family of Pierrefonds.¹⁵⁹ Another member of the same family, Hugh, became bishop later in the reign.¹⁶⁰ The counts of Soissons themselves were also a factor. In the 1050s, a Norman magnate, William Busac, exiled following a failed rebellion against Duke William of Normandy, travelled to Philip's father, Henry I, thereafter acquiring the county of Soissons through marriage.¹⁶¹ Guibert of Nogent paints William and his family as reprehensible characters and it has been suggested that the count may have been complicit in electoral strife at Soissons and Saint-Médard.¹⁶² Towards the end of the reign, after William's death and whilst his son, John, held the county, the bishopric fell into the hands of John's brother, Manasses, thus for a time uniting the two positions under one family.¹⁶³

Châlons

The southernmost episcopal city of the Reims archdiocese was that of Châlons-sur-Marne. There is little to suggest that Philip held any sway over episcopal elections here.¹⁶⁴ However, Bishop Roger III appears as a regular subscriber to Philip's *acta*, and when he faced accusations some time into his tenure, it seems that Philip defended him.¹⁶⁵ A 1074 letter from Pope Gregory VII to Roger remarks that: 'King Philip I of France, who is bound to you by no small love, had pressingly asked us both by letters and by words of messengers that we should

¹⁵⁶ See below, pp. 159-61.

¹⁵⁷ GC, vol. 9, cols 348-55; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

¹⁵⁸ See below, c. 2.

¹⁵⁹ GC, vol. 9, cols 349-50.

¹⁶⁰ GC, vol. 9, cols 353-4.

¹⁶¹ *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Van Houts, vol. 2, pp. 128-9; Martin and Jacob, *Histoire de Soissons*, vol. 1, pp. 427-32.

¹⁶² Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande pp. 442-9; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 166-8; Martin and Jacob, *Histoire de Soissons*, vol. 1, pp. 448-9.

¹⁶³ GC, vol. 9, cols 354-5; Alfred Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, 2 vols (Louvain and Paris, 1890-1), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433068231970>>, (accessed 12 August 2024), vol. 2, pp. 230-56, 195; Martin and Jacob, *Histoire de Soissons*, pp. 449-54.

¹⁶⁴ Newman, *Le domaine*, pp. 216, 223.

¹⁶⁵ GC, vol. 9, cols 874-5; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d; see below, p. 121.

absolve you'.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, these letters from Philip have not survived, but we can infer from Gregory's words that the king saw Roger as a valued member of the episcopate. After Roger's death in 1093, the see fell directly into the hands of the Thibaudians for a few years when Philip, brother of Count Stephen-Henry of Blois and Counts Odo and Hugh of Troyes, became bishop, though he died in 1100.¹⁶⁷

Laon

Laon lay in the east of the archdiocese, beyond Senlis and Soissons, and north of Reims. In contrast to many of the other bishoprics, there was considerable stability here during Philip's reign due to the long tenure of Bishop Elinand (1052-1098).¹⁶⁸ Guibert of Nogent tells us that he was originally from Pontoise, rising from a humble background to become chaplain to King Edward the Confessor of England (r. 1042-1066), for whom he acted as an ambassador to the French royal court of Henry I.¹⁶⁹ Guibert paints a mixed picture of Elinand, allowing him credit for enriching his see whilst also criticising his venality which made this possible, including the simoniacal purchase of the bishopric from Henry. Nevertheless, Elinand seemingly managed to stay out of any major controversy in the face of increased papal reforming zeal as his episcopate progressed; there was not, so far as is known, ever any danger of him being deposed due to simony. He was a regular subscriber to royal *acta* under Philip, who surely valued his experience as an advisor to several kings.¹⁷⁰

During Elinand's episcopate, the important settlement of Coucy was seized by Enguerrand of Boves, who imprisoned the previous incumbent, Alberic, brother of Ivo of Beaumont.¹⁷¹ As will be seen in the next chapter, Enguerrand was clearly able to exercise a strong degree of influence at Laon following Elinand's death, helping to engineer the elections of the latter's successors, Bishop Enguerrand and Bishop Gaudry, as well as the election of Godfrey as abbot of Nogent.¹⁷² Bishop Enguerrand's tenure at Laon was fairly short, and

¹⁶⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 83-4 (1.56): 'Philippus rex Francorum non modica tibi dilectione astrictus multum nos, ut te absolveremus, tum per litteras tum per legatorum verba rogavit'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 60-1.

¹⁶⁷ Bautier, 'Anne', p. 564; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 875-6; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 66, 288.

¹⁶⁸ *GC*, vol. 9, cols 523-5.

¹⁶⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 270-3; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 108-9.

¹⁷⁰ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

¹⁷¹ On Coucy, see: Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale: pouvoir et société dans la terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XIe-milieu XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1984), pp. 45-99; Olivier Leblanc, 'Aux origines de la seigneurie de Coucy, la lignée des Boves-Coucy', *Revue archéologique de Picardie* (2005), 145-54.

¹⁷² See below, pp. 146, 155-6, 162.

according to Guibert it was tainted by his acquiescence to Enguerrand of Boves's controversial marriage to another man's wife, which is interesting to note in the context of the king's own marital problems at this time.¹⁷³ Gaudry, like Elinand, had spent time prior to his episcopate in the service of the king of England.¹⁷⁴ In Laon, therefore, we see a good example of the balance of powers between bishop, king and local aristocracy with which Philip had to contend.

Beauvais

For much of the early period of Philip's reign, Beauvais had as its bishop Guy, a man of uncertain but apparently noble familial origins, who had previously been dean and *custos* of Saint-Quentin-en-Vermandois as well as archdeacon of Laon.¹⁷⁵ Some years into his tenure, he came into conflict with Philip, with the *Vita S. Romanae* reporting that, with youthful folly, Philip expelled Guy from his see for a year.¹⁷⁶ Although not certain, it is likely, as Guyotjeannin observed, that this event can be matched up with a conflict at Beauvais between the bishop and the clergy and people of the town, known through two pieces from April 1074 contained in the *Register* of Gregory VII.¹⁷⁷ The details are obscure, but Gregory asks Philip to make amends for his actions against Beauvais, whilst simultaneously granting absolution to the clergy and people there at Guy's request.

Unfortunately, any record of Gregory's original sanction is lost, and with it the specifics of what was probably a factional dispute between Guy (who managed to obtain papal backing) and his chapter (backed by some popular discontent and supported or encouraged, it seems, by Philip).¹⁷⁸ In the end, Guy was allowed back from his exile.¹⁷⁹ Thus, by the time of the April 1074 letters, the affair had probably been resolved, with Guy and Philip having come to an arrangement, leaving the bishop to request papal absolution for the people of Beauvais. It is difficult to form a judgement on Philip's conduct with so few details, but it is interesting to

¹⁷³ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 272-81; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 109-12.

¹⁷⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 280-93; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 112-16.

¹⁷⁵ 'Dedicatio Ecclesiae S. Quintini Bellovacensis, Ex vita S. Romanae Virginis et Martyris', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, p. 29; Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, pp. 100-1; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, p. 40; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 70-2.

¹⁷⁶ 'Dedicatio ... Ex vita S. Romanae', ed. *RHF*, p. 29; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 338-9.

¹⁷⁷ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 105-7 (1.74-1.75); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 77-9; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 70.

¹⁷⁸ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 70.

¹⁷⁹ 'Dedicatio ... Ex vita S. Romanae', ed. *RHF*, p. 29.

note that this is not the only time that he was accused of sinful activity at a time when he was perhaps affected by his own youthful inexperience, for there is a story from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris which tells of how it took a divine apparition to prevent a young Philip from plundering the treasures of that abbey.¹⁸⁰

After Guy retired from his bishopric in 1085 to become a monk at Cluny, he was succeeded by the poorly-known Ursio.¹⁸¹ His successor, Bishop Fulk, provides yet another example of the northern French episcopate being populated by family members of those with ties to the royal court.¹⁸² He belonged to the family of Lancelin of Beauvais, who can be tracked in royal *acta* from the latter years of Henry I's reign into Philip's, and who appear to have been steadily increasing their power in Beauvais.¹⁸³ In 1074, Gregory VII sought Philip's assistance in obtaining the release of a certain Folcerius of Chartres, who had been seized on his return from Rome by 'Lancelin, a knight of Beauvais'.¹⁸⁴ In an act of 1086, another Lancelin, perhaps the same man, appears as Philip's butler.¹⁸⁵ Thus, Fulk came from a family who were clearly on the rise and who seem to have been no strangers to Philip's court. From Fulk's time onwards, the influence of Lancelin's family at Beauvais seems to have declined.¹⁸⁶ However, Philip and Louis both took a keener interest in the see at this time, in particular in the early years of the twelfth century when a major electoral dispute arose, as we will see in the next chapter.¹⁸⁷

Amiens

North-west of Beauvais was Amiens, the most northerly episcopal city where Philip is known to have given one of his acts. This lone act occurred in late 1075 or early 1076 and confirmed donations made by Guy, count of Ponthieu to Cluny.¹⁸⁸ The county of Amiens was part of the

¹⁸⁰ Philippus I, anno 1061, crucem auream in ecclesia S. Germani Paris. expilare prohibetur miraculo pridie translationis S. Germani patrato', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 24-5; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 34.

¹⁸¹ *GC*, vol. 9, cols 710-11; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 72-3. On Ursio, see also: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 117 (pp. 297-300).

¹⁸² *GC*, vol. 9, cols 711-14; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 73-4; Michael Horn, 'Zur Geschichte des Bischofs Fulco von Beauvais (1089-1095)', *Francia*, 16 (1989), 176-84, via MDZ (Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Digitale Bibliothek) [website], <<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00016292-3>>, (accessed 7 March 2024); see below, pp. 137-9.

¹⁸³ On this family, see: Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 73-4, 78, 102-4; Mathieu, 'Recherches', pp. 25-6.

¹⁸⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, pp. 152-3 (2.5); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 113; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 103 and n. 157.

¹⁸⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, p. CXLVII and nos. 114 (pp. 287-8), 118 (pp. 300-2), 122 (pp. 308-10), 123 (pp. 310-11); Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 104, n. 160.

¹⁸⁷ See below, pp. 149-54.

¹⁸⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no 79 (pp. 200-2); see below, pp. 186-7. See also: Ott, *Bishops*, p. 229.

collection of lands and rights possessed by Ralph of Crépy, but following his death and the breakup of this collection, the county eventually passed to Enguerrand of Boves, who we met above.¹⁸⁹ The precise chronology of developments in Amiens around this time, and the extent of Enguerrand's grip there, is not always clear; for example, in 1094 there is a charter which refers to Guy, probably the count of Ponthieu, and a certain Ivo as being counts (jointly?) of Amiens.¹⁹⁰

The ties between secular and spiritual powers in Amiens can be observed through the lens of the occupants of the bishopric. The see was occupied at Philip's accession by Guy, who belonged to the family of the counts of Ponthieu, being the son of Count Enguerrand (and thus the uncle of Count Guy mentioned in the 1076 act above) and the great-grandson of King Hugh Capet, whose daughter Gela had married Enguerrand's father, Count Hugh.¹⁹¹ Guy had previously served for several years as archdeacon of the cathedral chapter during the episcopate of his predecessor, Bishop Fulk II, who was himself a brother of Drogo, count of the Vexin.¹⁹² It has been suggested that Guy was the author of the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, a verse retelling of the Norman Conquest of 1066, and regardless it is clear that a man with his connections would have been immensely valuable to Philip, especially after this momentous event.¹⁹³ He appears in several of Philip's *acta*.¹⁹⁴

Initially, Guy's successor appears to have been a certain Fulk, who appears as bishop-elect in a royal act of 14 October 1076.¹⁹⁵ As we will see in the next chapter, it seems probable that there was a period of uncertainty and controversy in the see following Guy's death, which was followed in quick succession by the episcopates of Fulk, Ralph and Rorico.¹⁹⁶ After Rorico's

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Roux, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Acheul-lez-Amiens: étude de son temporel au point de vue économique* (Amiens, 1890), no. 1 (pp. 485-8); Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, pp. 66-8; A. De Calonne, *Histoire de la ville d'Amiens*, vol. 1 (1899; repr. London: Forgotten Books, s.d.), pp. 112-21; Pierre Desportes, 'Les origines de la commune d'Amiens', in: *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens* ed. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (s.l.: Éditions Herault, 1992), pp. 247-65, at pp. 248-54; Feuchère, 'Une tentative'; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 228-9.

¹⁹⁰ *Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, ed. J. Roux and E. Soyez, 2 vols (Amiens and Paris, 1905-12), no. 9 (pp. 14-15); De Calonne, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 118-21; Desportes, 'Les origines', pp. 251-3; Ott, *Bishops*, p. 229.

¹⁹¹ Hariulf, *Chronicle*, ed. Ferdinand Lot, as: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier* (Paris, 1894), pp. 205-7, 229-30, 282; English trans. by Kathleen Thompson, as: *Hariulf's History of St Riquier* (Manchester, 2024), pp. 218-19, 238-9, 281; *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, ed. and English trans. by Frank Barlow, as: *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens* (1999; repr. Oxford, 2007), pp. xlii-liii; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1164-6.

¹⁹² De Calonne, *Histoire*, vol. 1, 113; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1162-4.

¹⁹³ *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, with the authorship discussed at esp. pp. xxiv-xl.

¹⁹⁴ *Carmen*, ed. Barlow, pp. xvii-xviii, xlvi; Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

¹⁹⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 84 (pp. 217-21); *GC*, vol. 10, col. 1166.

¹⁹⁶ *GC*, vol. 10, col 1166; pp. 119-20.

death, Gervin, abbot of Saint-Riquier, became bishop, not without controversy.¹⁹⁷ The local forces behind the elections of Bishop Guy's immediate successors are not always particularly clear, but it seems very likely that Godfrey, who became bishop in 1104, had the backing of Enguerrand of Boves, who years before had helped to manoeuvre him into his previous post as abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy.¹⁹⁸

Thérouanne

North of Amiens, at Thérouanne, the episcopal see was closely tied to the counts of Flanders, though Philip too seems to have been able to exert a degree of influence on elections here.¹⁹⁹ At the start of the reign, a veteran of the French episcopate, Drogo, whose tenure dated back to the later part of Robert II's reign, possessed the bishopric.²⁰⁰ Even during the minority period, when Count Baldwin V led Philip's government, Drogo only appears in one royal act, a somewhat problematic document from (perhaps) 1066 where he is named alongside several of the other bishops of the archdiocese.²⁰¹ He is also named alongside Philip as a subscriber to one of Baldwin's acts in favour of Saint-Pierre at Lille.²⁰² Otherwise, he does not appear. Indeed, after Drogo's death in the late 1070s, only one other bishop of Thérouanne, Gerard, is found in the royal *acta*, which suggests that the occupants of this see were only infrequent attendants at court.²⁰³

All of Drogo's immediate successors were the subject of significant controversy.²⁰⁴ However, in 1099 a new bishop was found in John, formerly archdeacon of Arras and before that a canon firstly at Saint-Pierre at Lille, then at Mont-Saint-Eloi.²⁰⁵ John can be thought of as part of a new wave of particularly reform-conscious bishops, alongside figures such as Ivo of Chartres and Lambert of Arras.²⁰⁶ As cautioned in the introduction above, one needs to use

¹⁹⁷ *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1167-8; see below, p. 147.

¹⁹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 228-33; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 89-91; *Life of Godfrey, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. as: 'Ex vita S. Godefridi, Ambianensis episcopi', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 174-81, at pp. 175-6; Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 58; *GC*, vol. 10, col. 1169; see below, pp. 155-6, 162.

¹⁹⁹ See below, pp. 129-31. See generally, for example: A. Giry, 'Grégoire VII et les évêques de Térouane', *Revue Historique*, 1 (1876), 387-409, via JSTOR, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40937534>>, (accessed 2 September 2022); Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 610-12; Newman, *Le domaine*, pp. 223-4.

²⁰⁰ *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1537-9; Giry, 'Grégoire', pp. 388-90.

²⁰¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 27 (pp. 79-83).

²⁰² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 25 (pp. 70-6).

²⁰³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 110 (pp. 279-82), and cf. also no. 175 (pp. 425-8).

²⁰⁴ Giry, 'Grégoire VII'; see below, pp. 129-31, 148.

²⁰⁵ Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Rider

²⁰⁶ Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Rider, intro., pp. XXXIX-XL; English trans. by Rider, introduction, p. 48; Bernard Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIV^e siècle: Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols (Arras, 1994), vol. 1, p. 47.

such a term with care.²⁰⁷ However, by John's time the ties between Philip and Théroutane may have loosened still further. The marriage alliance between the royal family and the counts of Flanders had ended with Philip's repudiation of Bertha of Holland, which may have caused some tension and regardless would have placed a bond which had been strong since the very start of the reign on a weaker footing.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, it is perhaps telling that, despite the gravity of the moment, John was not present as his old superior, Lambert of Arras, led Philip's absolution at Paris in 1104.²⁰⁹

Noyon-Tournai

The episcopal sees of Noyon and Tournai were in this period united as one bishopric, which was beneficial to Philip as it meant that, at a time when royal influence over Noyon – much closer to the royal lands – seems to have been increasing, he could also hope to exercise influence at Tournai, located in the far north-east of the Reims archdiocese.²¹⁰ Guyotjeannin has seen the episcopate of Baldwin I, whose tenure extended from Henry I's reign into the early years of Philip's, as particularly important for the development of royal ties to Noyon, with one indication of this perhaps being Philip's imprisonment there – exactly when and why is unclear – of Hugh-Rainard, the count of Tonnerre and Bar-sur-Seine who in 1065 became bishop of Langres.²¹¹ Baldwin's successor, Radbod II, is described by Heriman of Tournai as 'a noble man and of great probity', though Heriman also says that he faced accusations of simony and died paralysed and incapable of confessing his sins.²¹² He was a frequent subscriber to royal *acta*.²¹³ His successor, Baldric, was elevated from archdeacon to bishop.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ See above, pp. 22-3.

²⁰⁸ See below, p. 244.

²⁰⁹ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 242-3.

²¹⁰ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 131-2; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 368-70; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, esp. pp. 31-48, 173-8, 182-225; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. cxxv-cxxviii, cxxxiii. On Tournai generally, see also the introduction to: Heriman (Herman) of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, English trans. by Lynn H. Nelson (Washington, DC, 1996), at pp. xiv-xxv.

²¹¹ 'Ex Historia Translat. Reliquiarum S. Mamantis vel Mammetis Martyris', in: *RHF*, vol. 11, pp. 482-3; R. Aubert, 'Hugues-Renard [...] évêque de Langres', in: *DHGE*, vol. 25, ed. R. Aubert with J.-P. Hendrickx (Paris, 1995), cols 277-8; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 174-5.

²¹² Heriman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, ed. Huygens, pp. 124-6: 'vir nobilis et magne probitatis'; trans. Nelson, pp. 105-6; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 996-8; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 176-7; see below, pp. 121-2.

²¹³ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

²¹⁴ Heriman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, ed. Huygens, p. 126; English trans. by Nelson, pp. 106; *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 382-6, 392-4; *GC*, vol. 9, col. 998; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 177.

Cambrai and Arras

Located in the north-west of the archdiocese, though south of Tournai, Cambrai was, although the seat of a suffragan diocese of Reims, located not within Philip's realm but within the Empire.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, we do find Bishop Lietbert at Philip's association in 1059, and then again alongside several other bishops in a royal act given at Reims in September 1066, around the time that Philip's minority ended.²¹⁶ Lietbert's successor, Gerard, is the only other bishop of Cambrai found subscribing to Philip's *acta*, this being on one occasion in 1084, again alongside several other bishops.²¹⁷

In the 1090s, the bishopric was controversially divided, to Philip's benefit, with Urban II backing the re-founding of a separate diocese of Arras, created out of western parts of the diocese of Cambrai.²¹⁸ The first bishop of Arras, Lambert of Guînes (1093-1115), may have been a member of the comital family of Guînes, and his kin certainly included the counts of Ponthieu.²¹⁹ The *Codex Lamberti*, even allowing for the fact that it was compiled in Lambert's honour, testifies to his influence in the diocese, the high esteem in which he was held by both Urban II and Paschal II, and his wide network of contacts.²²⁰ The *Codex's* editor, Giordanengo, contrasts the style of Lambert's letters with those of Ivo, suggesting that, whilst the former was clearly a conscientious prelate, he may have been more restrained than his co-bishop.²²¹ The fact that, at Pope Paschal II's request and with Philip's blessing, the important task of presiding over the absolution of Philip and Bertrada at the Council of Paris in 1104 fell to Lambert, suggests that he was a prelate in whose conduct all sides could trust.²²² Lambert's activity is also indicative of the ties between the Capetian court and his newly reformed diocese, and whilst Philip's exact involvement in Lambert's election must remain somewhat uncertain, in 1131 we do see Louis VI approving the election of a new bishop in this see, suggesting that the monarch could exercise some degree of influence over successions there by that point.²²³

²¹⁵ Michel Rouche, 'Cambrai, du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', in: *Histoire de Cambrai*, ed. Louis Trenard (Lille, 1982), pp. 11-42; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 197-8.

²¹⁶ *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, p. 229; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 26 (pp. 79-9), and see also no. 22 (pp. 59-63); Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 202-3.

²¹⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, no. 110 (pp. 279-82).

²¹⁸ See below, pp. 205-7.

²¹⁹ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 18, 386-7.

²²⁰ Cf. Delmaire, *Le diocèse*, vol. 1, pp. 56-7.

²²¹ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, p. 24.

²²² *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 238-47; see below, pp. 227-8.

²²³ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 2, nos. 301-2 (pp. 147-50); Delmaire, *Le diocèse*, vol. 1, pp. 163-4; Luçhaire, *Louis VI*, nos. 469-70 (p. 218); Newman, *Domaine royal*, p. 223; see below, pp. 205-7.

(3) Archdiocese of Tours

Tours

To the west of Paris lay the sees of the archdiocese of Tours, of which Tours itself was most intimately tied to the Capetian monarchy at this time.²²⁴ Although the early Capetians retained a hold over Tours and its environs, including at the esteemed house of Saint-Martin, where the king was lay abbot, the presence of the Thibaudians and the counts of Anjou in this area ensured that it played host to a complicated tapestry of competing influences.²²⁵ On a couple of occasions, we see the treasurer of Saint-Martin as a subscriber to Philip's *acta*, reflecting the importance of this office at the abbey.²²⁶ Curiously, however, the archbishops of Tours themselves are absent as subscribers throughout the reign.²²⁷

The familial links of Ralph I, archbishop of Tours, who came from the influential castellan family of Langeais, have already been observed above.²²⁸ Philip backed his election, which was only secured after a lengthy vacancy.²²⁹ It is interesting to note, therefore, that Ralph seems to have actively cooperated with the papal legate, Hugh of Die, albeit that did not stop Hugh from suspending him from office when further accusations arose around his election.²³⁰ A few years later, in the early 1080s, Ralph was then expelled from his see for a time by the count of Anjou, and this affair might be seen as an indication of tension between Philip, who was perhaps complicit in the expulsion, and the reformist initiatives emanating from Rome.²³¹ The key source for this information is an account of the incident, written by

²²⁴ On Tours itself, see generally: Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual at Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1991).

²²⁵ Jacques Boussard, 'L'enclave royale de Saint-Martin de Tours', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1959 for 1958), 157-79, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bsnaf.1959.5968>>, (accessed 16 June 2024); Jacques Boussard, 'Le trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 47 (1961), 67-88, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/rhef.1961.3267>>, (accessed 16 June 2024); Farmer, *Communities*, pp. 34-6; Griffiths, 'The Capetian Kings', passim; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, p. 114, n. 506; Hélène Noizet, *La fabrique de la ville: Espaces et sociétés à Tours (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 2007); John Ottaway, 'La collégiale Saint-Martin de Tours est-elle demeurée une véritable enclave royale au XI^e s.?', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 33 (1990), 153-77, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/ccmed.1990.2466>>, (accessed 17 December 2024).

²²⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 30 (pp. 91-4), 84 (pp. 217-21).

²²⁷ Though cf. Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 34 (pp. 100-3) (= Martin-Demézil, 'À propos', pp. 28-37), a non-royal act in which Philip and Bartholomew both appear.

²²⁸ See above, p. 68.

²²⁹ See below, pp. 111-12.

²³⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 378-80; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 266-7; Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Pope Gregory VII), in: *RHF*, vol. 14, new edn, pp. 613-16, at p. 615; Becker, *Studien*, p. 65; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 343-3, 416-17; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 104-7; Renne, *Law and Practice*, pp. 156-9; see below, p. 124.

²³¹ Becker, *Studien*, p. 77; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339, 344, 352-3; Farmer, *Communities*, pp. 44-7; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 343-5; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 107-10; *GC*, vol. 14, cols 68-9; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 120-1; Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 198-201; Noizet, *La fabrique*, pp. 197-200; Ottaway, 'La collégiale', p. 157.

canons at Saint-Martin, perhaps in the mid-1090s, which relates that Philip prompted Fulk to expel Ralph because the archbishop had refused to attend a summons to the royal court and was too close to the papal legates, Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron, who were challenging Philip's authority in ecclesiastical affairs.²³² Hugh of Die, by now also archbishop of Lyon, came to Ralph's defence, mustering the might of the bishops of his own archdiocese to excommunicate Fulk as well as the canons of Saint-Martin, who had collaborated with the count in the expulsion.²³³ Gregory VII also voiced his condemnation of the act.²³⁴

In the end, the affair was resolved; exactly how remains something of a mystery. But what role did Philip really play in what happened? It is noteworthy that neither the letter in which the prelates of Lyon proclaim the excommunication, nor Gregory VII's correspondence on the matter, mention the king at all; both focus on Fulk, with the Lyon letter also directly implicating the monks of the abbey of Marmoutier, and Gregory writing a reprimand directly to the canons of Saint-Martin. It has been suggested that Gregory preferred to focus his attentions on Fulk to avoid a major confrontation with Philip.²³⁵ However, even if this is true, it seems that there was a widespread uprising against Ralph from various key players in Tours, and given Philip's limited influence in the city, it is risky to assign too much of the impetus for what happened to him. Indeed, discontent towards Ralph from Fulk himself was likely more significant. It has been observed that the expulsion followed soon after Gregory VII had reproved Ralph for delaying, out of fear of Count Fulk, the consecration of Hoel, a chapel clerk of William the Conqueror and thus a concerning appointment for Fulk (and, though probably to a slightly lesser degree, Philip), as the new bishop of Le Mans.²³⁶ Perhaps, therefore, an impasse over this matter was more responsible for fuelling the antagonism. As for what the Saint-Martin account says about Philip, it is by no means implausible that he feared the repercussions of legatine activity, including perhaps for his hold over Tours. Given the monarchy's ties to Saint-Martin, it was also more likely that he would back any grievance the canons there held against Ralph; indeed, it would have been unwise of him to ignore it.

²³² 'Narratio controversiæ', ed. RHF. On the date, see: Farmer, *Communities*, pp. 44-6.

²³³ 'Epistolarum Lugdunensis provinciæ ad Episcopos et Clerum provinciæ Turonensis', in: RHF, vol. 14, pp. 673-4.

²³⁴ Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 52 (pp. 126-7); Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, pp. 605-7 (9.24); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 423.

²³⁵ Becker, *Studien*, p. 77; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339, 353.

²³⁶ *Acts of the Bishops of Le Mans*, ed. Busson and Ledru, pp. 382-3; Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, no. 48 (pp. 116-17), and see p. 126, unnumbered note marked with an asterisk; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, pp. 300-3; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 103, 107; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 120-1, 255; Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 185-6, 197, 199; Latouche, *Histoire*, pp. 79, 86; Noizet, *La fabrique*, pp. 197-200.

Overall, whilst it is likely that Philip gave at least some sort of tacit encouragement to Ralph's expulsion, he may not have been the prime force behind it. Rather, local politics at Tours, and more specifically the fractious relationship between Ralph and Fulk, may have been the root cause of the affair.

If the relationship between Philip and Ralph I is quite challenging to dissect, it seems clear that things changed under Ralph's like-named successor, Ralph II.²³⁷ Judging by the letters of Ivo of Chartres, Ralph II was a major corrupting influence at the royal court who summoned hostile clerics there in order to either silence them through exile or strip them of their assets.²³⁸ At one point, Ivo comments despairingly to Paschal II on Ralph that: 'almost all that he has done since his ordination has been against order'.²³⁹ Ralph was, in Ivo's eyes, the epitome of what reformers within the Church sought to fight against, namely a prelate with scant regard for canonical practice and whose loyalty to secular powers went too far. Even if we should refrain from accepting this portrayal at face value, it nonetheless creates a striking image of the way in which prelates with different approaches could engage with the royal court of Philip I. Both Ivo and Ralph would have professed themselves to be loyal servants of the king, but Ivo's loyalty was moulded within the new reformist drive for right practice in a way that Ralph's, so it would seem, was not.

The Suffragan Sees

Although Philip could wield some influence in Tours itself, the rest of the archdiocese lay largely beyond his reach, or arguably, the further west one travels, beyond his concern.²⁴⁰ At Le Mans, north-west of Tours, royal influence over elections to the episcopal see seems to have substantially declined, though it may not have disappeared entirely.²⁴¹ Either way, no bishop of Le Mans appears as a subscriber to Philip's *acta*. Among the bishops of the other sees of the archdiocese (Alet, Angers, Dol, Nantes, Quimper, Rennes, Léon, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier and Vannes), the curious subscription of Quiriacus, bishop of Nantes, to a royal act of 1061 given at Reims, remains a lone extant example.²⁴² It is worth noting too that Philip's

²³⁷ Becker, *Studien*, p. 84; Farmer, *Communities*, p. 43; GC, vol. 14, cols 70-6.

²³⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 54, 59, 66-7. See below, pp. 143-6.

²³⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 108: 'pene omnia quae in ordinatione ejus facta sunt contra ordinem usurpata sunt'.

²⁴⁰ Cf. for example: Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴¹ Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 26-7; Guillot, *Le comte*, pp. 108-10, 120-1, 255; Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 141-2, 185-6; Latouche, *Histoire*, pp. 78-87; Louise, 'Népotisme épiscopale', esp. pp. 38-40.

²⁴² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 10 (pp. 30-1).

reign coincided with a time when the see of Dol was claiming archiepiscopal status over the sees of Alet, Quimper, Saint-Brieuc, Léon, Tréguier, and Vannes, thus threatening to split the archdiocese in two.²⁴³ With Tours, therefore, we have a good example of just how variable royal authority and presence could be within the borders of one archdiocese at this time.

(4) Other Dioceses

The archdioceses of Sens, Reims and Tours enveloped much of the royal heartlands and thus it is within the context of their bounds that most of the discussion in this thesis plays out, even though Philip's influence could vary from diocese to diocese. However, that is not to say that Philip's influence and involvement in ecclesiastical matters did not reach further afield, and it is worth highlighting a few more dioceses and instances here before moving on.

The dukes of Normandy maintained a strong grip on the Church within their lands, meaning that Philip could not hope to exercise any sway on episcopal elections there.²⁴⁴ The bounds of the archdiocese of Rouen were largely contiguous to those of the duchy, although the French Vexin also fell within the archbishop's remit.²⁴⁵ A sign of these overlapping boundaries can be seen in an act of 1091, in which Philip confirms William, archbishop of Rouen, as archdeacon of the Vexin, granting him the church of Saint-Mellon at Pontoise to hold as a royal vassal.²⁴⁶ Among the stipulations made in this act is that the archbishop must attend the royal court once a year. However, it is difficult to say for sure whether this happened due to the general lack of episcopal subscriptions in the later part of the reign.²⁴⁷

Moving from north to south, a line of three archdioceses stretched from Bordeaux in the west, through Bourges to Lyon in the east.²⁴⁸ Philip could exercise no control over elections in the archdiocese of Bordeaux, though he did visit the northernmost episcopal seat, Poitiers, in 1076 to meet with William VIII, duke of Aquitaine.²⁴⁹ During his stay, Philip subscribed to an act for Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers alongside Josselin, archbishop of Bordeaux, who was also

²⁴³ H. Waquet, 'Dol', in: *DHGE*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1960), cols 567-74, at cols 568-70.

²⁴⁴ See, for example: Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 214-29.

²⁴⁵ Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 35-7; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 53-4; Jean-François Lemaignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales* (Lille, 1945), pp. 47-50.

²⁴⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 127 (pp. 321-3); Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 104; Lemaignier, *Recherches*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁷ See above, p. 50.

²⁴⁸ See below, appendices 2-3.

²⁴⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 83-4 (pp. 215-21).

treasurer at Saint-Hilaire.²⁵⁰ It may be that Philip took advantage of this trip to foster links with Josselin and his suffragans, and vice versa.²⁵¹

The archiepiscopal seat of Bourges was positioned, unlike Bordeaux, in the north of its archdiocese. Nevertheless, for much of the reign, royal influence over the bishopric was still quite tenuous. It is not clear that Philip had any control over the archiepiscopal elections.²⁵² Only once does an archbishop of Bourges appear in one of Philip's acts.²⁵³ In 1080, the archbishop is found at William the Conqueror's court, possibly as part of a French peace mission.²⁵⁴ The only time when Philip himself is found in Bourges is towards the end of the reign, following his acquisition of the viscounty from Odo Arpin, who mortgaged it to Philip to fund going on crusade.²⁵⁵

The suffragans of Bourges also seem to have been outside of Philip's reach. In 1095, Philip did make a trip to meet with the legate Hugh of Die at the abbey of Mozac, in the diocese of Clermont.²⁵⁶ This was an exceptional trip and can be compared with that made to Poitiers in 1076 as mentioned above, but importantly it also represents the furthest south that Philip is known to have travelled during his reign.²⁵⁷ As we will see, this trip seems to have been a failure, but it is possible that, had events transpired otherwise, Philip would have carried on to join in the council held at Clermont a short time later, where Urban II called for the First Crusade.²⁵⁸ As well as Hugh of Die, one of the subscribers to the Mozac act was Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, one of the leading figures of the crusade.²⁵⁹ However, even though his

²⁵⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 83 (pp. 215-16).

²⁵¹ See below, pp. 197-8. Also: Mark Hewett, 'King Philip I of France, Gerard of Corbie and the Abbey of La Sauve-Majeure', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 50 (2024), 19-36, at pp. 28-30.

²⁵² Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 224.

²⁵³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 86 (pp. 224-6).

²⁵⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 3, p. 112; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. David Bates (Oxford, 1998), no. 235 (pp. 728-9); Bates, *William*, pp. 402-3; Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (1983; edn New Haven, CT, and London, 2000), pp. 36-7.

²⁵⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 145 (pp. 358-67); Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La prise en charge du Berry par le roi Philippe I^{er} et les antécédents de cette politique de Hugues le Grand à Robert le Pieux', in: *Media in Francia..., Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire* (Maulévrier: Hérault-Éditions, 1989), pp. 31-60, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 9 [pagination retained]; see below, p. 261.

²⁵⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 135 (pp. 342-3).

²⁵⁷ Cf. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, map 5.

²⁵⁸ See below, p. 249. Also: Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship', 18-19, n. 29; Gabriele, 'The Provenance', p. 115.

²⁵⁹ Robert Somerville, 'Adhemar of Le Puy, Papal Legate on the First Crusade', in: *Law and Profession and Practice in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of James A. Brundage*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Melodie Harris Eichbauer (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2011), pp. 371-85.

forebears had been able to exert an influence on episcopal appointments at Le Puy, Philip is not known to have had any concrete role there.²⁶⁰

Turning to our final archdiocese, Lyon, we find quite a complex situation. Unlike its suffragan sees of Langres, Autun, Chalon-sur-Saône and Mâcon, Lyon itself was located not within France, but in the Empire.²⁶¹ Contemporaries were not blind to this fact, with Manasses I, archbishop of Reims, refusing to attend a council in Lyon in 1080 partially on the grounds that it was not within the borders of the French kingdom.²⁶² The status of Lyon was further complicated by the fact that in 1079 Gregory VII granted its archbishops primacy over the archbishops of Rouen, Sens, and Tours, this act being followed a few years later by the installation of Gregory's formidable legate, Hugh of Die, as archbishop.²⁶³

Philip's influence in this archdiocese was felt at times in the suffragan sees. We will see in the next chapter that he could clearly exercise a degree of oversight over elections at Mâcon early in the reign.²⁶⁴ The same may also be true at Chalon-sur-Saône, though our only evidence of this is a brief mention in a 1079 letter of Pope Gregory VII to Hugh of Die of 'the man who, as you have informed us, has invaded the church of Châlon [sic] by means of the temporal power, that is by royal investiture.'²⁶⁵ Bishops Agano of Autun, Landric of Mâcon and Roclin (Roderic) of Chalon were all present at a major gathering at Orléans in 1077, where they subscribed to a royal act which lists them among 'our [i.e., Philip's] bishops and archbishops', though it is not certain how much can be read into this expression.²⁶⁶ Agano also appears in a handful of other *acta*, as does Hugh-Rainard, bishop of Langres, whom we met above in the context of his imprisonment at Noyon.²⁶⁷ In 1073, Gregory VII wrote to Roclin of Chalon that 'we have learnt that you are of great discretion and that you enjoy the king's familiarity', suggesting that, for whatever reason, he believed that Roclin possessed some influence with Philip.²⁶⁸ Hugh-Rainard's successor at Langres was Robert, who was a brother of dukes Hugh

²⁶⁰ Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 224.

²⁶¹ See above, p. 56.

²⁶² Manasses I to Hugh of Die, ed. RHF, esp. p. 785; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 348-9.

²⁶³ See below, pp. 202-5.

²⁶⁴ See below, pp. 112-14.

²⁶⁵ Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 30 (pp. 78-81): 'quem per saecularem potestatem, id est regiam inuestituram, Cabilonensem aecclesiam intrasse significastis'; Becker, *Studien*, p. 74; Bouchard, *Sword*, p. 392; Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 224.

²⁶⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 86 (pp. 224-6): 'archiepscoporum et episcoporum nostrorum'; Luchaire, *Les institutions*, vol. 2, p. 250 and n. 2; Newman, *Domaine*, p. 224.

²⁶⁷ Prou, nos. 57 (pp. 151-2), 58 (pp. 153-4), 62 (pp. 163-5), 78 (pp. 197-200), 86 (pp. 224-6), 95 (pp. 245-8), 135 (pp. 342-3); Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 2d.

²⁶⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 56-7 (1.35): 'prudentiam tuam magnam esse et regia familiaritate uti cognovimus'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 40-1; see below, p. 113.

and Odo of Burgundy, and so a close blood relation of Philip's.²⁶⁹ Thus, although the bishops of the archdiocese of Lyon were not as closely tied to Philip as the prelates from many other sees discussed above, these few examples illustrate how bonds still linked them to the royal court on several occasions across the reign.

Popes and Legates

As noted above, Philip's reign saw a substantial growth in papal power and influence in northern France, coupled with a reformist drive which threatened to create serious fault lines between lay and ecclesiastical powers.²⁷⁰ To help foster their objectives, the popes of the later eleventh century, and Gregory VII in particular, appointed and utilised legates to a greater extent than seen previously, using these emissaries as devoted agents tasked with enforcing their perceived rights and broadcasting the papal reformist agenda to clerics and rulers beyond Rome.²⁷¹ As we will see throughout this thesis, these legates added a different and not always welcome factor into the mixture of interests which played out in the dioceses.

Early Legations Under Nicholas II and Alexander II

From Philip's perspective, legates must have been something of a nuisance, even in the early days of the reign. In 1059, when he was confirmed as his father's heir in a ceremony at Reims, two papal representatives, Hugh, archbishop of Besançon, and Ermenfried, bishop of Sion, were present, but the text detailing the event makes it clear that, in at least one author's view, their attendance had no bearing on the validity of the proceedings; in other words, they were not turned away, but neither were they required.²⁷² The context for this was a thawing in relations between Henry I and the papacy towards the end of his reign.²⁷³ By allowing papal supervision at such a critical event for his dynasty, Henry no doubt hoped to put his young son's reign on the best possible footing to avoid further tension.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Bouchard, *Sword*, p. 395; *GC*, vol. 4, cols 566-9; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', p. 97.

²⁷⁰ See above, pp. 22-8.

²⁷¹ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 355-75, 592-6; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, esp. pp. 89-95; Rennie, *Law and Practice*; Kriston R. Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (Basingstoke, 2013); Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*.

²⁷² *Ordines*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, pp. 228-32; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 2-7; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, p. 60.

²⁷³ Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, pp. 330-3; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 100-1.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Egon Boshof, 'Heinrich I.: 1031-1060', in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters: Von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, Heribert Müller and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich, 1996), pp. 99-112, at p. 109.

The early signs were quite positive. Pope Nicholas II was likely encouraged by the knowledge that two of the most influential figures in Philip's minority were his mother, Anna, and the archbishop of Reims, Gervase.²⁷⁵ Prior to Henry's death, Nicholas had written to Anna, praising her conduct and urging her to prompt her husband towards better behaviour, whilst also instilling piety in her children.²⁷⁶ Nicholas also wrote several times to Gervase, and seems to have had faith in him, perhaps in part on account of reports from Hugh and Ermenfried, as well as another legate, G., whose identity is unknown.²⁷⁷ In 1060, another legate, Stephen of San Grisogono, was active in the north, publicising Nicholas's decrees at a council held in Tours.²⁷⁸ After Nicholas's death, correspondence continued between Gervase and the new pope, Alexander II, though no further legatine contact with Philip is known until after Gervase's death in 1067, which adds further weight to the suggestion that at this time, a *modus operandi* had been reached between the royal court and the pope, mediated through the archbishop of Reims and his perceived influence over the young king.²⁷⁹ That does not mean, however, that legates were removed from Philip's affairs; as we will see, Peter Damian's legation in 1063 did not reach Philip's lands, but it did tackle episcopal disputes concerning them.²⁸⁰ Alexander himself was also in direct contact with Philip, as is evidenced in a letter which reminds him of the importance of respecting the pope and his judgements.²⁸¹

Nevertheless, we must wait until the end of Alexander's pontificate for the next clear sign of Philip's dealings with legatine power. The legation of Gerald, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and the subdeacon Raimbaud, may have included the holding of a council at Paris.²⁸² It is highly likely that they held direct talks with Philip, and all indications are that things went well.²⁸³ During the visit, they added their subscription to the highly significant 1067 act in

²⁷⁵ See above, pp. 10, 66-7.

²⁷⁶ Nicholas II (Pope) to Anna, Queen of France, in: *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, as: *MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4, in 4 vols (Munich, 1983-93), vol. 2 (Munich, 1988), no. 64 (pp. 225-7); Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 270-1.

²⁷⁷ Nicholas II (Pope), *Acta*, ed. as: 'Nicolai II Papæ, Epistolæ et Diplomata', in: *PL*, vol. 143 (Paris, 1853), cols. 1301-62, at nos. 10 (cols 1323-4), 26 (cols 1347-8), 29 (col. 1349); Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 405-10, 609-10; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 60-1; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 270-1.

²⁷⁸ Mansi, vol. 19, cols 925-30; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 27-8; Odette Pontal, *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu'en 1215* (1995; Paris, 2007), p. 170; Schieffer, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 79-84; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 62-4.

²⁷⁹ For some of this correspondence, see below, pp. 103-9.

²⁸⁰ Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 66-72; see below, pp. 107-8.

²⁸¹ *Epistolæ Pontificum Romanorum Ineditæ*, ed. S. Loewenfeld (1885; repr. Graz, 1959), no. 80 (pp. 42-3); on which see also: Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, ed. *PL*, p. 333. See also below, pp. 165-7.

²⁸² Mansi, vol. 20, cols 49-50; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 172-3; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 80-7.

²⁸³ Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, p. 37.

which Philip marked the completion of his father's foundation of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.²⁸⁴ Much like the legatine presence at the association in 1059, these subscriptions symbolised royal acceptance of papal participation and authority. The community at Saint-Martin may have sought out the subscriptions themselves, though given the strong ties between their house and Philip, it is entirely possible that the latter's initiative was the deciding factor. If so, this suggests that Philip *wanted* legatine authority to be recognised on a document dedicated to what was arguably his greatest public act of piety. This was royal and papal power working together side-by-side to mutual benefit, accommodating and respecting mutual authority.

Early Relations with Gregory VII

Unfortunately for Philip, the tone of royal-papal relations would change markedly with the advent of the pontificate of Gregory VII in 1073.²⁸⁵ On 4 December of that year, Gregory wrote a letter to Roclin, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, where he counts Philip among the worst of those 'princes of this our time who from depraved greed have destroyed the church of God by putting it up for sale'.²⁸⁶ In other words, Gregory had heard tale of Philip's simony. Putting aside the context of this for the moment – we will come to it in the next chapter – it is important to recognise just how stark Gregory's language was in this letter, even though it is addressed to a bishop rather than to Philip himself. If Alexander II had softly encouraged Gervase of Reims to steer a younger Philip towards respect for electoral practice, there is, in Gregory's letter, a clear sense of worn patience in the king's inexperience as a reasonable excuse.

What was the cause of this abrupt shift in approach? Perhaps the success of Gerald and Raimbaud's legation was not, in fact, so complete, and their reports back to Rome had raised concerns about Philip's conduct. Alternatively, the immediate context of Gregory's letter was a disputed election at Mâcon, so perhaps it was reports from those caught up in that controversy which drew the pope to such a strong condemnation of the king.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, Gregory had been a key figure in papal affairs for many years prior to becoming pope, and had spent time in France himself as a legate, so was probably well aware of the

²⁸⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 30 (pp. 91-4).

²⁸⁵ For what follows on Gregory and Philip, cf. esp.: Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 334-40, 419-22; Fliche, *Le règne*, 389-423; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 281-2.

²⁸⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 56-7 (1.35): 'nostri huius temporis principes, qui ecclesiam Dei perversa cupiditate venundando dissiparunt'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 40-1.

²⁸⁷ See below, pp. 112-14.

improper practices which could take place in ecclesiastical affairs there.²⁸⁸ The letter to Roclin was an indication that he would not allow such abuses to stand. Nevertheless, whatever he may have heard about Philip, he no doubt hoped to find in him a collaborator.

Gregory had reasons to be hopeful. In the same letter to Roclin, Gregory recalls that Philip has previously promised, ‘through a household servant, namely the chamberlain Alberic’, to correct his ways.²⁸⁹ It is unclear when this apparent embassy occurred, or even who Alberic was, given that none of Philip’s *acta* are subscribed by a chamberlain of that name.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it suggests that Philip was making a point of addressing concerns about conduct in his realm. A few months later, in March 1074, in a letter addressing controversy around Roger, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, Gregory says to Roger that ‘King Philip of France, who is bound to you by no small love, has pressingly asked us both by letters and by the words of messengers that we should absolve you’.²⁹¹ This suggests further contact between Philip and Gregory.

From April, we then have our first surviving letter direct from Gregory to the king. In it, the pope expresses his satisfaction with Philip’s actions, noting that ‘You have indicated to us through your letters and messengers that you wish devotedly and as is fitting to obey Peter the prince of the apostles and eagerly to hear and to carry out our own directions in things that belong to the religion of the church’.²⁹² He urges Philip to behave like the best of his ancestors, in order to save his kingdom from ruin. The early signs, therefore, were positive.²⁹³ Philip had been sternly reminded of his duties and responded humbly. He wanted good relations with Gregory just as much as Gregory did with him, and had no wish to be seen as a wicked oppressor of the Church.

Things did not stay so cordial for long, not least because Gregory and Philip surely had very different interpretations of the assurances the latter had given. The pope sought the

²⁸⁸ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 27-74.

²⁸⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 56-7 (1.35): ‘per familiarem suum, cubicularium videlicet Albericum’; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 40-1.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. CXLIV-CXLVI, CLII-CLIII.

²⁹¹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 83-4 (1.56): ‘Philippus rex Francorum non modica tibi dilectione astrictus multum nos, ut te absolveremus, tum per litteras tum per legatorum verba rogavit’; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 60-1.

²⁹² Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 106-7 (1.75): ‘Significasti nobis per litteras et legatos tuos te beato PETRO apostolorum principi devote ac decenter velle obēdire et nostra in his, quę ad ecclesiasticam religionem pertinent, monita desideranter audire atque perficere’; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 78-9.

²⁹³ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 335-6; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 389-90; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, pp. 126-9.

submission of the king to his authority.²⁹⁴ Philip, on the other hand, was willing to observe respect towards the pope and allow him a certain role in ecclesiastical affairs, but he was keen to ensure that this would not unduly impede his own exercise of power. Interestingly, the matter which seems to have brought this distinction to a head was not one of ecclesiastical elections or moral reform, but one of commerce and security. In September, Gregory wrote a letter addressed to various French prelates, in which he bemoaned how the state of the French kingdom had deteriorated, conjuring up the image of a long-term authority vacuum where royal power could no longer command due respect.²⁹⁵ It is tempting to suggest that the tone here was intended more as a wake-up call to the prelates than a sign of discontent with Philip's recent activity. However, Gregory goes on to place specific blame on Philip, 'your king, who should not be called a king but a tyrant', who has been guilty of many crimes but now, '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'.²⁹⁶ The exact details of this new complaint elude us, but it seems that Philip stood accused of making unjust exactions on merchants – including from Italy – who had come to France to do trade.²⁹⁷ This had clearly produced a significant reaction, the reverberations of which had reached Gregory, who now came to doubt whether the hopes he had expressed to Philip back in April were in reality workable.

Gregory was keen to show that his desire to correct Philip's ways was not mere posturing, which produced one of the most extraordinary moments of papal-Capetian relations. As the letter continued, Gregory urged the prelates to lead Philip towards better conduct, but to break with him if this was unachievable: 'And if he shall not repent at a sanction of this kind, we would have it 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'.²⁹⁸ It seems, therefore, that Gregory was contemplating Philip's deposition. Needless to say, this

²⁹⁴ Cf. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, p. 204.

²⁹⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 129-33 (2.5); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 96-9.

²⁹⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 130-1 (2.5): 'rex vester, qui non rex sed tyrannus dicendus est', 'quin etiam mercatoribus, qui de multis terrarum partibus ad forum quoddam in Francia nuper convenerant, [...] more predonis infinitam pecuniam abstulit'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 97.

²⁹⁷ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 53-4; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 336-7, 622-3; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 390-2; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, pp. 162-4; Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 77-87.

²⁹⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, p. 132 (2.5): 'Quodsi nec huiusmodi districtione voluerit resipiscere, nulli clam aut dubium esse volumus, quin modis omnibus regnum Franciæ de eius occupatione adiuvante Deo temptemus eripere'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 98.

was a totally unrealistic proposition.²⁹⁹ Even reform-leaning members of the French episcopate would balk at the sanctions which Gregory was proposing, and it is fanciful to believe that they would turn on Philip en masse to provoke his abdication. Indeed, one wonders whether the threat ever actually reached Philip's ears.³⁰⁰ If it did, its sheer audacity would surely have provoked fury.

What, therefore, was Gregory's aim in making this threat? To disavow Philip's authority would probably not have sparked a civil war of the kind which Germany faced around this time, for there was no obvious challenger for the French throne.³⁰¹ Indeed, although Gregory's conflict with Henry IV of Germany was still developing at this point, stresses were there which, as historians have recognised, would have made avoiding a break with Philip desirable for the pope.³⁰² In the *Dictatus papae*, Gregory asserted 'That he [the pope] is permitted to depose emperors' and 'That he can absolve subjects from fealty to the wicked', and he would later back up such pronouncements with his deposition of Henry IV.³⁰³ However, whatever Gregory may have threatened, no such sentence was ever passed on Philip. In November and December, Gregory wrote in turn to William VIII, duke of Aquitaine, and Manasses I, archbishop of Reims, seeking their help in steering Philip to better conduct, which suggests that reconciliation was still on the pope's mind.³⁰⁴ In February, it was decreed that 'Philip, king of the French, if he shall not make security about his making satisfaction and amendment to the pope's envoys who would go to France, would be deemed excommunicate'.³⁰⁵ This sanction was never fulfilled, which suggests that Philip may have made further guarantees to the pope to quell the dispute.³⁰⁶ Though it was perhaps more of a catalyst for doubt than the root cause of the disagreement, the issue of the merchants was not raised again by Gregory.

In this context, therefore, the suggestion that he could depose Philip was probably, rather than a serious proposal, more of a way for Gregory to illustrate his mindset to the French prelates. He was warning them that the status quo, whereby the king had a largely free

²⁹⁹ For discussion of this event, see above, n. 297. See also: John T. Gilchrist, 'Canon Law Aspects of the Eleventh Century Gregorian Reform Programme', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 13.1 (1962), 21-38, at pp. 36-8.

³⁰⁰ Cf. a different case involving Gregory discussed in: Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 232-6.

³⁰¹ Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, p. 35.

³⁰² For example: Barthélemy, 'Église', p. 238; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 391-2.

³⁰³ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 104, 208 (2.55a); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 149-50.

³⁰⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar vol. 1, pp. 150-1 (2.18), 168-9 (2.32); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 112, 124.

³⁰⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 196-7 (2.52a); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 145.

³⁰⁶ Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, p. 177.

hand, with the episcopate showing deference to him and turning a blind eye to many of his abuses, was about to come under threat. By exhorting them to turn Philip towards better conduct, he was giving them forewarning that increased scrutiny was on the way. Sure enough, this is exactly what happened.

Gregory's Permanent Legates

The forthrightness of Gregory's conduct during his early pontificate had given Philip ample warning of the kind of reform-driven pope he was now dealing with, and it seems that he responded by trying to persuade Gregory of his good intentions. His actions, however, were not enough to convince, which is less a condemnation of Philip's attitude to reform than a revelation of Gregory's novel vigour in applying it. But Gregory could not hope to change the ecclesiastical conduct of northern France without possessing a more direct presence there. Thus, perhaps around Springtime 1075, he appointed Hugh, bishop of Die in the archdiocese of Vienne, as his legate for Gaul.³⁰⁷

Hugh was a devoted adherent to Gregory's drive to reform the Church through rooting out abuses such as simony and applied himself enthusiastically to the task of watching over the ecclesiastical business of France and responding to any hint of misconduct.³⁰⁸ His zeal was so strong that on occasion, as we will see, it led to Gregory having to reverse his judgements.³⁰⁹ Fliche cast Hugh as single-minded and intensely driven.³¹⁰ It is not difficult to appreciate how disruptive someone like this could be for Philip's affairs. Fending off Gregory's intermittent exhortations from afar was one thing, but now he faced the prospect of a papal representative being entrenched in northern France, not in a temporary capacity as had been the case with previous legates, but as a *permanent* fixture. Hugh did not always work alone. For example, Amatus of Oloron, who also held a permanent legation with a focus on areas of France further removed from royal influence, sometimes acted in concert with him, as did Hugh, abbot of Cluny, who may have been deployed at times as a counterweight to his like-named

³⁰⁷ René Fédou, 'Hugues de Die', in: *DHGE*, vol. 25 (1995), cols 215-19; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 11, 34; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 29-30; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 92-4.

³⁰⁸ On Hugh of Die, see: Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, esp. pp. 556-66; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*; Rennie, *Law and Practice*; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 88-139.

³⁰⁹ See below, p. 124.

³¹⁰ Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, pp. 205-6, 211; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 91-2.

counterpart's bullishness.³¹¹ Nevertheless, it was Hugh of Die who was now the prime intermediary between papal power and Capetian business, making him a key player in the context of Philip's evolving attitude to reform.

A clear turning point seems to have occurred in 1077. In September of that year, Hugh held a major council at Autun, where sanctions were passed against numerous French bishops for a variety of offences.³¹² As noted above, this was also around the time that Gregory seems to have intensified his opposition to lay investiture.³¹³ Hugh may have chosen Autun, outside of royal lands, in anticipation of a strong reaction from Philip.³¹⁴ Indeed, a letter from Gregory to Hugh, dated to the previous May, indicates that Gregory hoped for – but perhaps did not expect – Philip's cooperation in holding a council in royal lands.³¹⁵ This is indicative of his intent to intensify his legate's activity, but given that the council was not held, we can assume that Philip was resistant to such a manoeuvre, hence the necessity to congregate at Autun instead.³¹⁶

Shortly after, in 1078, Hugh held another council, again outside royal lands, this time at Poitiers, where reforming measures were again affirmed and more sentences passed, targeting a startling number of high-ranking prelates among the French episcopate.³¹⁷ Philip apparently sought to prevent prelates from his lands from attending.³¹⁸ Nevertheless, the king's fears were being realised: the pope, no longer generally content only to watch over affairs in his realm, now eyed a thorough intervention in them, threatening not only Philip's authority over the Church, but seeking, through challenging practices such as simony and lay investiture, to take away his accustomed means of realising that authority. It is hardly surprising that Philip reacted as he did.

³¹¹ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 366-71; Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 162-71; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, p. 215; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, esp. pp. 186-90; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 88-139.

³¹² Mansi, vol. 20, cols 483-92; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 177-8; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 98-101; see below, pp. 118-26.

³¹³ See above, p. 24.

³¹⁴ Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 162-4; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 99-100.

³¹⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 330-4 (4.22); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 233-5.

³¹⁶ Cf. Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 162-4.

³¹⁷ Mansi, vol. 20, cols 495-502; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 63-7; Gabriel Le Bras, 'L'activité canonique à Poitiers pendant la réforme grégorienne (1049-1099)', in: *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou, 2 vols (Poitiers, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 237-9, at pp. 238-9; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 181-2; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 114-20; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 103-6; Jean-Claude Tillier, 'Les conciles provinciaux de la province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux au temps de la Réforme grégorienne (1073-1100)', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Année 1968, vol. 2 (1971), 561-81, at pp. 563-73; Schilling, 'Die Kanones'; see below, pp. 118-26.

³¹⁸ Hugh of Die, *Letters (to Gregory VII)*, ed. RHF, p. 615.

The escalation in Hugh's legatine activity may have been prompted, in part, by the resistance he had faced from one particular prelate: Manasses I, archbishop of Reims. Contemporary sources do not provide a flattering picture of Manasses, painting him as a villain within his own diocese and a simoniacal obstructor of reform.³¹⁹ However, especially since the mid-twentieth century, several historians have argued for a more nuanced appreciation of Manasses; while his faults are still acknowledged, there has been more sympathy for his position when confronted with the bold claims of papal legates, and less readiness to take the sharp criticism of him at face value.³²⁰ Gregory had corresponded frequently with Manasses since the start of his pontificate, and although there had been moments of tension, for example over the archbishop's treatment of Saint-Remi at Reims, there was for a time no major fault line between them.³²¹ Gregory would have known how effective Manasses' predecessor, Gervase, had been in guiding the conduct of the king, and he sought to make use of Manasses similarly.³²²

However, Hugh of Die's legation added a new complicating factor into these relations. With a faction at Reims having made various accusations against Manasses, Hugh decided to excommunicate him at the Council of Autun in 1077.³²³ Gregory quickly overturned this sentence, though acknowledged that Manasses 'had been accused of many things' and not only ordered that he should manage his Church properly, but required that the archbishop swore to answer to the legate if requested.³²⁴ Manasses had enemies within his own diocese, but he also sought to take a stand against what he saw as Hugh's excessive exercise of authority.³²⁵ Gregory, however, stood by his legate.³²⁶ Repeated efforts were made to convince Manasses to submit to legatine authority, even after Hugh took the step of deposing

³¹⁹ See, for example: Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 62-7; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 26-7; Walo of Metz, *Letters*, ed. Bernd Schütte, as: *Die Briefe des Abtes Walo von St. Arnulf vor Metz* (Hannover, 1995), nos. 1-5 (pp. 51-71).

³²⁰ See above, pp. 67-8.

³²¹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 7 (1.4), 21-2 (1.13), 78-80 (1.52), 129-33 (2.5), 168-9 (2.32), 209-10 (2.56), 211-12 (2.58); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 4-5, 14-15, 57-8, 96-9, 124, 150-1, 152-3; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 376-8; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 375-6; Robinson, 'The Friendship Network' at pp. 15-18.

³²² Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 129-33 (2.5), 168-9 (2.32); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 96-9, 124.

³²³ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. RHF, pp. 613-14; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory*, p. 379.

³²⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 378-9 (5.17): 'qui in multis accusatus fuerat'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 266.

³²⁵ Very useful on this is: I. S. Robinson, "'Periculosus Homo": Pope Gregory VII and Episcopal Authority', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1978), 103-31, esp. pp. 124-7. See, for example, the archbishop's own letters: *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 107 (pp. 177-82); Manasses I to Gregory VII, ed. RHF; Manasses I to Hugh of Die, ed. RHF.

³²⁶ See esp.: Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 391-4 (6.2); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 275-7.

him in 1080, but the archbishop did not budge.³²⁷ In December of that year, Gregory called for a new election to be held.³²⁸ At the same time, the pope wrote to Philip, in quite a conciliatory tone, prevailing on him to have no more association with Manasses and to ensure a canonical election for his successor.³²⁹

Manasses had stood up for a vision of the French Church which Philip had inherited and which would suit royal interests far better than the vision pushed for by Gregory and his legates. His loss would have been troubling for Philip; not only had he been deprived of a key prelate, but Gregory had proven his power, channelled through legates, to disrupt the makeup of the French episcopate, even at the archiepiscopal level. Nevertheless, Philip seems to have accepted the decision. Admittedly, one German source does refer to Manasses as Philip's '*legatus*' in 1081, but it is unclear what to make of this.³³⁰ Ultimately, the archbishop could not recover from the sanction, and Philip would have been wary of supporting him given the potential for further trouble at Reims.³³¹ The presence of bishops from the royal lands at a council held by Hugh and Amatus at Issoudun in March 1081 perhaps indicates that, in the wake of Manasses' deposition, Philip's stance softened somewhat, but such a reprieve may only have been temporary.³³² In 1082/3, Hugh's authority was aggrandised further when he became archbishop of Lyon, not only increasing his ecclesiastical rank but also placing him in a see with primatial powers.³³³

Urban II

The pontificate of Gregory's successor, Victor III, was short, but its biggest significance as far as Philip was concerned was that it drew Hugh of Die's attention away from French affairs as he became embroiled in conflict with the new pontiff to such a degree that he apparently

³²⁷ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 475-7 (7.12), 495-6 (7.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 337-8, 350-1.

³²⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 538-43 (8.17-8.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 382-6.

³²⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 542-3 (8.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 385-6; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339-40, 540, 549.

³³⁰ Benzo of Alba, *Seven Books to Emperor Henry IV*, ed. and German trans. by Hans Seyffert, as: Benzo von Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV.*, as: MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 65 (Hannover, 1996), pp. 506-7; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 331; Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses', p. 823, n. 102. Cf. Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 64-5; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, p. 27.

³³¹ On trouble around this time, see: Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 48-9 and n. 149.

³³² Mansi, vol. 20, cols 577-80; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 83-6; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 185; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 126, 134; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 311-12.

³³³ Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 14-15; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 33-4; see below, pp. 202-5.

found himself excommunicated.³³⁴ If a man of such moral conviction as Hugh could find himself the recipient of such a sanction, Philip might have felt even more cause to reason that resistance to reform in its strongest guises was not unjustified. Victor's successor, Urban II, was of northern French origin himself, and his early relations with Philip, as we will see especially in the next chapter in the context of episcopal elections, were encouraging.³³⁵ Significantly, Philip showed no sign of lending support to Urban's enemy, Henry IV, and if we believe Bernold of Saint-Blasien, he sent a letter to Urban 'promising him due submission'.³³⁶ There is no record of such a letter, but it would be in keeping with the attitude Philip had pursued previously with Gregory VII. If he promised submission, he surely envisaged this purely as a mark of respect and reverence. Nevertheless, this was perhaps enough for Urban at the time, and it seems that he repaid Philip's loyalty with an attitude of moderation which would no doubt have come as a relief to the king.³³⁷ Hugh of Die's prominence decreased, and Urban showed no sign of appointing another permanent legate.³³⁸ Philip's policy of patience and reserve had, it seemed, paid off, and whilst Urban explicitly stated that he would follow in Gregory VII's footsteps, Philip had quickly found reason to hope that in doing so, he would pursue different methods which would provide more room for manoeuvre.³³⁹

The entente, however, did not last forever. It is debatable how far the controversy over Philip's repudiation of Bertha of Holland in 1092 to marry Bertrada of Montfort was responsible for the shift. As we will see, Urban was not quick to sanction Philip, and it was only after Hugh of Die was reinstated as legate that matters escalated.³⁴⁰ But the resumption of Hugh's legation, in late 1093 or early 1094, coincided with a strengthening of Urban's own

³³⁴ *Chronicle of Montecassino*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, as: *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, as: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 34 (Hannover, 1980), pp. 453-4; Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX. bis Calixt II. 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), pp. 259-60; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 88-91; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 639-42; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 37-42.

³³⁵ See below, pp. 132-49. On Urban's origins, see: Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, 3 vols (Stuttgart (vols 1-2) and Hannover (vol. 3), 1964-2012), vol. 1, pp. 24-51.

³³⁶ Bernold of St Blasien (Bernold of Konstanz), *Chronicle*, ed. Ian S. Robinson, in: *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, as: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series*, vol. 14 (Hannover, 2003), pp. 383-540, at pp. 479-80: 'debitam ei subiectionem promittentis', and see also p. 483; English trans. by I. S. Robinson, in: *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 245-337, at pp. 298, 300; Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 187-8; Becker, *Studien*, p. 81; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 52.

³³⁷ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 425; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 204-23.

³³⁸ Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 209-12; Abbot Rony, 'La légation d'Hugues, archevêque de Lyon, sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)', *Revue des questions historiques*, 58 (1930), 124-47, at pp. 126-7; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 140, 143-4.

³³⁹ For Urban following in Gregory's footsteps, see, for example: Urban II (Pope), *Acta*, ed. as: 'Beati Urbani II, Pontificis Romani, Epistolæ et Privilegia', in: *PL*, vol. 151 (Paris, 1853), cols 283-558, at no. 1 (cols 283-4); Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, p. 321.

³⁴⁰ See below, pp. 215-49.

political position, so may have been planned anyway.³⁴¹ Nevertheless, Hugh's second legation was not as disruptively shocking as the first, and though he resumed his surveillance over the ecclesiastical affairs of Philip's lands, Urban himself also continued to take an active interest, aided by the information conveyed to him by Ivo of Chartres, who had emerged as a much more effective mediator between pope and king than Hugh could ever have been.³⁴² It is one of the central arguments of this thesis that, through working with Ivo, Philip managed his relationship with the pope in a way that allowed him to engage with reform without compromising his own priorities.

In 1095-1096, Urban undertook a major tour of France, visiting numerous cities and religious houses, meeting with prelates, making decisions and holding councils, most famously at Clermont in November 1095.³⁴³ The trip would have conjured up memories of Pope Leo IX's similar journey during Henry I's reign, when he held a famous reforming council at Reims in 1049.³⁴⁴ Had relations between Philip and Urban been better at this time, the itinerary surely would have included royal lands, perhaps even Paris itself, but Philip's excommunication over his marriage made this impossible, and although Urban got as far north as the Angevin lands, including Tours, he did not venture into Philip's core territories.³⁴⁵ It is unclear whether Philip regretted this omission; on the one hand, he probably did not want to risk the upheaval which a papal visit might bring, both for himself personally but also for his episcopate, whereas on the other hand, the prestige it could bring him, showcasing him as a loyal and pious king, could be very valuable and of a weight which might be enough to draw a line under the marriage controversy. The timing was not yet propitious, but once again, Philip's patience paid dividends in the long run, as we will now see as we turn to his relationship with the final pope of his reign.

³⁴¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 12, 24; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 209-10, 258-9; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 93-6; Rony, 'La légation', pp. 126-32; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 153-5.

³⁴² On Hugh's second legation, see: Rony, 'La légation', passim; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 153-62. On Ivo as mediator, see below, cc. 2, 4.

³⁴³ Alfons Becker, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France', in: *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne* (Rome, 1997), pp. 127-40; Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 213-26, vol. 2, pp. 435-58, vol. 3, pp. 716-17; René Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1096-1096) et son importance au point de vue archéologique', *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), 42-69, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/anami.1937.5357>>, (accessed 29 June 2024); René Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France (1095-1096)', *Revue Historique*, 179 (1937), 271-310.

³⁴⁴ Anselm of Saint-Remi, *Histoire de la dédicace de Saint-Rémy*, ed. and French trans. by J. Hourlier, in: *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims*, 160, *La Champagne Benedictine: Contribution à l'année saint Benoît (480-1980)* (1981), 179-297; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 35-40; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, pp. 135-45.

³⁴⁵ Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations', esp. p. 308.

Paschal II

The pontificate of Paschal II began with relations between Rome and Philip marred by the thorny issue of the marriage controversy, but nonetheless still functioning. Philip no doubt wondered and worried about what approach the new pope would take towards him. The ageing Hugh of Die largely faded from the scene around this point and he died a few years later in October 1106.³⁴⁶ Instead, in his dealings with Philip, Paschal returned to the use of temporary legates, first among whom were John, cardinal-priest of Sant'Anastasia, and the cardinal Benedict, who were quickly dispatched to France.³⁴⁷ During their legation, they held a reforming council at Poitiers, where Philip's excommunication was upheld.³⁴⁸ Any hope of a resolution remained on hold for now.

Although, as we will see, the early years of Paschal's pontificate contained moments of significant tension in royal-papal relations, notably over the election controversy at Beauvais where Philip seemingly decided it was worth showcasing his own obstructive power, nevertheless eventually solutions to both this and the marriage controversy were reached, meaning that from late 1104 onwards, there was a newfound stability and therefore an opportunity for further progress.³⁴⁹ This was clearly demonstrated when Paschal decided to imitate his predecessor and make a journey across France.³⁵⁰ Whereas Urban had avoided Philip's lands, Paschal ventured deep into them and met face to face with Philip and his son and heir Louis at the abbey of Saint-Denis.³⁵¹ It is hard to overstate the monumental significance of this moment, the like of which had not been seen for generations; when Leo IX had come to France decades previously, Philip's father, Henry I, had shunned him.³⁵² Suger tells us that Philip and Louis 'humbled their royal majesty before his [Paschal's] feet', before the pope called on them to imitate their forebears like Charlemagne and work against

³⁴⁶ Hugh of Cluny, *Letters*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 9 (p. 156); Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 114-19; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 49-52; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 162-3, 170.

³⁴⁷ Bernard Monod, *Essai sur les rapports de Pascal II avec Philippe I^{er} (1099-1108)* (Paris, 1907), pp. 6-24; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 163-8.

³⁴⁸ See below, pp. 222, 243-4.

³⁴⁹ See below, pp. 149-54, 215-49.

³⁵⁰ A detailed discussion of this voyage can be found in: Beate Schilling, 'Zur Reise Paschalis II. nach Norditalien und Frankreich 1106/07', *Francia*, 28 (2001; publ. 2002), 115-58.

³⁵¹ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 50-7; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 46-9.

³⁵² See above, n. 344.

‘enemies of the Church’ like Henry V of Germany, whereupon ‘They extended their right hands to him as a sign of alliance, aid, and counsel, and put the kingdom at his disposal’.³⁵³

The meeting at Saint-Denis was a prelude to Paschal’s subsequent meeting at Châlons-sur-Marne with representatives of his foe, Henry V.³⁵⁴ By visiting the French king first, Paschal made a show of strength and support, knowing that the now-reconciled Philip, despite his past transgressions, had always resisted any temptation to break with Rome and side with the German emperor.³⁵⁵ Only once, in a letter of Ivo of Chartres dating from the period of the marriage controversy, do we get a suggestion that it was ever considered, and it was probably never done so seriously.³⁵⁶ During Gregory VII’s pontificate, Philip apparently resisted overtures from both Henry IV and his opponent, the anti-king Rudolf, thus staying wisely aloof from the conflict.³⁵⁷ Similarly, although we have a letter from Henry IV, written in the final years of Philip’s reign, in which he looked to Philip for support, there is no indication that Philip lent it in any form.³⁵⁸ After all, why would he risk damaging his relationship with Paschal?

Indeed, the meeting at Saint-Denis was as much a triumph for Philip, and a vindication of his long-term thinking and patience, as it was for Paschal. Philip showed himself a model prince to such effect that even Suger could not suppress the act. Louis knelt beside his father at Saint-Denis, and Paschal (and Philip himself) no doubt suspected that it would not be long before he would sit on his aging father’s throne, but for now the realm was still Philip’s, and this was very much his moment. After several turbulent decades where he had dealt with numerous popes and varying approaches to the application of reform, his own approach to the popes and their legates, balancing deference and recognition with a willingness to be firm and unyielding without pushing things too far, had led him to this point, which seemed to justify his stance. As this thesis progresses, we will see that this flexibility and measure from

³⁵³ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 54-7: ‘majestatem regiam pedibus ejus incurvantes’, ‘ecclesie hostibus’, ‘Qui amicitie, auxilia et consilii dexteris dederunt, regnum exposuerunt’; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 48-9.

³⁵⁴ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 56-61; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 49-51.

³⁵⁵ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 121-2; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 327-33.

³⁵⁶ See below, pp. 239-40.

³⁵⁷ Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicle*, ed. Ian S. Robinson, in: *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, as: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series*, vol. 14 (Hannover, 2003), pp. 161-381, at p. 331; English trans. by I. S. Robinson, in: *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 99-244, p. 211; Bruno, *De Bello Saxonico*, ed. Hans Eberhard Lohmann, as: *Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, in: *MGH, Deutsches Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1937), p. 38; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 54, n. 188, 68, n. 96, 78-9; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 330-2.

³⁵⁸ For the text of the letter: Henry IV (Emperor; King of Germany), *Letters*, ed. Carl Erdmann, in: *Die Briefe Henrichs IV.*, as: *MGH, Deutsches Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1937), no. 39 (pp. 52-8); English trans. by Theodor E. Mommsen and Karl F. Morrison, in: *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson (New York and London, 1962), pp. 138-200, at no. 39 (pp. 190-5). See: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 332-3.

Philip appear time and again, reflecting not weakness, but a prudent and careful response to the challenges of reform.

Conclusion

This chapter has developed in ever increasing circles, having begun by looking at Philip's court and entourage, before reaching out firstly to the diocesan context in which his ecclesiastical affairs played out, then ending with a consideration of his relationship with various popes and their legates. It has been shown how, in an era when reform was manifesting itself in new and striking ways, Philip depended on the ecclesiastics of his realm for their roles at court, their leadership of the Church in France, and their connections, often familial, with the lay aristocracy of the realm. It has also been stressed that Philip's ability to utilise these connections and involve himself in ecclesiastical and diocesan affairs was dependent very much on local circumstances which shifted constantly across the reign. This demanded a flexible and measured approach to reform, for Philip's situation meant that he was neither powerful enough to push reformist initiative across his realm, nor wholly to resist it.

It was Philip's recognition of this basic *fait accompli*, which rested in part upon the political situation of the Capetian monarchy at the time, but also speaks to Philip's own attitudes, which marks a key feature of his reign and indeed his style of rulership. When he had to deal directly with the popes and their reform objectives, he met these new challenges with a careful balancing act, voicing dissent and defiance where he felt necessary whilst maintaining a respect which was not merely a desperate plea to return to the pre-reform status quo, but an olive branch held out to ensure recognition that, whatever changes might be afoot, he still had an interest in finding an acceptable way forward. The legatine missions, especially after Hugh of Die emerged onto the scene, presented another obstacle to overcome, but through it all Philip held fast to a long-term view which often paid dividends, especially at the end of the reign when he met with Paschal at Saint-Denis. By stressing Philip's patience, it is not to say that he had some miraculous foreknowledge of the future. But crucially, he did not let any one crisis undermine his approach. This allowed him to control, to some degree, the pace at which reform filtered into his lands, as we will see in the coming chapters.

Chapter 2: Practicing Reform: Philip I and Ecclesiastical Elections

In assessing Philip I's attitude to reform, the issue of ecclesiastical elections is both highly informative and very significant. Elections to Church offices, especially bishoprics and abbeys, provide a window into how Philip's influence was manifested at various times and in various places. Efforts have been made to distinguish certain so-called 'royal bishoprics' and 'royal monasteries', where Capetian influence, not necessarily relating to elections, was often more acute, but as Newman highlighted, the level of control which a king could exercise even in these places could vary depending on the circumstances.¹ Furthermore, just because the king invested a prelate with his office did not mean that he was the king's man, because local powers and concerns could be just as important, if not more so, and Philip had to take account of this.² Thus, we must take each election on its own terms.

Despite variations over time and in location, a royal role of some sort in elections in France had been commonplace for a long time before Philip came to the throne.³ However, as observed already, a key facet of reform during his reign was to free these elections from lay influence.⁴ This posed a significant challenge to Philip, for the choice of a new prelate, a man who would, after all, become one of the key figures of the realm, with the potential to prove a powerful aid or hinderance to royal policy, was not something to be taken lightly. He had to ensure that he retained a say in these critical moments.

As we will see below, a variety of electoral abuses were targeted by the popes and reform-minded Churchmen. Simony was one of the most common accusations, though often it is unclear exactly what form the simony took.⁵ Pope Gregory VII drew on the words of his predecessor, Pope Gregory I, in defining simony as securing a promotion 'by hand', through the exchange of money, 'by service', for example to a lay lord, 'or by tongue, that neither

¹ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 349-57; Newman, *Le domaine*; Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1957), pp. 59-63.

² Although focused on a slightly earlier period, very helpful on this point is: Hoffmann, 'Der König', esp. pp. 85-97.

³ In general, see: P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections épiscopales dans l'église de France du IX^e au XII^e siècle (Étude sur la décadence du principe électif) (814-1150)* (Paris, 1890).

⁴ See above, pp. 22-8.

⁵ On defining simony, see, for example: John T. Gilchrist, "'Simoniaca haeresis'" and the Problem of Orders from Leo IX to Gratian', in: *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: Boston College, 12-16 August 1963*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and J. Joseph Ryan (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 209-35, esp. pp. 214-15; Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections*, pp. 378-85; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 123-6; Timothy Reuter, 'Gifts and Simony', in: *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 157-68; Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 171-5.

through oneself nor through some inferior person should one advance requests'.⁶ These distinctions were echoed in similar terms by Pope Urban II.⁷ Accusations of simony were a powerful weapon for one's enemies to cast, because it would have been almost impossible to disprove conclusively that no payment or guarantee was made.⁸ Philip probably saw little wrong with accepting a gift in return for declaring his favour for a candidate; after all, making gifts in return for royal beneficence was hardly unusual.⁹

The issue of the candidate being invested with their bishopric in some way by a lay power such as the king also came to the fore in the later 1070s under Gregory VII.¹⁰ However, as will become clear in what follows, electoral abuses could encompass a variety of issues and concerns, from the candidate's clerical rank, to their chastity and public reputation, to their age and learning. It is important therefore to consider Philip's response to such concerns in the whole, and not focus too narrowly on the headline issues of simony and lay investiture.

The discussion below is a roughly chronological overview of Philip's involvement in episcopal elections, followed by a short, separate consideration of abbatial elections. The latter are treated apart because unfortunately we know far less about them. Philip also surely had some involvement in certain elections to lower ecclesiastical offices, but such cases do not form part of the discussions below as our awareness of such interference is very limited.¹¹ Thus, it is episcopal elections which afford us the greatest insight into Philip's electoral influence.

Before proceeding, it is important to acknowledge that, for all of the elections discussed below, our source material is problematic. Often, we are reliant on very limited, potentially one-sided accounts which will undoubtedly obscure elements of the wider context. For the later part of the reign, the letters of Ivo of Chartres are an invaluable but also a dominating feature of the discussion. It is entirely possible that Philip's influence was felt over

⁶ Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 448 (6.34): 'a manu [...] ab obsequio [...] a lingua, ut neque per se neque per summissam personam preces effundat', and cf. p. 403 (6.5b); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 284, 316. See: Gregory I (Pope), 'Moralium libri, sive expositio in librum B. Job', ed. in: *PL*, vol. 75, cols 509-1162, vol. 76, cols 9-782, at vol. 75, cols 888-9; Gregory I (Pope), 'XL Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo', ed. in: *PL*, vol. 76, cols 1075-1312, at cols 1091-2; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 402-3, 509-11, 543-4.

⁷ *Epistolae Pontificum*, ed. Loewenfeld, no. 128 (p. 62); Urban II, *Acta*, ed. *PL*, nos. 273 (col. 529); Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 203-4.

⁸ On accusations, see, for example: Imbert de la Tour, *Les élections*, pp. 388-9; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 58, 65-6; Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 171-5.

⁹ Useful on this theme is: Reuter, 'Gifts'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 24, and below, from p. 118.

¹¹ Cf. Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 69.

a great deal more elections than we know of.¹² Equally, the extant sources may at times magnify the role of the king or others to an unreasonable degree. We also have to be mindful that instances of controversy were more likely to be recorded than more mundane good practice.¹³ Despite these provisos, the elections discussed below do, it will be argued, offer us key insights into the way in which Philip approached ecclesiastical business in his realm, as well as how he adapted to the demands of reform.

The Minority (1060-1066/7)

Philip was still a child when he became king in 1060, meaning that we must be careful when assigning him personal responsibility for actions undertaken during the years of his minority, when no doubt many tasks were delegated to others.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Philip was still the monarch, travelling around his realm and issuing acts, and though he was under tutelage, these early years of his reign provided him with his first taste of government, including the complex matter of ecclesiastical elections. Whilst it is difficult to know how closely involved Philip was with these events at this time, he would surely have become increasingly aware of their importance as with age he came to appreciate the role which prelates played in his realm, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Geoffrey of Paris

The royal guardian, Baldwin V, count of Flanders, likely played an important role in educating Philip about elections, though he may also have used ecclesiastical appointments as a way of maintaining his authority when he could not be present in person due to his comital commitments.¹⁵ An opportunity to forge such a link helpfully presented itself within a few months of Henry I's death. In late 1060, the long-serving Imbert, bishop of Paris, passed away, to be succeeded in 1061 by Geoffrey, brother of Eustace, count of Boulogne.¹⁶ With the succession of Geoffrey, Baldwin surely thought to guarantee himself a prelate with Flemish sympathies in arguably *the* key bishopric of Philip's realm.¹⁷ Indeed, although Fliche emphasised the status of Gervase, archbishop of Reims, as the spiritual head of northern

¹² Pacaut, *Louis VII*, p. 182.

¹³ See, for example: James, *The Origins*, p. 53.

¹⁴ See above, p. 10.

¹⁵ Cf. Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', p. 272.

¹⁶ Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 99-100; *GC*, vol. 7, cols 49-52; Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens', pp. 69-71.

¹⁷ Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 99.

France during the minority, it is likely that Geoffrey had more direct contact with Philip and thus may have had a more formative role on the young king.¹⁸ The importance he would acquire in Philip's government has already been signalled above.¹⁹ There is nothing to suggest that Geoffrey's election was particularly controversial, but as is so often the case, our source material is lacking. Nevertheless, Imbert had been a Burgundian, which may have helped to mollify any opposition within the chapter to the imposition of another 'outsider'. Equally, royal control over Paris was so strong that perhaps they could do little to resist.

Gilbert of Beauvais

Although there seems to have been no papal involvement in the Paris election, on numerous other occasions, the popes – first Nicholas II and then Alexander II – looked to Gervase, archbishop of Reims, as a co-operator in pursuing a degree of electoral oversight on the royal lands.²⁰ This can be seen, for example, at Beauvais, where in 1059, the year before Philip's accession, Gilbert had been elected bishop.²¹ Our principal source for this affair is a letter from Nicholas II to Gervase, who was of course Gilbert's archbishop.²² In it, we learn that Gilbert had been ordained not by Gervase, but by Frolland, bishop of Senlis, and that the new bishop was suspected of having obtained the see through simony. Accordingly, Nicholas summoned Gilbert and Frolland to the forthcoming Roman council in Spring 1060, in order to investigate the matter further.

It is unclear how Nicholas came to hear of Gilbert's questionable election. Most likely, an opposing faction at Beauvais alerted him to it, though given Gervase's own role had been disregarded, the archbishop himself may also have been involved. The close ties between the royal court and Senlis, indicated in the previous chapter, suggest that Gilbert may have had the backing of Philip's father, Henry I.²³ If, as seems possible, Gilbert paid Henry for his see, he could be hopeful of that support enduring once Philip came to the throne a short time later. Indeed, although the Norman Conquest of England was yet to come, Beauvais was still a border see for William the Conqueror's Norman duchy, which was a significant consideration

¹⁸ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 22-5.

¹⁹ See above, pp. 61-2.

²⁰ Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 405-10.

²¹ *GC*, vol. 9, col. 708; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 45-6; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 69.

²² Nicholas II, *Acta*, ed. *PL*, no. 10 (cols 1323-4).

²³ See above, pp. 69-70.

for both royal and Flemish politics and made the presence of a reliable prelate there highly desirable for both Philip and Baldwin.

Whether and how this affair was resolved is unclear, but we have no further surviving correspondence between Gervase and Nicholas on the matter, and ultimately Gilbert and Frolland held on to their sees into Philip's reign, appearing as subscribers to royal *acta*.²⁴ Guyotjeannin believed that Gilbert likely remained in post until he died, sometime between 1061 and 1064.²⁵ It seems probable that either he made some sort of amends, or that Nicholas and/or Gervase were disinclined to pursue the matter any further. King Henry's death and the promise of a new reign may have been a factor. Whatever the case, the end result likely favoured a royal candidate, demonstrating that, at this time, pressure from Rome could be overcome.

Josselin of Soissons

Beauvais was not the only see where the electoral interests of the papacy, the king and Archbishop Gervase became entangled during Philip's minority. At Soissons, Josselin acquired the bishopric through nefarious means following the death of Bishop Heddo in 1063.²⁶ A letter from Pope Alexander II to Gervase warns the archbishop not to consecrate Josselin, who was trying to win the bishopric through simony, having previously acquired the position of archdeacon at Paris through murder.²⁷ The circumstances here are frustratingly vague. We do not know who Josselin is accused of murdering, or who the simoniacal payment was supposedly made to. Philip and/or Baldwin may have been the recipient, but equally the allegation could refer to the buying of votes at Soissons itself. This is made more likely by the implication that Josselin was, as yet, un-consecrated at the time of Alexander's letter, so may have not yet sought formal royal approval either.

Indeed, he may never have got it. Josselin does not appear in any of Philip's *acta*, and by 1064 it seems that another bishop, Adeldard, was in place; his first appearance in Philip's *acta* is from 1065.²⁸ It is unclear what happened to Josselin. He may have died, allowing for

²⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 4 (pp. 13-15), 5 (pp. 15-17), 9 (pp. 28-30), 11 (pp. 32-4). Cf. also: Nicholas II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 29 (col. 1349); Dhomme and Vattier, *Recherches*, pp. 46-7.

²⁵ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 69-70.

²⁶ *GC*, vol. 9, cols 348-9; Becker, *Studien*, p. 47.

²⁷ Alexander II (Pope), *Letters*, ed. as: 'Alexandri Papæ II Epistolæ', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 531-48, p. 537; Alexander II (Pope), *Acta*, ed. as: 'Alexandri II, Pontificis Romani, Epistolæ et Diplomata', in: *PL*, vol. 146 (Paris, 1853), cols. 1279-1430, at no. 17 (col. 1297).

²⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 21 (pp. 58-9); *GC*, vol. 9, col. 349; Becker, *Studien*, p. 47.

Adelard's succession with little fuss. Alternatively, he may have been driven out. It is unclear whether he retained his archdeaconship, or whether he is to be identified with the archdeacon Josselin – sometimes called Joscelmus – who appears in acts concerning Paris from later in the reign, including an act from 1070, subscribed by Philip, concerning a donation made by Bishop Geoffrey to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.²⁹ However, it is perhaps significant that no Archdeacon Josselin is named in the important act which marked the foundation of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in 1067, whereas two other Parisian archdeacons, Ivo and Drogo, are listed as subscribers.³⁰ Regardless, everything points to Josselin's invasion of Soissons being ultimately unsuccessful and quite short-lived. He probably never got Gervase's approval and may have never had Philip's either.

Richer of Sens

A major archiepiscopal vacancy opened up in the early years of Philip's reign at the death of Mainard, archbishop of Sens, in March 1062.³¹ The man chosen to replace him was Richer, archdeacon of Sens. According to the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, Richer was 'elected by all the clergy and the people' and received his episcopal ordination in Paris at Easter 'in the presence of the king and magnates'.³² The short vacancy, combined with the choice of Paris for the ordination and the personal presence of the king, indicates that Richer was a favourable choice to most. A letter from Pope Alexander II to Hugh, abbot of Cluny, suggests that Richer sought his pallium from the pope, with Alexander refusing to provide it as the new archbishop had not come to him in person.³³ Whether Richer travelled to Rome personally at a later date is uncertain but probable, unless Alexander authorised a legate to concede it on his behalf.

²⁹ For the 1070 act: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 48 (pp. 130-2). See also: *Cartulaire général de Paris ou recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire et à la topographie de Paris*, ed. Robert de Lasteyrie, vol. 1, 528-1180 (Paris, 1887), nos. 104 (pp. 131-2), 113 (pp. 138-9).

³⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 30 (pp. 91-4).

³¹ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 126-7.

³² *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 126-7: 'ab omni clero et populo electus', 'presente rege cum principibus'; Becker, *Studien*, p. 47, n. 195.

³³ *Epistolae Pontificum*, ed. Loewenfeld, no. 81 (p. 43); Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 195.

Hildegard of Chartres

Gervase was also called upon to investigate electoral controversy at Chartres following the death, early in Philip's reign, of Bishop Agobert.³⁴ News of upheaval in the bishopric reached Pope Alexander II, prompting him to write probably identical letters to Gervase and to Richer of Sens, in which we read his request that: 'We urge your fraternity that you speak to the king and the *principes* of France, so that, so far as it is in their power, the so-called bishop is prevented from invading the holy Church of Chartres'.³⁵ The invader seems to have been Hildegard (or Hugh), previously *subdecanus* of the cathedral.³⁶ The chronology of what happened is somewhat uncertain, but either shortly before his letter to the archbishop(s), or around the same time, Alexander wrote to Hildegard directly, nullifying all his ordinations and dedications.³⁷ Clearly whatever Alexander had heard about Hildegard had greatly concerned him and convinced him that he was no true bishop. He looked to his trusty lieutenant, Gervase, to put pressure on Philip to end Hildegard's occupation of the see.

The exhortation seems to have paid off, for Hildegard was expelled, and in a further letter to Gervase, Alexander notes how 'you [Gervase] gave counsel to our dearest son Philip, king of France' on the matter.³⁸ The letter also gives a further clue on exactly what Hildegard was guilty of, because Alexander specifies that 'he simoniacally invaded the Church of Chartres'.³⁹ It is important to stress here that if Hildegard did obtain his see through a simoniacal payment or obligation of some kind, there is no suggestion that Philip was involved, though it cannot be discounted. Some have argued that Hildegard was Philip's candidate, but again this is not certain.⁴⁰ What is more likely, especially given what we know about the various political forces at play in Chartres, is that Hildegard was a local but contentious candidate, whose candidacy may have been endorsed by Philip and his advisors, but did not

³⁴ On Agobert, see: *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1119-20. On the controversy, see: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 47-8; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 374, 387.

³⁵ *Epistolae Pontificum*, ed. Loewenfeld, no. 100 (p. 50): 'Monemus fraternitatem tuam, ut regem et principes Francorum alloquaris, quatinus eorum potentia ab invasione sancte Carnotensis ecclesie episcopus dictus separetur' (= Jaffé, nos. 10783-4); P. Ewald, 'Die Papstbriefe der Brittischen Sammlung', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 5 (1879), 275-414, 503-96, at no. 32 and n. 5 (pp. 334-5).

³⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 6 (pp. 17-21); R. Aubert, 'Hugues, évêque de Chartres', in: *DHGE*, vol. 25 (Paris, 1995), col. 207; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 47-8; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1120-1.

³⁷ *Epistolae Pontificum*, ed. Loewenfeld, no. 95 (pp. 47-8) (= Jaffé³, no. 10786).

³⁸ Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, vol. 14, no. 15 (pp. 541-2): 'carissimo filio nostro Philippo Francorum Regi consilium dedisti'. Although others have placed it later, Becker (*Studien*, p. 48, n. 198) argues that the following, another letter from Alexander to Gervase about Chartres, also relates to this affair: Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, vol. 14, no. 13 (pp. 540-1) (= Jaffé³, no. 10906).

³⁹ Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, vol. 14, no. 15 (pp. 541-2): 'Carnotensem ecclesiam simoniace invaserat'.

⁴⁰ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 47-8; André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes XI^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1973), p. 266; Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections*, p. 424.

necessarily originate with them. Alexander's initial letter to Gervase referred not just to Philip, but to other *principes* too, and this may hint at the influence of local forces in Chartres connected to the count. Indeed, clearly Hildegard was not removed from office quickly, and Demouy is probably correct to suggest that Alexander underestimated the weight of local interest in the matter.⁴¹ Overall, in Chartres, Philip could only do so much, but Alexander's letter, coupled with advice from his archbishops, may have convinced him to drop any backing he had previously given to Hildegard. If so, then that was a win for the pope, but perhaps not one which affected royal interests too much.

Regardless of what Philip's own thinking on this matter may have been, and his youth at this time should not be forgotten, it is significant that, whereas in the case of Beauvais above it seems that a controversial election may have been allowed to stand, with Hildegard the opposition proved too much and forced a bishop, and moreover one who perhaps had royal backing, out of office. Alexander had insisted on his principles and it had paid off, and this would have been a powerful lesson to the young king.

Haderic of Orléans

Gervase also became involved in an electoral controversy at Orléans. Haderic became bishop there in 1063, succeeding his uncle Isembard.⁴² His kinship to Isembard made him a continuity candidate, but did not guarantee an easy succession. Alexander refers to Haderic in two letters. In the first, we learn that he 'has obtained the bishopric through simony', being guilty also of perjury.⁴³ The second letter sheds light on the perjury accusation, revealing that Haderic has reneged on promises made to the legate, Peter Damian, at a council held in Chalon-sur-Saône in 1063.⁴⁴ Alexander therefore called on Gervase to join Richer of Sens in excommunicating Haderic.

What happened next is unclear, but it seems likely that Haderic sought to make recompense for his actions. He was certainly still in place in 1065. He appears in a charter – dated, though somewhat insecurely, to January of that year – of a knight called Gosbert, to which he subscribes alongside Philip and several other bishops.⁴⁵ In addition, he is named in a

⁴¹ Demouy, *Genèse*, p. 408.

⁴² *GC*, vol. 8, col. 1438-9 and instr., no. 14 (col. 495); see above, p. 63.

⁴³ Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 11 (pp. 539-40): 'simoniacè episcopatum obtinuisse'.

⁴⁴ Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 15 (pp. 541-2); Mansi, vol. 19, cols 1025-8; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 171; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 70-1.

⁴⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, no. 18 (pp. 51-4).

papal document given at a Roman synod held around that time, where interestingly he appears alongside several other prelates including the bishops of Mâcon, Paris, Beauvais, Troyes, and Auxerre.⁴⁶ He is also mentioned in a letter written to Alexander by Peter Damian, which sees Peter speak up for Haderic and can perhaps be taken to suggest that the bishop was looking to make amends with the papacy and right the troubles in his diocese.⁴⁷ Indeed, Haderic was still bishop in 1067, when he is found subscribing more documents.⁴⁸

However, a new bishop was soon installed in the form of Rainer of Flanders.⁴⁹ A later charter mentions 'Haderic who was bishop of Orléans', proving that it was not Haderic's death which brought an end to the affair.⁵⁰ With this in mind, it is likely that he resigned his charge, perhaps under the weight of the pressures alluded to in Peter Damian's letter. As for his successor, it may be that Baldwin of Flanders backed Rainer's candidacy. However, his guardianship over Philip ended in 1067 at the latest, so it may be that Rainer's Flemish links, the nature of which are not known, are merely incidental.⁵¹ In sum, Philip and Baldwin figure little in the Orléans affair as it exists in our extant sources, but the lively controversy generated in a see so central to Capetian power and influence, and the extent to which the papacy became involved in the affair, are significant to note.

Assessment

Overall, the early electoral controversies of Philip's reign illustrate the papacy's willingness to involve itself in northern French affairs and to dictate resolutions in matters of electoral malpractice. Nicholas II and Alexander II clearly felt entitled to ensure that proper electoral procedure was followed in sees with close ties to the Capetian monarchy, and to enlist the help of sympathetic prelates like Gervase of Reims. The fact that there was a minority probably emboldened them, and they could logically hope to make an impression upon the young monarch. During this period, Philip would have learned that papal power could make its influence felt over elections in his realm, but also that it had its limits, as the endurance of prelates like Gilbert of Beauvais and Hildegard of Chartres illustrates.

⁴⁶ PUF, NF, vol. 9, no. 18b (pp. 117-24) (= Jaffé³, nos. 10820-2); Gresser, *Die Synoden*, pp. 77-82.

⁴⁷ Peter Damian to Pope Alexander II, in: *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, as: MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4, in 4 vols (Munich, 1983-93), vol. 3 (Munich, 1989), no. 122 (pp. 398-9); English trans. by Owen J. Blum and Irven M. Rensick, 6 vols (Washington, DC, 1989-2005), no. 122 (vol. 5, pp. 10-11).

⁴⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 32 (pp. 97-9), 34 (pp. 100-3).

⁴⁹ GC, vol. 8, cols 1439-41.

⁵⁰ GC, vol. 8, instr., no. 15 (cols. 495-6): 'Hadericus qui fuit episcopus Aurelianensis'.

⁵¹ See above, p. 10.

Nevertheless, even if other factors were often at play, papal pressure brought the irregularities of these elections under greater scrutiny, which in turn brought Philip's own role, young though he was, into sharper focus. Nicholas and Alexander seem to have been satisfied with letting Philip's counsellors guide him at this point, and refrained from harsh criticism of the new king.

A Shifting Landscape (1067-1077)

Manasses I of Reims

The death in 1067 of Gervase, archbishop of Reims, came at a time when Philip was at the end of his minority and therefore at a stage in his reign from which we can more confidently ascribe personal responsibility to his actions.⁵² Given what we have observed about the crucial role played by Gervase over the previous years, this was an election that Philip could not afford to take lightly. What happened at Reims following Gervase's death has been the matter of some considerable disagreement, for it centres on information provided by Guibert of Nogent, who gives no indication of the time frame to which he is referring.⁵³ However, many now agree that the events relate more plausibly to the period after Gervase's death, rather than later.⁵⁴ According to Guibert, at some point Elinand, bishop of Laon, tried to acquire Reims for himself, whereupon 'He did occupy it for two years, after its sizeable revenues had fallen into the hands of King Philip, a most venal man in what belonged to God, until he heard from the pope that one who has a wife cannot under any circumstances acquire another'.⁵⁵ In other words, it was not possible for Elinand to hold both Laon and Reims at the same time.

Some important caveats should be borne in mind here. Firstly, Guibert was writing a considerable time after the event and with awareness of the conflict generated by Philip's

⁵² See above, p. 10.

⁵³ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. and French trans. by Edmond-René Labande, as: *Autobiographie* (Paris, 1981), pp. 272-3; English trans. by Joseph McAlhany and Jay Rubenstein, in: *Monodies and On the Relics of Saints: The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 2011), pp. 3-184, p. 108.

⁵⁴ Becker, *Studien*, p. 73; Demouy, *Genèse*, p. 376, n. 57; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 379-80, 387, n. 257; Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 23-5, 123-31; *GC*, vol. 9, col. 75; Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses', pp. 805-8; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 316-17.

⁵⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, p. 272: 'quem cum dilapidatis penes regem Philippum, hominem in Dei rebus venalissimum, magnis censibus biennio obtinuisset, a domino papa audivit, quia uxorem quis habens, alteram superinducere nequaquam possit'; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, p. 108.

later marital controversy.⁵⁶ Indeed, it is believable that his highlighting of Elinand's pluralism using the language of marriage was also a way for Guibert to recall Philip's own bigamy. Secondly, Guibert's characterisation of Elinand is decidedly mixed, but emphasises the latter's considerable wealth.⁵⁷ If this was a common trope around Elinand, it made such a story more believable. Finally, if we accept that Elinand did manage Reims for a time, it is unclear what sort of arrangement this was. Probably he was never formally installed as archbishop, but acted as a *de facto* or unofficial administrator of the see for a while with Philip's connivance.

Alexander II would have learned quickly of Gervase's death, and it was probably through factions at Reims that he then found out about the unacceptable situation there. It is plausible that Philip maintained the vacancy for a while, leaning on the trusty Elinand for help, but this may have been as much the product of internal politics at Reims as it was of the king's desire to reap personal reward from the see's revenues. Perhaps Elinand did make some attempt to install himself more permanently, which was dismissed by the pope.

Either way, eventually Manasses I did become archbishop, and as Demouy points out, despite the controversy which flared up later, had there been a major issue with Manasses as a candidate, Alexander, having taken an interest in Elinand's case, would have realised it at this point.⁵⁸ A later letter from Pope Gregory VII to Manasses refers to how 'we ourselves so favoured and agreed to your promotion'.⁵⁹ This may be an oblique reference to past papal support for Manasses' candidacy, or it may more specifically indicate that Gregory himself had previously spoken in favour of Manasses' promotion to Pope Alexander.⁶⁰ Manasses may also have been an acceptable choice for Philip, who would have known that the situation with Elinand could only ever persist for so long, and would have been wary of factional conflict at Reims.⁶¹ The new archbishop quickly appears in royal *acta*, as early as June 1068.⁶² Overall, although there had been a prolonged vacancy and some form of papal intervention may have

⁵⁶ On the date of the *Monodiae*, see: Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, English trans. by C. C. Swinton Bland, rev. John F. Benton, in: *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064? – c. 1125)* (New York, 1970), p. 237.

⁵⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 228-9, 270-5; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 89, 108-9.

⁵⁸ Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 375-6. See also: Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 21-7, 119-37; Williams, 'Archbishop Manasses', pp. 805-8.

⁵⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 78-9 (1.52): 'nos [...] tuę promotioni favimus et consensimus'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 57. See also: *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 107 (p. 179).

⁶⁰ In addition to the sources cited above, cf. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 63, 377, 379.

⁶¹ See esp. Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 21-7, 119-37.

⁶² On Manasses and royal *acta*, see: Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 39 (pp. 110-14), 43 (pp. 120-3); Demouy, *Genèse*, p. 546.

been necessary, the circumstances are too poorly known to blindly accept Guibert's characterisation of Philip's venality in this case.

Ralph I of Tours

It was not only at Reims that a major archiepiscopal vacancy opened up around this time, paving the way for a lengthy dispute intimately linked to local concerns. In 1068, Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, died.⁶³ The candidate to replace him was Ralph of Langeais, whose significant family connections were noted in the chapter above.⁶⁴ Ralph's path to acceptance, however, was beset with difficulties.⁶⁵

Bartholomew's death came at a time of great political turmoil in the Angevin lands, with the unpopular rule of Count Geoffrey the Bearded resulting in his imprisonment by his brother, Fulk le Réchin, firstly in 1067 and then definitively in 1068, with a short rapprochement in between.⁶⁶ Bartholomew had looked to Philip for help in his struggles with Geoffrey, as is evidenced by a letter he wrote to Alexander, in which he tells of how he brought his complaints to the royal court at Orléans.⁶⁷ Bartholomew died a short time prior to Geoffrey's final imprisonment and deposition.⁶⁸

Much of what we know about Ralph's appointment comes from a letter written by Bruno Eusebius, bishop of Angers, to Alexander II.⁶⁹ According to Bruno, Ralph was chosen by the king despite the fact that he was of poor character and learning, with Philip 'transferring the pastoral staff and ring through simoniacal heresy'.⁷⁰ From what Bruno says, it seems likely that Philip took advantage of the diminished Angevin comital authority to ensure the election of an archbishop of his own choosing, investing him and receiving some sort of simoniacal payment in return. He was undoubtedly aware of the controversy around simony, but lay investiture was not such a concern at this point, and Bruno's mention of it was probably more a way of emphasising his point that the election was to the king's benefit rather than that of

⁶³ *GC*, vol. 14, col. 63.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 68.

⁶⁵ On the following, see: Becker, *Studien*, p. 49; *GC*, vol. 14, cols 63-4; Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (1906; repr. Geneva, 1974), 197, 199.

⁶⁶ Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 133-48.

⁶⁷ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 90 (pp. 155-7).

⁶⁸ *GC*, vol. 14, col. 63; Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 147-8.

⁶⁹ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 91 (pp. 157-9).

⁷⁰ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 91 (p. 159): 'virgam pastorem et anulum per symoniacam heresim tradidit'.

the Church. Regardless, from a political perspective, it was an opportunity that Philip could not afford to miss.

At the time the letter was written, both Bruno and the new count, Fulk, opposed Ralph's appointment, and it seems that it took several years for this issue to be resolved fully. Eventually, towards the end of Alexander's pontificate, the protracted vacancy was concluded; Ralph was consecrated and Alexander granted him the use of his pallium.⁷¹ It is significant that, in the face of significant opposition, Ralph had succeeded in convincing the pope to back his election. Perhaps he performed penance of some kind. Anyhow, Philip could be pleased that he had succeeded in securing his man, who was moreover indebted to him for his elevation. The accusation of simony would continue to haunt Ralph well into Gregory VII's pontificate, but obtaining the pallium was a crucial step.⁷² Furthermore, his future conduct indicates that, whatever the circumstances of his election, he was no royal stooge.⁷³ It may be that Alexander grasped this aspect of Ralph's character quicker than did Philip, though this is perhaps to put too negative a spin on the king's motivations.

Landric of Mâcon

The early years after Philip's minority witnessed no grave conflict with Alexander II over electoral matters. There may have been papal dissatisfaction with Philip's conduct at Reims and Tours, but it was judged prudent to continue to exercise the policy pursued during the minority, gently nudging Philip towards better practice while avoiding serious discord and maintaining a degree of supervision over electoral conduct. Philip, for his part, could be relatively satisfied with the state of play. Certainly, the pope's voice was loud in certain cases of contentious elections, but Philip's own royal role had not yet been seriously challenged, and in many cases events had still resolved themselves satisfactorily.

But if Philip had become accustomed to the methods of Alexander II, from 1073 the new pope, Gregory VII, quickly began to make demands of him in a much more testing and disruptive manner, as noted above.⁷⁴ This new style impacted upon ecclesiastical elections too, and the first major point of contention was over the succession to Drogo, bishop of

⁷¹ 'Annales qui dicuntur Rainaldi archidiaconi Sancti Mauricii Andegavensis (678-1106)', in: *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, publ. Louis Halphen (Paris, 1903), pp. 80-90, at p. 88; *PUF, NF*, vol. 5, no. 7 (pp. 69-70); Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 2, p. 194; Halphen, *Le comté*, p. 308.

⁷² Foulon, *Église*, pp. 104-7; see below, p. 124.

⁷³ See above, pp. 79-81. See also: Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 156-9.

⁷⁴ See above, pp. 87-91.

Mâcon, who died in 1072.⁷⁵ There was no quick succession, and the vacancy must have come to Pope Gregory's attention, for he wrote on the matter to Roclin, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, in a letter dated to 4 December 1073.⁷⁶ In light of the Reims situation a few years previously, in which Gregory was seemingly directly involved, he was likely keen to avoid a repeat of such procrastination over the appointment of a new bishop.

Cowdrey suggested that Gregory treated the election at Mâcon like a challenge to the young king, testing whether he could be trusted to follow good practice and be an ally in reforming the Church.⁷⁷ Indeed, Gregory tells Roclin that, after the assurances given by Philip's chamberlain Alberic, 'We wish, to begin with, to test the good faith of this promise in respect of the church of Mâcon which has for long been bereft of the rule of a shepherd and has been reduced almost to nothing'.⁷⁸ Gregory looked to Philip to ensure the election of Landric, archdeacon of Autun, who 'has been elected by unanimous consent of the clergy and people and also, as we have heard, with the assent of the king himself, to be set over the church, the gift of the episcopate having been granted, as is befitting, without payment'.⁷⁹

At first, this seems confusing. Why would Philip be an obstacle to an election of which he had already approved? A second letter, sent on the same day by Gregory but addressed to Humbert, archbishop of Lyon, the metropolitan for Mâcon, reports that 'the clerks of Mâcon [...] say that the king of France wishes to hinder an election made with his consent'.⁸⁰ It seems, then, that Philip had backtracked on an earlier grant of consent in Landric's favour. Gregory thus saw an opportunity to test the king's resolve. If Philip did not return to his earlier position, then Humbert should consecrate Landric anyway.

What are we to make of the Mâcon affair? Firstly, it is important to note that Philip was not directly accused of simony in this case, even if Gregory's letter to Roclin implies that he was suspected of it.⁸¹ The geography is also important. It may be that Landric's predecessor

⁷⁵ GC, vol. 4, cols 1063-4.

⁷⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 56-7 (1.35); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 40-1.

⁷⁷ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 335-6, 403. For comment on this election, see also: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 52-3; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 405-6; Große, 'Philipp', pp. 122-3; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, p. 155.

⁷⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 56-7 (1.35): 'Huius ergo promissionis fidem in Matisconensi ecclesia pastoris regimine diu desolata et ad nihilum pene redacta in primis volumus experiri'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 40.

⁷⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, p. 57 (1.35): 'unamini cleri et populi consensus, ipsius etiam, ut audivimus, regis assensu electum episcopatus dono gratis, ut decet, concessio ecclesie prefici patiat'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 40.

⁸⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 57-8 (1.36): 'Matisconensium clericorum [...] Dicunt enim regem Francorum electionem suo consensus factam velle impedire'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 41.

⁸¹ See sources cited in n. 76 above.

at Mâcon, Bishop Drogo, was a royal appointee.⁸² We know nothing about his background, but the fact that he was buried at Orléans suggests that he may have had ties closer to the royal heartland.⁸³ Equally, however, Mâcon itself was not in the royal heartlands, as we saw in the previous chapter.⁸⁴ Whilst it is feasible that Philip's right to confirm a new bishop was still recognised here in 1072/3, the remoteness of the see to other 'royal' bishoprics, and the lack of any subscriptions from Drogo or Landric to royal *acta*, should perhaps caution us somewhat when assessing the degree of Philip's real oversight.

Humbert, in fact, did not consecrate Landric, though the latter became bishop anyway, receiving his consecration directly from Gregory himself.⁸⁵ Maybe Humbert was unwilling to antagonise Philip by sidestepping the royal role as Gregory commanded; equally, it may be that it was opposition to Landric from Humbert which had convinced Philip to oppose the candidate in the first place. We cannot know for sure. Regardless of the politics of this election, Philip clearly did play a role, and his suitability for that role was being tested by Gregory. The pope did not question Philip's right to invest the elect, but a confirmation was all that this was supposed to be and, in instructing Humbert to go ahead with the election even if Philip's consent was not forthcoming, Gregory signalled a belief that this royal affirmation was not, in fact, necessary.⁸⁶ Such a stance posed a serious potential problem to Philip's grip over ecclesiastical elections.

Robert II of Chartres

As already outlined in the previous chapter, the pontificate of Gregory VII saw the use of legates expand to become key instruments of the papal reformist agenda.⁸⁷ As well as broadcasting papal pronouncements, keeping a watchful eye on the state of the French Church and ruling on its disputes, episcopal elections became a key preoccupation of these agents. Whereas previously, as seen above, popes like Alexander II had become involved in French episcopal elections, generally they kept a distance and local prelates like Gervase of Reims retained much of the influence over how matters were actually resolved. However,

⁸² Nicholas II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 26 (cols 1347-8) (= Jaffé³, no. 10431); Becker, *Studien*, p. 46; Bouchard, *Sword*, p. 398.

⁸³ *Obituaires de la province de Lyon*, vol. 2, ed. Jacques Laurent and Pierre Gras (Paris, 1965), pp. 483, 488.

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 84-5.

⁸⁵ Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 4 (pp. 8-11); Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 107-8 (1.76), 123 (1.85a); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 79, 91.

⁸⁶ See esp. Becker, *Studien*, pp. 52-3.

⁸⁷ See above, pp. 85, 91-4.

Gregory's appointment of permanent legates, particularly Hugh of Die, changed this dynamic. Henceforth, matters of questionable electoral practice or of someone's suitability for high ecclesiastical office could now more easily be referred to papal judgement in France, with papal authority a more accessible resource and papal supervision a less avoidable complication. From the mid-1070s onwards, this began to have a demonstrable impact upon the makeup of the episcopate upon whom Philip relied.

One of the first cases involved Robert II, bishop of Chartres, who probably succeeded Arrald after the latter's death in early 1075.⁸⁸ Robert, together with two members of the chapter at Chartres, the dean, Ingelram, and the schoolmaster, Ivo, travelled to Rome and met with Gregory in April 1076, when the papal *Register* records an oath, sworn by Robert, to resign his see once called to by a papal legate.⁸⁹ Robert had, presumably, gone to Rome to receive judgement on his election, perhaps at the command of Hugh of Die, and the pope had then found fault with it. The alternative is that Robert was elected but did not wish to take up the charge, which could perhaps explain why Gregory did not simply depose him there and then.

The former option is more likely, since a letter which Gregory wrote to the clergy at Chartres on 4 March 1077 tells us that Robert had gone on to break his oath and hold on to his see.⁹⁰ Gregory tells of how 'the monk Robert, who has occupied your church by wicked ambition', should now be considered a perjurer and, 'lest this church should remain any longer without a shepherd or entry into it any further lie open to simoniacal intrusion', a new bishop should be elected.⁹¹ The implication, then, is that Robert had originally won his bishopric through some form of simoniacal transaction, perhaps in Philip's favour, which had necessitated the oath sworn at Rome.⁹²

Robert did not hold on to Chartres. Later in 1077, a new bishop, Geoffrey, was installed, on whom more will be said below.⁹³ In the meantime, it seems that Philip had tried to give the bishopric to another Robert, namely Robert of Grandmesnil, brother of the Norman magnate Hugh of Grandmesnil and founder-abbot of Sant'Eufemia in Calabria, southern

⁸⁸ *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1122-3.

⁸⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 282-3 (3.17a); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 201.

⁹⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, pp. 317-19 (4.14-4.15); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 224-5.

⁹¹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, pp. 317-18: 'Robertus monachus, qui ecclesiam vestram nefanda ambitione occupavit', 'ne ecclesia illa diutius sine pastore raneat vel introitus eius symoniace subreptioni ulterius pateat'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 224.

⁹² Becker, *Studien*, pp. 61-2.

⁹³ See below, pp. 125-6.

Italy.⁹⁴ This Robert may have been Philip's choice to replace the first Robert, as Gregory's letter, written in late 1077 to Hugh of Die, indicates that Abbot Robert had travelled to France at some point within the past year, Philip having requested him as the new bishop of Chartres, but that he had subsequently returned, 'saying that when the king offered it he has refused the gift of the episcopate, nor in this matter would he do anything now or in future without our counsel'.⁹⁵ This perhaps suggests that Philip intended to invest Robert with the bishopric himself, but that on the back of Gregory's recent pronouncement against lay investiture, Robert had, following Cowdrey, 'evidently heard about the prohibition that Gregory was seeking to enforce' and resolved not to contradict it.⁹⁶

Philip's designs were thus frustrated twofold: firstly, Gregory deposed Robert II on account of simony, and given Capetian influence over elections at Chartres it is plausible that Philip may have been a recipient of whatever payment was made; secondly, the reservations of Robert of Grandmesnil to contravene Gregory's stance on lay investiture led him to refuse the bishopric. Philip would probably have valued the connections his election could have brought both with Robert's family in Normandy and with the Normans of southern Italy. The previous incumbent, Bishop Arrald, whose election is admittedly poorly known, had been abbot of Breme in northern Italy, so Chartres was no stranger to prelates sought from far away, and Philip may well have invested Arrald in the exact same way as that with which Robert of Grandmesnil could not reconcile himself.⁹⁷ But Philip's endeavours at Chartres had been foiled, for now at least. Significantly, Gregory took centre stage in this business; all matters went through him, with Hugh of Die's role being to supervise goings on and enact the pope's decisions. As we shall see, Hugh was perfectly capable of taking the initiative himself, and it may be that protracted affairs such as this helped to convince him that it was worthwhile to do so.

⁹⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, pp. 74-5, 90-103, 108-115, vol. 3, pp. 158-61; Benjamin Pohl, 'The Foundation of St Euphemia in Calabria: A "Norman" Church in Southern Italy?', in: *Rethinking Norman Italy: Studies in honour of Graham A. Loud*, ed. Joanna H. Drell and Paul Oldfield (2021; pbk Manchester, 2023), pp. 191-211.

⁹⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 363-5 (5.11): 'dicens se donum episcopatus offerente rege refutasse nec quicquam inde sine nostro consilio facere voluisse vel facturum esse'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 257.

⁹⁶ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 407.

⁹⁷ *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1121-2.

Rainer of Orléans

If Philip could be frustrated by the increased papal scrutiny on electoral matters, he could also, on occasion, turn it to his own benefit. We know that at some point in the early years of the reign Philip fell out with Rainer, bishop of Orléans, because a 1076 letter from Gregory to Richer of Sens reveals that Rainer was the focus of accusations made by the king, designed to remove him from office.⁹⁸ Gregory exercised a degree of caution at first, and Philip's own accusations were probably not centred around electoral issues, which could possibly implicate him as well. However, a large portfolio of wrongs built up against Rainer, which included that he was elected before having attained the appropriate age and that he had acquired his see 'without proper election by clergy and people'.⁹⁹

After Rainer failed to defend himself, Gregory in 1078 backed another candidate, Sancho, and the affair dragged on into 1079 and beyond.¹⁰⁰ Rainer seems to have held on to his see until Arnulf succeeded him in 1082 or 1083; incidentally, the circumstances of Arnulf's election unfortunately remain very poorly known.¹⁰¹ The matter of Rainer had probably spiralled far further than Philip originally intended; certainly, it had lasted longer than he would have hoped. But by alerting Gregory to cases such as Rainer's, Philip was trying to show himself a conscientious king who did care about ecclesiastical misconduct amongst the episcopate.¹⁰²

Assessment

The decade or so between the end of Philip's minority and the ratcheting up of reformist pressure in the later 1070s saw the young king pursuing control over episcopal appointments whilst remaining aware of a papal oversight which did not become overly problematic for him until the pontificate of Gregory VII. The two archiepiscopal elections at Reims and Tours both attracted Alexander II's attention, but in neither case is there much indication of any major conflict between him and Philip. This may be influenced by the relative lack of surviving source material, but regardless it seems fair to say that the later controversies at Mâcon and Chartres

⁹⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 278-9 (3.16); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 198-9.

⁹⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 279-80 (3.17), 307-8 (4.9), vol. 2, pp. 358-9 (5.8): 'sine idonea cleri et populi electione', 360-1 (5.9), 383-4 (5.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 199-200, 218-19, 253-4, 254-5, 269-70. On Rainer, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 414-16.

¹⁰⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 358-9 (5.8), 360-1 (5.9), 367-8 (5.14), 383-4 (5.20), 435-6 (6.23); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 253-5, 259-60, 269-70, 306-7.

¹⁰¹ Becker, *Studien*, p. 63; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1140-1.

¹⁰² Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 338.

would have signalled to Philip that his grip on elections was under greater threat than previously, as a result of both the increased scrutiny of the pope and the increased awareness and application of the reformist ideas he espoused. In the coming years, this would become even more startlingly apparent.

Reform Invigorated (1077-1089)

The Councils of Autun (1077) and Poitiers (1078)

The Council of Autun, presided over by Hugh of Die in September 1077, marked a key moment in Gregory's drive to pursue and enforce reform in France.¹⁰³ It was at this point that Gregory began to take decisive action against lay investiture in northern France.¹⁰⁴ This must have come as a shock to Philip and the French episcopate. Indeed, it may be that Philip gained advance notice of Hugh's plans, thus forcing the legate to hold the council outside of royal lands, after Gregory had originally hoped that Philip would participate in it.

Philip had probably heard about Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, who had recently pleaded ignorance of papal directives against lay investiture in order to defend his own investiture by Henry IV, which had led Gregory into deciding that Gerard could only take up his see if he swore to Hugh of Die and to his metropolitan, Archbishop Manasses I of Reims, that his denial of knowledge was genuine.¹⁰⁵ This seems to have been the spark which provoked Gregory to instruct Hugh to use the council at Autun to apply an investiture ban in Philip's lands.¹⁰⁶ The actions taken at this council, followed by more sanctions announced a few months later at the Council of Poitiers in January 1078, weighed on Philip's interests in many dioceses, producing all at once a storm unlike anything he had faced previously.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, as we will see, the sanctions were launched in response to a wide variety of abuses, making this not just the

¹⁰³ Mansi, vol. 20, cols 483-92; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 177-8; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 98-101; see above, p. 92.

¹⁰⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 330-4 (4.22); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 233-5; Manasses I to Gregory VII, ed. RHF, p. 611; Schieffer, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 162-76.

¹⁰⁵ *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, as: 'Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium', in: *MGH, SS*, vol. 7 (Hannover, 1846), pp. 393-525, at p. 497; 'Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii', ed. Bethmann, pp. 539-40; Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 330-4 (4.22); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 233-5; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 59-61; Cauchie, *La querelle*, vol. 1, pp. 1-9; Schieffer, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 143-52.

¹⁰⁶ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 360-2.

¹⁰⁷ On Poitiers, see: Mansi, vol. 20, cols 495-502; Gabriel Le Bras, 'L'activité canonique à Poitiers pendant la réforme grégorienne (1049-1099)', in: *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou, 2 vols (Poitiers, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 237-9, at pp. 238-9; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 181-2; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 114-20; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 103-6; Schilling, 'Die Kanones'; Jean-Claude Tillier, 'Les conciles provinciaux de la province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux au temps de la Réforme grégorienne (1073-1100)', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Année 1968, vol. 2 (1971), 561-81, at pp. 563-73; see above, p. 92.

advent of a campaign against lay investiture in Philip's lands, but of an increased pressure on elections and the episcopate there more generally.¹⁰⁸

Ivo of Senlis

It was not merely Philip's cooperation which was lacking at Autun, but that of Manasses of Reims too, whose path to eventual deposition was mentioned in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁹ Manasses was excommunicated by Hugh at Autun, probably for a combination of his abstention from the council and a variety of other allegations.¹¹⁰ One of these was his involvement in the installation of his suffragan, Ivo, bishop of Senlis.¹¹¹ Hugh reported to Gregory that 'the bishop of Senlis, having accepted investiture from the hand of the king, was ordained by that heresiarch of Reims [i.e., Manasses], whom you forbade through your letters to accept a bishop in such fashion'.¹¹² It is not clear exactly when Ivo acquired his bishopric, but Hugh clearly interpreted Manasses' action as a flagrant dismissal of papal wishes, putting the condemned practices of the king above the decrees of the pope.

Controversy over Manasses had been brewing for some time, but Hugh's letter does not refer to any sanctions against Ivo, so the legate presumably refrained from passing judgement against him at Autun, content to refer the case to Gregory. Following the Council of Poitiers, Hugh added in another letter that the bishop of Senlis had assisted the consecration of the invader Ralph, bishop of Amiens (which was, ironically, to Manasses' ire as well).¹¹³ Whether Gregory took any further action against Ivo is unclear. By January 1082, a new bishop, Ursio, was in place, about whose election we know nothing.¹¹⁴ As we hear no more on the controversy around Ivo, it has been plausibly suggested that Gregory allowed him to continue in his office, just as he had done with Gerard of Cambrai.¹¹⁵ Whether Philip then later invested Ursio or not is impossible to say, but the scrutiny placed on Ivo's election would

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, esp. p. 361; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 146-7.

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp. 93-4.

¹¹⁰ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 107 (pp. 178-82); Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. *RHF*, pp. 613-14; see below, p. 124.

¹¹¹ On Ivo, see: *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1393-4.

¹¹² Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. *RHF*, p. 614: 'Silvanectensis [...] episcopus, acceptâ investiturâ de manu Regis, ordinatus est ab illo Remensi heresiarcha, cui literis vestris interdixistis ne hujusmodi in episcopos acciperet'.

¹¹³ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. *RHF*, p. 616. On Ralph, see below, pp. 123-4.

¹¹⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, *Recueil*, no. 106 (pp. 270-2); *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1394-5.

¹¹⁵ Dhomme and Vattier, *Recherches*, pp. 50-1; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1393-4.

have left him in no doubt that the drive to eradicate lay investiture was a now a reformist initiative with which he would have to seriously contend.

Robert of Auxerre

Another case discussed at Autun was the election of Robert, bishop of Auxerre. Sassier believed that Philip probably had a role in Robert's installation, the latter being the son of William, count of Nevers, who was a kinsman to the king and can be seen in Philip's orbit during the early decades of the reign.¹¹⁶ The choice attracted the attention of Hugh of Die, who reported on it in his letter to Gregory VII concerning the council at Autun, saying: '[The bishop] of Auxerre, ordained in the past year, while he has not accepted investiture from the hands of the king, yet his favour resulted from the king's *familiares*'.¹¹⁷

The *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre* completely omits any controversy over investiture, though it does note that while Robert was chosen in September, he was not consecrated until the following August.¹¹⁸ On account of Hugh's letter, it is therefore most likely that Robert was put forward in September 1076 and consecrated shortly prior to the Autun council the following year. Sassier suggested that Philip did not personally invest Robert so as to avoid controversy with the papacy, positing that he and Count William acted cautiously.¹¹⁹ This is possible, especially if Philip was trying to assess the new situation, however we know that he probably did invest Ivo of Senlis around the same time. Thus, perhaps the investiture of Robert was kept hidden from Hugh of Die, consequently limiting his complaint to an insinuation that Robert gained his office through having powerful friends courting the king's favour. There was more than a hint of simony in such a claim, but such reservations were clearly not enough to bring about Robert's downfall. As far as we know, neither Hugh nor Gregory took any further action against him, and he remained as bishop. This was undoubtedly a win for Philip.

Targeting of Established Prelates

It was not just new or prospective bishops who were threatened by the increased papal scrutiny. Having recourse to readily-available and brazenly confident legatine authority meant

¹¹⁶ Sassier, *Recherches*, pp. 31-41, 48-50. See also: Becker, *Studien*, p. 61 and n. 40; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 369-70; Newman, *Le domaine*, pp. 220-1.

¹¹⁷ Hugh of Die, *Letters (to Gregory VII)*, ed. RHF, p. 614: 'Autisiodorensis infra annos ordinatus, investituram quidem de manu Regis non accepit, quauquam per familiares Regis gratiam ejus consecutus sit'.

¹¹⁸ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 1, pp. 278-81.

¹¹⁹ Sassier, *Recherches*, p. 49, n. 211; cf. Becker, *Studien*, p. 61 and n. 40.

that there was also the potential to throw historic grievances and simmering rumours into the limelight, which proved to be a threat even to well-established prelates. Drogo, who had been bishop of Thérouanne since the reign of Robert II, was placed under interdict by Hugh of Die, as revealed in a 1077 letter from Manasses I, archbishop of Reims, to Gregory VII.¹²⁰ He may have been reluctant to enforce clerical celibacy as demanded by Gregory, thus drawing attention to his conduct.¹²¹ Manasses spoke up for his aged suffragan, and Drogo may have received a papal pardon, though he soon died.¹²² Nevertheless, the action against Drogo was a sign that even long-standing prelates were not safe from Hugh's reach.

Several prelates appointed early in Philip's reign also came under suspicion. We have already noted Philip's support for Roger, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, who had been facing accusations – seemingly, at least in the later stages, in relation to clerical benefices – for several years, which Hugh was eventually called to examine at Autun.¹²³ Roger likely made some kind of amends, for he remained as bishop and attended councils held by Hugh of Die at Issoudun and Meaux in the early 1080s.¹²⁴ Also in the wake of Autun, Hugh reported to Gregory that Radbod, bishop of Noyon, who had been in office for around a decade, 'confessed to us his simony' and promised to give up his see if Gregory required it.¹²⁵ Despite what is sometimes claimed, it is unclear whether this simony was linked to Radbod's original acquisition of his office, or to a later offence.¹²⁶ Equally, it is uncertain whether Philip was implicated in any way. At the Council of Poitiers, Hugh of Die referred the matter to Gregory.¹²⁷

Some further details on Radbod's case are hinted at by Heriman of Tournai, who claims that, confronted with accusations that he had gained his bishopric through a simoniacal payment to Philip, Radbod was required to obtain guarantors as to his innocence, but his simony was so well-known that nobody could swear against it in good conscience, meaning

¹²⁰ Manasses I to Gregory VII, ed. RHF, p. 612. See also: Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. RHF, p. 616. For the start of Drogo's episcopate, see: A. Giry, 'Grégoire VII et les évêques de Térouane', *Revue Historique*, 1 (1876), 387-409, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40937534>>, (accessed 2 September 2022), pp. 388-9.

¹²¹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 309-11 (4.10-4.11); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 219-21; Giry, 'Grégoire', pp. 392-6.

¹²² Manasses I to Gregory VII, ed. RHF, p. 612; GC, vol. 10, col. 1539; Giry, 'Grégoire', p. 388, n. 1, 394-6.

¹²³ *Die Hannoversche Briefsammlung*, ed. Erdmann, no. 107 (p. 181); Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 83-4 (1.56), 209-10 (2.56); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 60-1, 150-1; Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 87-92; GC, vol. 9, cols 874-5; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 142-3; see above, pp. 71-2.

¹²⁴ Mansi, vol. 20, cols 573-4, 577-80, 583-8; GC, vol. 9, cols 874-5; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 185-6.

¹²⁵ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. RHF, pp. 613-14: 'confessus est nobis simoniam suam'; GC, vol. 9, 996-8; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 176-7.

¹²⁶ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 362; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 176; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, p. 143.

¹²⁷ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. RHF, p. 616.

that Radbod, despite the warnings of Hugh of Die that it would condemn him to a swift death as judgement, swore alone and died ignobly soon after.¹²⁸ The chronology of Heriman's account is unclear, but it hints at a long-running saga and we know that Radbod remained in office for another two decades after Hugh's letter to Gregory.¹²⁹ Later, we have a letter from Pope Urban II to the clergy and people of Noyon, which, presumably in response to new or resurfaced allegations, reveals that no accusers had come forward against Radbod, which meant that he would remain bishop, with any future issues being referred to Hugh of Die.¹³⁰ This implies that accusations perhaps continued to plague Radbod but equally that they did not have enough substance to dislodge him. The details of Heriman's story probably refer instead to these later accusations, which is made more probable still by the appearance of Anselm of Laon.¹³¹ It is impossible to tell how the nature of the accusations of simony may have changed and developed over the decades of Radbod's tenure. However, in light of Heriman's testimony it seems probable that, at least at times, they included a payment to Philip to acquire the bishopric. Admittedly, Heriman was writing in the twelfth century, by which time details may have become clouded.¹³² What is undeniable is that, under Gregory VII, both Roger of Châlons-sur-Marne and Radbod of Noyon-Tournai managed to hold on to their sees.

A similar ordeal had to be endured by Guy, bishop of Beauvais, though his fall from grace was less drawn out.¹³³ Hugh of Die reported after the Council of Poitiers that Guy faced accusations of simony and the sale of prebends.¹³⁴ Once again, he referred the matter to Gregory, and it seems that Guy was excused. In 1081, he is mentioned, without comment, in a letter of Gregory, as being one of the defenders of Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres.¹³⁵ As Guyotjeannin notes, the exact accusations against Guy remain somewhat unclear, and as with

¹²⁸ Heriman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, ed. Huygens, pp. 124-6; trans. Nelson, pp. 105-6; É. De Moreau, 'La légende de la mort tragique de Radbod II évêque de Noyon-Tournai', *Annales de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*, 31 (*Congrès de Namur 1938*, publ. 1939), 245-9. Cf. also: Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 211-12 (2.58); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 152-3.

¹²⁹ *GC*, vol. 9, cols 996-8; cf. the comments in: De Moreau, 'La légende', *passim*

¹³⁰ Urban II (Pope), *Letters*, ed. as: 'Epistolæ Urbani II Papæ', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 688-762, at no. 36 (p. 712).

¹³¹ Heriman's story is placed in the 1090s in: Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XII^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 157-8.

¹³² De Moreau, 'La légende'. On Heriman, see for example: Heriman of Tournai, *The Restoration*, ed. Huygens, pp. 5-7 and the introductory epistle on pp. 33-4; English trans. (of the epistle) by Nelson, pp. 11-12; J. Pycke, 'Hériman [...] chroniqueur et abbé de S.-Martin de Tournai', in: *DHGE*, vol. 23, ed. R. Aubert with J.-P. Hendrickx (Paris, 1990), cols 1453-8.

¹³³ On Guy, see above, pp. 73-4.

¹³⁴ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. *RHF*, p. 616.

¹³⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 594-5 (9.15); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 415-16.

Radbod it is uncertain whether his simony traced back to his original installation as bishop or occurred later.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, Guy was eventually forced out. Guibert of Nogent, who knew the bishop from his own childhood, claims that some men whom Guy 'had educated and promoted' met with Hugh of Die and charged their bishop with simony, leading the latter to be charged *in absentia* and then to decide to retire to become a monk at Cluny.¹³⁷ Guibert ought to have known the details of Guy's life well, and it is doubtful whether he is talking about the accusations raised in 1078, because we know that Guy lasted as bishop for many years beyond that; he did not resign his see until 1085.¹³⁸ Perhaps, therefore, some fresh accusations were made in the mid-1080s and Guy decided not to defend himself against them. Maybe he was conscious that he had lost significant support in his diocese. Recourse to Hugh of Die's legatine authority had given Guy's enemies the forum they needed to remove him, even if not immediately, and in this sense his fall is further evidence of the increased challenges faced by the French episcopate at this time.

Ralph of Amiens

The case of Ralph, bishop of Amiens, offers a slightly different insight into the tensions manifesting over elections. The irregularity of his installation was raised by his own archbishop, Manasses I of Reims, who complained to Gregory that two of his suffragans, Theobald, bishop of Soissons, and Elinand, bishop of Laon, had consecrated Ralph without his permission.¹³⁹ Interestingly, Manasses added to his complaint that Ralph was guilty of lay investiture, though he refrains from directly accusing Philip.¹⁴⁰ Hugh of Die did examine Ralph's case at Poitiers, where as noted above Ivo of Senlis was also implicated in his ordination.¹⁴¹ The matter was referred to Gregory, who agreed in a letter of August 1078 that Ralph should be deposed if guilty of lay investiture, and it seems he was, for by 1080 a new bishop, Rorico, was in place.¹⁴² By shining a light on Ralph's irregular election, Manasses was

¹³⁶ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 72 and n. 22.

¹³⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 100-1: 'educaverat atque promovemat'; trans. McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 40-1.

¹³⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 110 (pp. 279-82); *GC*, vol. 9, cols 708-11; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 72 and n. 22.

¹³⁹ Manasses I to Gregory VII, ed. RHF, p. 611.

¹⁴⁰ Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 406.

¹⁴¹ Hugh of Die, *Letters* (to Gregory VII), ed. RHF, p. 616.

¹⁴² Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 394-6 (6.3); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 277-8; *GC*, vol. 10, col. 1166.

asserting his archiepiscopal authority over his suffragans and illustrating to Gregory and Hugh that he was not working against their attempts to extirpate electoral offences within the Church. However, if Ralph's election had been backed by Philip, then this was a risky game, and possibly it contributed to Philip's acquiescence to Manasses' eventual deposition.¹⁴³

Judgements Against Archbishops

The examples discussed above illustrate the widespread and disruptive nature of the sanctions taken at Autun and Poitiers. Furthermore, it was not just the suffragan bishops who were targeted by Hugh around this time, but the metropolitans too. We have already noted the excommunication of Manasses of Reims, but Hugh also 'suspended or condemned': Hugh, archbishop of Besançon and Richer, archbishop of Sens, for not answering the conciliar summons; Richard, archbishop of Bourges; and Ralph, archbishop of Tours, who was still defending against long-standing accusations of simony, referred to above.¹⁴⁴ In a memorandum inserted into Gregory's *Register* on 9 March 1078, all of these sentences were overturned, albeit with stipulations.¹⁴⁵

This memorandum is perhaps the starkest illustration of Hugh and Gregory's differing approaches, and Rennie has commented that 'it was not Hugh's authority that was being questioned [by Gregory], or for that matter his conciliar methods, but rather his personal conception of canonical rigour: that is to say, his application of law for reforming purposes'.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, one wonders what reaction Gregory might have had when he heard that Hugh had acted against no less than five archbishops! No doubt he would have been concerned for the stability of the Church should so many crucial sees witness upheaval at once. Perhaps, in his eyes, Hugh's sentence had produced an appropriate assertion of papal authority, but with that point having been made, there was no need – or indeed prospect – of now following through. An overzealous campaign against clerical abuses also risked alienating Philip even more, which was a danger Gregory thought best avoided.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Cf. Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 311-12.

¹⁴⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 378-80 (5.17): 'suspense seu damnati'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 266-7. On Ralph, see above, pp. 111-12.

¹⁴⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 378-80 (5.17); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 266-7

¹⁴⁶ Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 91-4. See also: Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 332-3, 357.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Becker, *Studien*, pp. 66-7; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 419-22; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 106-8; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 300-1.

Geoffrey of Chartres

Besides the reversal of the judgements against the archbishops, Gregory's 1078 memorandum refers to another case, namely that of Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, with Gregory explaining that he had reinstated Geoffrey because the judgement against him had been passed *in absentia*, referring his case back to Hugh of Die for further examination.¹⁴⁸ Hugh's opposition to Geoffrey either persisted after the memorandum, or reignited anew, for later Geoffrey's namesake and uncle, Bishop Geoffrey of Paris, travelled with his nephew to Rome to treat with Gregory directly on the matter, assuring him that several senior prelates including two archbishops (probably of Reims and Sens) and the bishop of Beauvais were willing to vouch for Geoffrey.¹⁴⁹ The pope waited for more information from Hugh, but ultimately decided to confirm Geoffrey as bishop with the explanation that: 'we have recognized that, without violence to righteousness, the business in hand can not unsuitably be handled with mercy'.¹⁵⁰ This suggests that Gregory recognised that there was some truth in the accusations against Geoffrey, but decided that it was the better option to confirm him in post anyway. Gregory wrote to the clergy and people of Chartres, instructing them to put aside the charges raised against Geoffrey, including that 'of simoniacal infamy from which he has purged himself'.¹⁵¹

Given Philip's previous involvement in the attempt to secure Robert of Saint-Eufemia's election, as well as his close ties to the bishop of Paris, it seems likely that he was among the backers of Geoffrey's candidacy, though the nature of the alleged simony must remain unclear.¹⁵² Presumably, Philip was willing to allow both Geoffreys to travel to Rome to plead their case. Although this could be seen as a concession to Gregory's authority, it also demonstrated that senior members of the French episcopate supported Geoffrey's candidacy, and Philip perhaps hoped that this would help sow doubt in Gregory's mind about Hugh's judgement. That Gregory ultimately backed these prelates over Hugh may indicate that he was wary of further upsetting Philip over Chartres.¹⁵³ Regardless, Philip could be satisfied that

¹⁴⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 363-5 (5.11), 380 (5.17), 594-5 (9.15), 595-7 (9.16), 618-19 (9.32); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 257, 267, 415-17, 432-3; Hugh of Die, *Letters (to Gregory VII)*, ed. RHF, pp. 613-14.

¹⁴⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 594-5 (9.15); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 415-16.

¹⁵⁰ Gregory VII, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 595-7 (9.16): 'cognovimus prelibatum negotium inviolata iustitia non incongrue cum misericordia posse tractari'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 416-17; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 365-6.

¹⁵¹ Gregory VII, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 596-7 (9.16) 'symoniace infamationis quo se purgavit'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 416-17.

¹⁵² Cf. the opposing view in LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 232-3, 282-3.

¹⁵³ See: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 67, 76.

Geoffrey of Paris had outmanoeuvred Hugh of Die, securing his nephew's bishopric though mustering the might of the combined word and influence of senior French prelates.

Rainald of Reims

After the upheavals of the councils of Autun and Poitiers, pressure over episcopal elections was no doubt heightened, which we see at times over the rest of Gregory's pontificate. After Manasses I, archbishop of Reims, was finally deposed, the man chosen as his successor was Rainald, who as seen in the previous chapter possessed important kinship ties.¹⁵⁴ Philip, aware of this, would almost certainly have been involved in his choosing. Gregory had exhorted Philip to end his association with Manasses and prove his desire to do good by allowing and protecting a free election by the clergy and people at Reims to find Manasses' successor.¹⁵⁵ Of course, the electors at Reims were unlikely to do so without taking some account of how Philip would react to their choice. Nevertheless, as Demouy says, Rainald's familial ties and his acceptability to Philip 'did not preclude the choice of a worthy cleric, wedded to ideas of Gregorian reform'.¹⁵⁶ He was a candidate who was suitable to various parties: to the king for his familial links, to Rome for his reformist sympathies, and perhaps also to the factions within Reims itself, being an outsider who could potentially rise above the internal struggles of the city.¹⁵⁷ His election might have gone some way, in Philip's eyes, to making up for Manasses' fall.

Exactly what happened in Reims in the aftermath of Manasses' deposition is unclear; certainly, Rainald's election did not happen straightaway, and it may be that this period is when the story of Elinand of Laon's occupation of the see should be situated.¹⁵⁸ Anyway, we know that Rainald, once chosen, eventually made a trip to Rome to receive his pallium, but arrived there at a time of papal vacancy – probably after Gregory VII's death, though perhaps after Victor III's – which resulted in the pallium being provisionally granted to him by the cardinal bishops on condition that Rainald would return to receive it anew from the new pope

¹⁵⁴ See above, p. 68.

¹⁵⁵ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 542-3 (8.20); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 585-6; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 72-3; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339-40, 540, 549; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 84-5.

¹⁵⁶ Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 391, 539, 614-17: 'Cela n'a pas empêché le choix d'un clerc digne, acquis aux idées de la réforme grégorienne' (quote at p. 614).

¹⁵⁷ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 77-8; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 539.

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp. 109-11.

once elected.¹⁵⁹ Urban II chastised Rainald for delaying the fulfilment of this obligation, but the archbishop did eventually travel back to Italy in late 1089.¹⁶⁰ It has been assumed that Rainald also received lay investiture from Philip, but if so, Urban made no issue of it.¹⁶¹

Walter II of Meaux

The deposition of Manasses I of Reims did not signal the end of defiance to legatine authority. Although the chronology of what happened is a little unclear, according to our principal source, the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, in 1082 Hugh of Die held a council in Meaux, just days after the death of that place's veteran bishop, Walter I, where it was decided to install Robert, abbot of Rebais, as Walter's successor.¹⁶² However, not only was this election conducted at rapid speed, but the see's metropolitan, Richer, archbishop of Sens, was not present at the council, and he, no doubt shocked by the legates' boldness in installing a new bishop over his head, responded by excommunicating Robert shortly thereafter.¹⁶³

Surprisingly, it is unclear how this controversy was resolved. By 1085, a new bishop, Walter II, was in place, and the short entry in the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* seems to imply that there had been no lifting of Robert's excommunication.¹⁶⁴ It may be that Robert either eventually gave up his claim in the face of his archbishop's opposition or died at some point in the meantime. Hugh of Flavigny claimed that Walter II obtained his see by supporting Philip's marriage to Bertrada, but this is clearly wrong as that controversy only came much later.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, any involvement Philip may or may not have had in this affair eludes us. However, it seems that Richer, either through obstinacy or negotiation or both, had managed to successfully illustrate some defiance of legatine authority without provoking major uproar, and this would surely have been encouraging to Philip.

¹⁵⁹ *Collectio Britannica*, ed. and English trans. in: Robert Somerville, with Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996), no. 32a and b (pp. 117-20) (= Jaffé³, nos. 12499, 13093); Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 191-2.

¹⁶⁰ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 208-13.

¹⁶¹ For comment on Rainald's election, see: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 72-3, 77-8, 81, n. 195; Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 191-2; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339-40, 540, 549; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 391, 539, 614-17; Ludwig Falkenstein, 'Lettres et privilèges perdus adressés aux archevêques de Reims (XI^e-XII^e siècle)', *Revue du Nord*, 86 (2004), 585-603, at pp. 600-1; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 316-17.

¹⁶² *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 134-5. See also: Mansi, vol. 20, cols 573-4, 583-8; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 75-6; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 150-3; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 185-6.

¹⁶³ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 134-5; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 285-6.

¹⁶⁴ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 134-5; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 117 (pp. 297-300); Becker, *Studien*, p. 75, n. 157 (on p. 205); LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 285-6.

¹⁶⁵ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Pertz, p. 493; French trans. in: RHF, vol. 16, pp. xlv, xlvi; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 46-50.

Instability at Soissons

If Philip could take some comfort from the defiance shown by Richer of Sens, the early 1080s provided other instances to confirm to the king that the pressure announced so spectacularly in 1077-1078 was to continue. The bishopric of Soissons experienced a particularly turbulent period from around this time, which has been framed around competition between royal and Thibaudian influence over the see.¹⁶⁶ Following the death of Bishop Theobald in 1080, a new bishop was chosen in the form of Ursio, whose brother, Gervase, served first as Philip's constable, then as seneschal.¹⁶⁷ According to the *Life of Saint Arnulf of Soissons*, Ursio's election was consented to 'in recompense for palace service'.¹⁶⁸ Thus, we can be confident that he was a candidate who had royal approval, though whether any simony or lay investiture were involved is unclear. The *Life* describes him as 'learned in letters from a young age, but not quite suitable for such office [i.e., as bishop]'.¹⁶⁹ Unsurprisingly, the election drew legatine scrutiny, and Ursio was deposed *in absentia* at a council held by Hugh of Die at Meaux, with Arnulf of Saint-Médard at Soissons chosen to replace him.¹⁷⁰

Gervase, presumably supported by Philip, continued to back his brother's candidacy. He prevented Arnulf from entering Soissons, and it seems that the latter, although supported by the Thibaudian, Count Theobald, eventually resigned his position in the face of such opposition. It may be that some sort of agreement was brokered to end the deadlock, for in 1084, a new bishop, Enguerrand, first appears.¹⁷¹ Nip floats the possibility that Ursio became bishop of Beauvais, though this is conjecture based on a common name and it is equally possible that he died or was forced to give up his claim to Soissons.¹⁷²

Besides an obvious wish to make his electoral influence felt at Soissons as much as possible, Philip's support for Ursio was surely conditioned by a desire to ensure that the see was occupied by a man in whose connections he could trust. Ursio's court ties made him highly suitable in this regard. Philip's opinion of Arnulf, however, was perhaps clouded by their

¹⁶⁶ See: Bur, *La formation*, pp. 222-4, 355; Renée Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg, Bisschop van Soissons (†1087)* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 181-214.

¹⁶⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. CXXXVIII-CXXXIX, CXLIII; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 350-1.

¹⁶⁸ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, p. 56: 'pro recompensatione palatini seruitii'.

¹⁶⁹ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, p. 56: 'ab infantia literis erudito, sed ad tale officium minus idoneo'.

¹⁷⁰ On the competing claims of Ursio and Arnulf, see: *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 56-8, 63-7, 149-50, 154, 156-7; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 350-1; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 74-5; Bur, *La formation*, pp. 223-4, 355; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 284-5; Nip, *Arnulfus*, pp. 181-214; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 144-5.

¹⁷¹ Philip I, *Acta*, no. 110 (pp. 279-82); *GC*, vol. 9, col. 352.

¹⁷² Nip, *Arnulfus*, p. 210. Cf. Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 73.

earlier encounters, to be discussed further below, which may have convinced the king that such a man could not be allowed to become bishop.¹⁷³ It is difficult to say for certain how strongly Philip advocated for Ursio, but there is no doubting that, in the climate of the early 1080s, royal support was not as convincing a guarantee as it had been in the past. If Enguerrand's elevation was eventually engineered as a compromise solution, then there are certain parallels here with the later and better-known electoral dispute at Beauvais in 1100-1104, which speaks to Philip's adaptability in the face of evolving circumstances.¹⁷⁴

However, matters may not have played out so neatly. Our knowledge of subsequent events is only slight, but it is clear that Enguerrand did not remain in post for long.¹⁷⁵ His successor, Helgot, previously dean of Sainte-Geneviève at Paris, resigned as bishop not, according to Ivo of Chartres, on account of any misdeed, but in the face of other pressures.¹⁷⁶ It is possible that instability in the bishopric, tied to some degree to competition between royal and Thibaudian interests, may have led to the positions of both Enguerrand and Helgot becoming untenable. The next bishop, Henry, possibly set up as a counter-candidate to Helgot, seemingly had to swear an oath to reassure Urban II of his future good conduct after his election had been tainted by lay investiture, which adds weight to the idea that this was demanded by Philip for elections at Soissons.¹⁷⁷ Following the death of Count Theobald, finally the bishopric seems to have found some stability in the 1090s under the episcopate of Hugh.¹⁷⁸

Lambert of Thérouanne

In the midst of all of the electoral controversies of these years, it is important to remember that, as emphasised in the previous chapter, Philip's role was always moderated by local factors and the attitudes of other magnates who held a stake in certain localities and who were also challenged by the demands of reform. A useful example of this is provided by

¹⁷³ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 74-5; see below, pp. 159-61.

¹⁷⁴ See below, pp. 149-54.

¹⁷⁵ GC, vol. 9, col. 352; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 284-5; Nip, *Arnulfus*, pp. 210-11.

¹⁷⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 88, 108; Becker, *Studien*, p. 82; GC, vol. 9, col. 352; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 135; Nip, *Arnulfus*, p. 211.

¹⁷⁷ *Collectio Britannica*, ed. Somerville and Kuttner, no. 28 (pp. 99-101); PUF, NF, vol. 7, pp. 246-7; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 82-4; GC, vol. 9, cols. 352-3; Nip, *Arnulfus*, pp. 211-12.

¹⁷⁸ GC, vol. 9, cols 353-4; Nip, *Arnulfus*, p. 212.

the election of Lambert as bishop of Thérouanne.¹⁷⁹ In 1082, Gregory VII wrote to Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders, and expressed his concern that Robert was backing 'a sacrilegious clerk, one Lambert, who publicly bought the see of Thérouanne'.¹⁸⁰ Gregory seems to have been under the impression that the choice was more Philip's than Robert's, stating that: 'We have heard that it was under colour of the fealty which you have performed to King Philip that, to your peril, you were persuaded to do this'.¹⁸¹ In other words, Robert felt bound to obey the wishes of his king in consenting to Lambert's election.

As the case intensified, rival factions seem to have emerged at Thérouanne, and Hugh of Die was called upon by Gregory to provide judgement, resulting it seems in a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Lambert which did not lead to his immediate removal but surely contributed to a febrile atmosphere which, at its high point, saw assailants storm into Lambert's church and mutilate him, cutting out his tongue and severing some of his fingers.¹⁸² Gregory, despite his opposition to Lambert, was aghast at this turn of events, and may have feared matters getting out of control.¹⁸³ What happened next is unclear. Lambert may have died, perhaps as a result of his wounds, or his deposition/resignation may have been finally accepted in the face of such disturbances.¹⁸⁴ He was succeeded by Gerard, who seems to have been an alternative candidate to Lambert supported by one of the

¹⁷⁹ *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, as: 'Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium', in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 13 (Hannover, 1881), pp. 600-73, at p. 646; English trans. by Jeff Rider, as: 'Selections from Simon of Saint-Bertin's, *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint Bertin's*', in: Walter, Archdeacon of Thérouanne, *The Life of Count Charles of Flanders, the Life of Lord John, Bishop of Thérouanne, and Related Works* (Turnhout, 2023), appendix 5, pp. 231-42, at p. 234; Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, nos. 45-7 (pp. 108-15); Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 591-2 (9.13), 617-18 (9.31), 619-27 (9.33-9.35); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 413, 431, 433-9; Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Jeff Rider, p. 133; trans. Rider, p. 159; *GC*, vol. 10, col. 1541; Jean-Charles Bédague, Jean-Charles, 'Grégoire VII contre les évêques de Thérouanne: les chanoines séculiers de Saint-Omer au secours de la papauté', in: *Schismes, dissidences, oppositions: La France et le Saint-Siège avant Boniface VIII*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Rolf Große (Paris, 2012), pp. 59-93, at pp. 82-8; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 339, 346-8; Giry, 'Grégoire', pp. 399-407; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 76-9, 82; Schieffer, *Der päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 133-4; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 315-16; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 119-24.

¹⁸⁰ Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 45 (pp. 108-9): 'cuidam clerico sacrilegio Lamberto, qui publice Taruanensem episcopatum mercatus est'.

¹⁸¹ Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 45 (pp. 110-11): 'te audiuimus admonitu fidelitatis quam regi Philippo feceras ad id periculose esse inductum'.

¹⁸² Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 46 (pp. 110-13); Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, pp. 591-2 (9.13); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 339.

¹⁸³ Giry, 'Grégoire', pp. 404-7.

¹⁸⁴ Giry, 'Grégoire', p. 407.

factions.¹⁸⁵ At one point, Gregory had asked Robert to abandon Lambert and accept as bishop Gerard, describing the latter as ‘canonically elected’.¹⁸⁶

How crucial was Philip to all of this? Despite Gregory’s appeal to Robert to put aside his misplaced loyalty to his king in this matter, the count stuck by Lambert resolutely. That is not to say that Philip did not back Lambert’s candidacy, nor that he was excluded from the material benefits of any simoniacal transaction. But from Philip’s perspective, if Lambert’s candidacy was tainted from a reformist standpoint, he seemed to be the correct candidate from a political one, being someone whom both king and count could unite behind. A responsible monarch could not ignore this benefit, and thus he and Robert successfully mounted a sustained opposition to Lambert’s detractors. Gregory had Hugh of Die work alongside Hugh of Cluny in this affair, ‘since you are suspect to the aforesaid bishop [Lambert] on account of the king of the French who is at variance with you’, which suggests that Philip had successfully withered Hugh of Die’s authority to some degree.¹⁸⁷ Lambert also managed to convince certain suspended bishops – we do not know who – to consecrate him.¹⁸⁸ This too was a motion of local defiance against Hugh. Notably, Lambert’s successor Gerard later fell under suspicion of simony too.¹⁸⁹ Thus, despite the papal concerns and exhortations, and the internal divisions within the see, it seems that Robert and Philip, working in conjunction, kept a tight grip on the election at Thérouanne and successfully defended their own politics in tempering the effectiveness of papal exhortations in this instance.

Assessment

Overall, ecclesiastical elections in the late 1070s and early 1080s were marked by increased papal scrutiny of both the electoral process and the quality of candidate chosen. From 1077 onwards, following the shocks of the councils of Autun and Poitiers, the king’s influence over the electoral system was exposed to a greater degree than ever before, meaning that these were the years in which Philip realised the challenge he would face in light

¹⁸⁵ *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 646; trans. Rider, pp. 234-5; Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Rider, pp. 133-4; English trans. by Rider, pp. 159-60; *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1541-2; Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 591-2 (9.13), 628-9 (9.36); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 413, 440-1; Giry, ‘Grégoire’, pp. 407-9.

¹⁸⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 629 (9.36): ‘canonice electum’; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 441.

¹⁸⁷ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 620 (9.33), ‘quoniam memorato episcopo propter regem Francorum, qui a te dissidet, suspectus es’, and see also p. 621 (9.34); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 433, 435.

¹⁸⁸ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 623 (9.35); English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 436.

¹⁸⁹ See below, p. 148.

of increased papal assertiveness. However, it would have become very clear to Philip in these years that, despite an increased reforming zeal, the papacy was more frequently in a position to admonish rather than to dictate. Thus, the strict application of reform by figures such as Hugh of Die did not always meet with Gregory's approval.

Nevertheless, despite the measured curtailment of legatine judgements by the pope, the scrutiny to which the French episcopate was exposed in this period was of an intensity which posed a very real threat to Philip's authority over elections. The distant urging of Alexander II transitioned into the up-close demands of legates such as Hugh of Die, bolstered by the reforming endeavour of Gregory VII. Philip and prelates close to him could try to frustrate the process, for example by forbidding attendance at legatine councils, but prelates did collaborate with papal reformers – indeed they often had to in order to shore up their own diocesan authority – and it was inevitable that they would become increasingly wary of risking papal censure.¹⁹⁰ Philip's grip, at least as it was traditionally understood, was slipping, and he would have to find a way to adapt. Gregory died in 1085 and the latter half of the 1080s did not witness the same number of elections or the same fervour of legatine activity as the earlier part of this period. However, as we approach the end of the decade and enter the 1090s, two new figures, one a pope and one a bishop, would emerge onto the scene, and together they would begin to point the way towards a different relationship between Philip and his bishoprics.

New Influences (1089-1099)

As outlined above, the early pontificate of Urban II saw a revision of the way in which legates were employed in Philip's lands, with Hugh of Die's influence not as strong as it had been previously.¹⁹¹ This was to change later in the pontificate, but the increased trust that it seems Urban was willing to put in the French episcopate would have been an encouraging sign to Philip. In the context of episcopal elections, it potentially offered up the prospect of the king having a freer hand. However, the papacy was still there to be consulted, and any disgruntled factions would have been amply aware of this mode of recourse in light of events over the past few decades.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 413.

¹⁹¹ See above, pp. 95-6.

Ivo of Chartres

Among the elections of Urban's early pontificate, one in particular was to have a seismic impact on the future of Philip's relationship with the pope. This was the election in 1090 of Ivo, abbot of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, as bishop of Chartres.¹⁹² The see required a new leader due to Urban's decision to depose Bishop Geoffrey, who as seen above had arrived at his post under a cloud of simony, but ultimately had been allowed by Gregory VII to retain it.¹⁹³ Rolker has argued that, based on one of Ivo's letters, the papal change in attitude under Urban was brought about by a variety of crimes other than simony.¹⁹⁴ Some letters uncovered in recent decades, edited by Martina Hartmann, seem to back this up, illustrating widespread discontent with Geoffrey's conduct, including from members of his own cathedral chapter.¹⁹⁵ The Thibaudian Stephen-Henry, who became count of Chartres on his Theobald's death in 1089, opposed Geoffrey and seemingly threw his weight behind Ivo; indeed, it may be that Theobald's passing deprived Geoffrey of an important protector.¹⁹⁶

Stephen-Henry's support was significant not least because Ivo did not have the backing of his metropolitan, Richer, archbishop of Sens. We can probably assume that Richer was influenced in part by Geoffrey's uncle and namesake, Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, who we saw supporting his nephew previously.¹⁹⁷ Ivo travelled to Italy, where he was consecrated by the pope himself, thus cutting out the archbishop's role altogether. Urban then wrote letters to both the people of Chartres, speaking approvingly of Ivo, 'who you have, in accordance with our advice, elected catholically and canonically', and to Richer, chastising him for declining to consecrate a man of renowned piety.¹⁹⁸

One might expect, given the kinship between Geoffrey and the bishop of Paris, as well as the clear favour and respect that the pope showed towards Ivo, that Philip would have

¹⁹² On Ivo's election, see: 'Aus der Werkstatt' ed. Hartmann, pp. 281-8 and nos. 12-18 (pp. 299-309); Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 1-2 (letters of Urban II), nos. 4, 6, 8, 12 (letters of Ivo); Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, p. 191, vol. 3, p. 328, n. 227; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 84-5, 146-7; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 194-6, 232 and n. 2, 237-8; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 233-4; Kimberly A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: Piety, Politics and the Peace in the Diocese of Chartres', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1991; publ. 1992), 131-52, at pp. 134-5, 151; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 15-17; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 101-2. On Ivo, also see above, pp. 59-60.

¹⁹³ See above, pp. 125-6.

¹⁹⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 8; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 14, n. 63; cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 398.

¹⁹⁵ 'Aus der Werkstatt', ed. Hartmann, pp. 281-8 and nos. 12-18 (pp. 299-309).

¹⁹⁶ In addition to Hartmann, see: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 8; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 233-4; LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres', pp. 134-5, 151; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 14-15. On the Thibaudians, see above, p. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 101-2. See above, pp. 125-6.

¹⁹⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 1: 'catholice atque canonice secundum nostra monita elegistis', and no. 2.

resisted his election and, as he likely did a decade previously, backed Geoffrey. Ivo reported to Urban that Richer and his other episcopal opponents were ‘saying that I offended the royal majesty’ by seeking consecration in Rome.¹⁹⁹ But this seems to have been an accusation originating from Richer, whose role as consecrator had been overlooked, rather than Philip, who seems to have backed Ivo from early on.²⁰⁰ In one of his letters to Philip, Ivo noted that ‘I, a poor man, am raised by your hand from the dung-heap to the throne of princes’.²⁰¹ Furthermore, in a letter to Richer, he recalled that Philip had granted him ‘the pastoral rod’; in other words, he had received lay investiture.²⁰²

In light of later disputes between these two men, it is easy to overlook the significance of Philip’s backing for Ivo’s election. On Philip’s part, by accepting Urban’s judgement he was siding against prominent members of his own episcopate. Why was he willing to do this? On the one hand, politics may have played a role. Backing Ivo may have been a way for Philip to make overtures to the new count, Stephen-Henry, which could be especially important given that he was married to Adela, sister of the English king, William II.²⁰³ It is therefore interesting to note that, once Geoffrey was forced from his see, he fled to Normandy, then under the rule of William and Adela’s brother and oftentimes rival, Duke Robert Curthose, where he apparently found people – we cannot be sure who they were – willing to provide him with aid.²⁰⁴

It is unclear whether Philip would have been able to exert much influence over the choice of Ivo as Geoffrey’s successor. One of the letters brought to light to Hartmann illustrates contact between the Chartres chapter and Ivo prior to him being chosen as bishop.²⁰⁵ Regardless, it is important to note that, whilst abbot of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, Ivo had already come to Philip’s attention. An act in favour of Saint-Quentin was given at Gerberoy in 1079 and subscribed to by both Philip and William the Conqueror, as well as Ivo.²⁰⁶ Later, in 1089, a royal mandate commanded the canons at Saint-Quentin-en-Vermandois to

¹⁹⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 12: ‘dicens me in majestatem regiam offendisse’.

²⁰⁰ ‘Aus der Werkstatt’, ed. Hartmann, esp. pp. 287-8; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 84-5; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 15; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 102.

²⁰¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo no. 22: ‘de stercore pauper usque ad solium principum per manum vestram elevatus sum’.

²⁰² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 8: ‘virga pastoralis’.

²⁰³ See above, p. 20.

²⁰⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 6; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 233, n. 6, 282-3; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 101-2.

²⁰⁵ ‘Aus der Werkstatt’, ed. Hartmann, esp. pp. 284-5 and no. 14 (p. 302).

²⁰⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 94 (pp. 242-5).

provide Ivo with a prebend.²⁰⁷ This earlier contact may have afforded Philip the opportunity to assess Ivo's character and sensibilities to some degree.

It is, moreover, hard to believe that the convictions of a man with Ivo's assertiveness could have been completely lost on the king at the time of his election at Chartres. Thus, the fact that he was willing to be invested by Philip, despite the prohibitions and sanctions of past years, was no doubt of great importance in him winning royal acceptance. If we believe the chronology given by Ivo, then the investiture preceded his consecration by Urban, but came after he had been chosen by the people of Chartres.²⁰⁸ Urban may have been willing simply to turn a blind eye to the royal investiture. Alternatively, perhaps Ivo tried to keep it a secret, reasoning that his opponents would have thought it unwise to alert Urban to it, for not only might he pardon Ivo for the offence, but equally it could bring their own ordinations into doubt or attract unwanted extra scrutiny of future elections in the archdiocese, just when they seemed to have shaken off the overbearing presence of Hugh of Die.

Thus Ivo, fortified with the support of king, count and pope, could take up his see, despite opposition from other prelates. Even if he had reformist sympathies and a respect for the papacy, the fact that Ivo was willing to receive royal investiture, combined with the support he had from Stephen-Henry, made him someone in whom Philip could have some confidence. In Ivo, Philip was acquiring an able prelate who as seen above was not averse to lay investiture when understood in a certain way.²⁰⁹ Rather, it was the role of Richer, archbishop of Sens, which was bypassed. But given that Philip and Richer were at odds over this affair, it can also be taken as a further example of Philip using papal intervention to help resolve his own difficulties. This was an instance where the goals of the king and the papal reformers could find common ground.

Humbald of Auxerre

If we can be sure of Philip's support for Ivo as an episcopal appointee in the early years of Urban's pontificate, the circumstances of the election of Humbald as bishop of Auxerre are less clear. Humbald is said by Sassier to be 'the first bishop [of Auxerre] elected in the Gregorian tradition, that is apparently without king or count intervening'.²¹⁰ Because Humbald

²⁰⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 119 (pp. 302-4).

²⁰⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 8.

²⁰⁹ Cf. above, pp. 55-6. See also: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 244-5.

²¹⁰ Sassier, *Recherches*, p. 50: 'fut le premier évêque élu dans la tradition grégorienne, c'est-à-dire sans qu'apparemment soit intervenu le roi ou le comte'.

had to journey to Urban to receive consecration, Sassier suggested that Philip opposed his election, but as seen with Ivo above this need not be the case.²¹¹ The reference made in *The Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre* to the consecration occurring at Milan can be tallied with a visit which Urban made there in May 1095.²¹² If we take the identification of this city to be accurate, then following the chronology proposed in the most recent edition of the *Deeds*, there was a lengthy gap between Humbald's election in 1092 and his consecration by Urban in 1095.²¹³ The *Deeds* are frustratingly lacking in firm chronology around this time, but they do indicate that there was a period of unrest after Bishop Robert's death, and one could read the said passage as indicating that this lasted around 3 years.²¹⁴

This solution seems to make best sense of the available evidence, though an alternative might be that there was a vacancy following Robert's death, maintained by William, count of Nevers, and only after a period of time did the chapter succeed in breaking out of the situation by resorting to Urban. We know that William would have benefited from the vacancy as, in c. 1099, the custom of the count pillaging episcopal goods at Auxerre at such times was renounced.²¹⁵ Philip may have been happy to allow such a vacancy, which he may also have profited from, for a time, but ultimately there is no firm evidence that he impeded Humbald's election. It is possible that, as relations between Philip and Urban became more strained from 1092 due to the issue of the royal marriage, Philip prevailed upon Richer of Sens not to consecrate Humbald, thus using precisely the opposite tactic as was employed with Ivo at Chartres. In that sense, Humbald's eventual success might be seen as a defeat for Philip, but equally it should not be assumed that he was against him becoming bishop, and it may be that internal politics at Auxerre were more to blame for the unrest and recourse to the pope than Philip's own sympathies. After all, it was politic for him to be mindful of Count William's interests, but there is no mention at all of a counter-candidate to Humbald, whom Philip could have encouraged Richer to consecrate, which perhaps suggests that Humbald's eventual election was always thought likely. Indeed, the *Deeds* say that, once Urban had consecrated Humbald, the new bishop 'returned to his city and was received on the pontifical

²¹¹ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 2, pp. 50-3; Sassier, *Recherches*, p. 50 and n. 213.

²¹² *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 2, pp. 52-3; Jaffé³, pp. 281-2.

²¹³ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 2, pp. 50-3, n. 1.

²¹⁴ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 1, pp. 278-9.

²¹⁵ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 2, pp. 61-3; Sassier, *Recherches*, p. 50.

seat by the clergy and people with glory and the singing of hymns in conformity with the mores of the church', suggesting that any unrest in the city had subsided by this point.²¹⁶

Fulk of Beauvais

Another election in which Philip seems to have been involved is that of Fulk, who succeeded Ursio as bishop of Beauvais and, despite holding the see for several years (1089-1095), matched a controversial election with a turbulent tenure.²¹⁷ As noted above, Fulk was a member of a prominent local family with ties to the royal court.²¹⁸ He was also a monk at Le Bec, and it seems that his superior there, Abbot Anselm, supported his elevation.²¹⁹ In a letter to Urban, Anselm recalls that he was 'being urged [to back Fulk's promotion] in more ways than I can think of by the king of the French, the clerics of Beauvais, and many others, who insisted forcefully, with the consent of the archbishop of Reims [Rainald] and no one protesting'.²²⁰ On the face of it, this would seem to suggest that Fulk's candidacy was the result of a happy melding of interests, but things were not so simple. The reason why Anselm was corresponding with Urban about Fulk was because the new bishop had been forced to undertake a journey to the pope in order to clear his name of accusations concerning the irregularity of his election.²²¹ A letter from Urban to Rainald, archbishop of Reims, indicates that simony on the part of Fulk's father formed at least part of the charges levelled.²²² Fulk may also have had to answer for having received lay investiture from Philip.²²³ After receiving oaths and assurances, Urban confirmed Fulk as bishop, partially at first – exactly what this meant is unclear – and then fully.²²⁴

²¹⁶ *Deeds of the Bishops of Auxerre*, ed. Sot et al., vol. 2, pp. 52-3: 'ad propriam ciuitatem reducitur, atque in sede pontificali cum gloria et hymnidicis cantibus iuxta ecclesiae morem a clero et populo deuote susceptus est'.

²¹⁷ On Fulk, see: *GC*, vol. 7, cols 711-14; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 73-4; Horn, 'Zur Geschichte'; Robert Somerville, 'Mercy and Justice in the Early Months of Urban II's Pontificate', in: *Chiesa, diritto e ordinamento della 'Societas christiana' nei secoli XI e XII: Atti della nona Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 1983* (Milan, 1986), pp. 138-54, repr. in: Robert Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1990), no. 4 [pagination retained], at pp. 150-1.

²¹⁸ See above, p. 74.

²¹⁹ 'Nomina monachorum Becci', ed. in: Canon Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Évreux, 1901), vol. 1, pp. 629-45, at p. 630; Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Niskanen, pp. 320-31 (1.109-1.111).

²²⁰ Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Niskanen, pp. 324-5 (1.110): 'multimode coactus regis Francorum et cleri Beluacensis et multorum aliorum religiosa inquantum cognoscere poteram instantia, cum assensu Remensis archiepiscopi, nullo resistente'.

²²¹ Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Niskanen, pp. 320-3 (1.109).

²²² Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 22 (pp. 701-2).

²²³ *Collectio Britannica*, ed. Somerville and Kuttner, no. 28 (pp. 99-101); PUF, NF, vol. 7, pp. 246-7; Horn, 'Zur Geschichte', p. 177; Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 190-1, vol. 3, pp. 330, n. 229, 368-9, n. 316; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 82-4.

²²⁴ Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 22 (pp. 701-2); Horn, 'Zur Geschichte', pp. 176-81.

Although we cannot be sure of Philip's exact stance towards Fulk's election, it is conceivable that it met with his approval. Forging stronger links with Fulk and his kin, given their influence in Beauvais and the see's key strategic position in relation to Normandy, made good political sense. Whether any simoniacal payment went in Philip's direction is unclear. However, given his past and future interest in elections to this see, it can at least be said that he would have taken a keen interest in the election and only approved a candidate acceptable to him. Although it could perhaps be seen as detrimental to his own authority over the see, it may be that, in order to secure his favoured candidate, Philip was prepared to allow Fulk to journey to Urban, hopeful that the pope would prove – as he did – unsympathetic to the accusations that had been made. Admittedly, in reality it may not have been in Philip's power to stop Fulk making this journey. But regardless, it provided him with a way to test the attitude of the new pope, and indeed there are parallels here with the election of Ivo at Chartres.²²⁵

Urban looked to Fulk's former superior, Anselm, to guide the new bishop, hopeful 'that what in his first steps was seen as less than canonical could henceforth be hidden with good progress'.²²⁶ For his part, Fulk may have hoped that, having gained Urban's backing, he could now secure the see. Indeed, as well as having Anselm behind him, it seems that Ivo of Chartres backed Fulk's character, referring in one of his letters to Urban to unjust accusations which had arisen against the bishop of Beauvais.²²⁷ However, the controversy did not die away. In a letter to Urban, Anselm paints Fulk as valiantly trying to combat wrongs in his diocese such as unchaste clergy and lay possession of ecclesiastical property, but facing stiff resistance.²²⁸ If this is a faithful characterisation of Fulk's aims, it suggests that he was keen to enact reform in his diocese. However, Guyotjeannin and Horn, though with different emphases, have both argued that factional politics at Beauvais may also have played a role in the conflict which ensued.²²⁹ As controversy continued to plague Fulk – including that he had imprisoned the brother of the bishop of Senlis – Urban was drawn in again.²³⁰

What ultimately happened to Fulk is not clear, but it seems very likely that he was either suspended or deposed.²³¹ He was present at the March 1095 Council of Piacenza, and

²²⁵ See above, pp. 133-5.

²²⁶ Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Niskanen, pp. 322-3 (1.109): 'ut quod in eius initiis minus canonicum cernitur, bonis in posterum profectibus ualeat operiri'.

²²⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 3, and see also no. 30.

²²⁸ Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Niskanen, pp. 326-7 (1.110).

²²⁹ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 73-4; Horn, 'Zur Geschichte', passim.

²³⁰ Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 29 (pp. 706-8).

²³¹ Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 74; Horn, 'Zur Geschichte', pp. 183-4.

the cathedral obituary places his death in September, perhaps of that year.²³² In the meantime, a new bishop of Beauvais, Roger, is first found at La Chaise-Dieu on 19 August 1095.²³³ By this point, Philip was perhaps either unwilling or unable to lend Fulk any meaningful support. A letter from Ivo to Fulk which alludes to the royal marriage controversy is perhaps indicative that the latter shared Ivo's concerns over that affair, which if so would doubtless have harmed his standing before the king.²³⁴ If Fulk did die in 1095, that would have settled the matter regardless. However, we will see that the later history of the see shows that Philip had by no means lost interest in the electoral politics of Beauvais.

New Archbishops

By the time the cases of Humbald of Auxerre and Fulk of Beauvais had been resolved, the wider context had shifted due to the royal marriage controversy and the reintroduction of Hugh of Die as papal legate.²³⁵ However, the introduction of Ivo of Chartres had placed another confident reformer onto the electoral scene, just as assertive but more measured and politic than Hugh of Die. We will see that Ivo's role coordinating the competing interests of king, pope, legate and French ecclesiastics shines through his letters from this period. Indeed, the 1090s was a time of transition in the French Church, as several of the sees most intimately linked to the king found themselves seeking new leaders, many for the first time in decades. The types of people who filled these vacancies, and the manner in which they did so, can tell us a lot about the way in which Philip approached reform in the later years of his reign.

Amongst the changes were elections at the archiepiscopal sees of Tours, Reims and Sens. Though the circumstances of the election of Ralph II as archbishop of Tours are not completely clear, it seems highly likely that Philip played an important role in it, especially given Ralph was brought in from the chapter at Orléans.²³⁶ Ivo seems to vaguely indicate that the election was uncanonical but does not provide any detail.²³⁷ Ultimately, despite any

²³² *GC*, vol. 9, col. 714 (which draws on Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 5); Urban II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 127 (cols 399-400) (= Jaffé³, no. 12868). See also: Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Schmitt, vol. 4, no. 193 (pp. 82-3); trans. Fröhlich, no. 193 (vol. 2, pp. 122-4). For the date of the council, see: Robert Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza, March 1-7, 1095* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 6-7, 11-12.

²³³ PUF, NF, vol. 7, p. 24 and no. 15 (pp. 251-2); *GC*, vol. 9, col. 714.

²³⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 30.

²³⁵ See above, p. 95, and below, pp. 215-49.

²³⁶ On the election of Ralph II, see: 'Notitia seu Libellus de tribulationibus, et angustiis, et persecutionibus Majori-monasterio injustè illatis ab archiepiscopis et clericis S. Mauricii Turonensis [etc.]', in: RHF, vol. 14, pp. 93-8, at pp. 96-7; *GC*, vol. 14, cols 70-2; Becker, *Studien*, p. 84; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 111-12; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, p. 85.

²³⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 66.

resistance, Ralph successfully held on to his office and eventually acquired his pallium from Urban.

A few years later, in 1096, the death of Rainald precipitated a new election at Reims, which produced Manasses II as archbishop.²³⁸ Ott has commented that 'Given the bitter feuds and long vacancies that characterized archiepiscopal elections at Reims throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, Manasses' election was a marvel of efficiency', and that this may have been due to a desire 'to avert unwanted involvement by King Philip I'.²³⁹ Manasses' candidacy was supported by Ivo of Chartres, and Urban II was convinced to allow it, despite the fact that Manasses had not yet received priestly orders.²⁴⁰ Notably, part of Ivo's appeal to Urban was based on observing that 'this see holds the crown of the realm and gives through itself an example of ruin or rebirth for all the churches of Gaul'.²⁴¹ Ivo was probably keen to ensure that another archiepiscopal see did not fall into the hands of a man such as Ralph II, seeing in Manasses a prelate who could set a fine example.

But need this mean that Philip was being excluded, or that he opposed Manasses' election? Demouy suggests that 'the rémois clerks succeeded with a good exercise in equilibrium in a delicate situation'.²⁴² A letter from Urban to Manasses shows that he was certainly mindful of undue royal influence, though this is understandable, especially in light of Philip's marital controversy.²⁴³ It is doubtful whether Ivo would have felt the need to highlight to Urban if Philip had been influential behind the scenes, because for him it was more important that a worthy prelate was elected than it was to thwart a royal role which was not, in his eyes, completely inadmissible.²⁴⁴ The chapter may well have proposed Manasses as a candidate; he was one of their own, and Philip may have regretted being unable to install an outside candidate as had happened with Rainald previously and more recently at Tours with Ralph II. But the election of Manasses could help Philip forge local links – including with Manasses' kin – and offered the prospect of avoiding unrest in the city. Indeed, Ivo's argument

²³⁸ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 336-49; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 95-6; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 410-11, 539-40; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 438-9; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 113-14.

²³⁹ Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 113-14; cf. Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 549-40; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', p. 110.

²⁴⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 48; *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 342-3; Falkenstein, 'Lettres', pp. 585-7, 590.

²⁴¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 48: 'eamdem sedem diadema regni habere et omnibus pene gallicanis Ecclesiis exemplum ruinae vel resurrectionis existere'.

²⁴² Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 539-40: 'les clerics rémois ont-ils réussi un bel exercice d'équilibre dans une situation délicate'.

²⁴³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 346-7.

²⁴⁴ See above, pp. 59-60.

that such a vital see as Reims needed stability, good leadership and an efficient election may well have proved just as persuasive on the king as on the pope.

The other archbishopric to become vacant in these years was Sens, following the death of the long-serving Richer in early 1097.²⁴⁵ His successor, Daimbert, is described by the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* as ‘noble and illustrious, elected by the clergy and people’, though it was not until 1098 that Urban II was willing to sanction his election, consecrating him personally in Rome.²⁴⁶ Daimbert’s election was sensitive in part due to the dispute over the primacy of Lyon, which will be discussed in the next chapter.²⁴⁷ However, there were clearly other obstacles too.

Ivo of Chartres, whose see was of course a suffragan of Sens, became heavily embroiled in this affair. When the cathedral canons asked him to consecrate Daimbert, he insisted that the election had to be properly examined and approved before this could happen, and expressed a hope that he could talk with Daimbert at an upcoming royal assembly (*colloquium*).²⁴⁸ This suggests that Ivo wanted to avoid a hasty election, granting himself the time to assess Daimbert’s character, and perhaps also to weigh Philip’s attitude.²⁴⁹ It is clear that Ivo quite quickly came to the conclusion that there was no serious impediment, as far as he was concerned, to Daimbert’s election, but Hugh of Die maintained an opposition to it.²⁵⁰ This was the occasion which provoked Ivo’s famous letter, referred to in the previous chapter, in which he set out his belief that lay investiture could be tolerated in certain circumstances.²⁵¹ Regardless, in Daimbert’s case, Ivo insisted that this was not even an issue, for he knew of no accusation of this type except that which had come from Hugh himself.²⁵²

Whether or not we choose to believe Ivo’s claim that Daimbert did not receive lay investiture from Philip, it seems that, in this case, the king allowed the election to proceed fairly regularly and that he and Ivo could unite behind Daimbert as a candidate. His eventual acceptance by Urban was a win for them all. However, more than that, it was an example, to

²⁴⁵ See above, p. 57.

²⁴⁶ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 140-3; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 99-102.

²⁴⁷ See below, pp. 202-5.

²⁴⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 58.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 3, pp. 327-8 and n. 227.

²⁵⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 59-60.

²⁵¹ See above, pp. 59-60.

²⁵² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 60. For Hugh’s reply, see: *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 218-23.

both Philip and Urban, of how Ivo could form a bridge between royal and papal interests when managing reformist expectations over elections.

William of Paris

We can be surer still of Philip and Ivo's cooperation over the election of the new bishop of Paris. The death of Bishop Geoffrey in 1095 deprived Philip of another of his long-standing prelates.²⁵³ However, if Geoffrey's own election had been engineered by Baldwin of Flanders many years previously, Philip now had the chance to put his own man in place. His choice, it seems, fell upon William of Montfort, brother of Philip's new wife, Bertrada.²⁵⁴ We can be reasonably confident that Philip prevailed upon the Paris chapter to elect William. Placing Bertrada's brother in high office was a way of signalling his commitment to her, honouring her family, and securing a prelate who he could be reasonably sure would be loyal to him, but it was bound to incur Urban's attention.²⁵⁵

However, William was no lay intruder, thrust upon the see of Paris simply to do the king's bidding. In fact, he was clearly held in high esteem by Ivo of Chartres, even if Bertrada was not.²⁵⁶ Ivo threw his full weight behind William in a letter he wrote to Urban concerning the election.²⁵⁷ He reassured Urban that William himself had asked him to validate the properness of the electoral procedure, whereupon he had investigated whether simony or the king's threats had played any role. Ivo, finding nothing wrong save William's uncanonical young age and thus lack of proper orders, regarding which he advised the bishop-elect to seek a papal dispensation, had urged him to accept the appointment lest a simoniac seize it instead. We also learn that William was 'brought up at the Church of Chartres', indicating that he was one of Ivo's own pupils.²⁵⁸ Thus, while Philip was gaining an ally in the Parisian see, so too was Ivo. Again, we see king and bishop working towards the same goal.²⁵⁹

Though the maintenance of a degree of scepticism is probably wise, there is also no reason to disbelieve Ivo's suggestion that the election was free of simony and excessive royal coercion. Urban required the dean, cantor and archdeacon of Paris to swear that the election had seen no undue influence from Philip or Bertrada, and this seems to have been enough,

²⁵³ For Geoffrey's death: *GC*, vol. 7, col. 52.

²⁵⁴ See above, p. 62.

²⁵⁵ Becker, *Studien*, p. 96; Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 100.

²⁵⁶ On Ivo's view of Bertrada, see below, p. 236.

²⁵⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 43.

²⁵⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 43: 'in Carnotensi Ecclesia nutritum'.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 437.

with Ivo's backing, to assuage any concerns the pontiff may have had.²⁶⁰ Ivo perhaps hoped that William would become something of a protegee. When the new bishop travelled to meet Urban in person a short time after his election, Ivo, in an accompanying letter which incidentally implies that William had indeed secured a papal dispensation, asks Urban to impart some wisdom onto the young bishop, 'namely that he might repress his enthusiasm for the hunt and other juvenile desires'.²⁶¹ Overall, William was a young man, imbued with piety whilst being a member of one of the key courtly families of the time, whose election could, at least in Ivo's eyes, be of benefit to both the royal and priestly power.

John II of Orléans

The bishopric of Orléans also became vacant around this time, though this election was to prove a lot less straightforward for Ivo and Philip than that at Paris.²⁶² Ivo's letters on this affair offer a fascinating insight into Philip's attitude towards elections, but as always, we must be alert to the possibilities of distortions created by the bishop's own preoccupations. After the death of John I, bishop of Orléans, in 1096, it seems that the elderly dean, Sancho, was chosen as his successor. This was probably the same Sancho as had been a candidate to replace Bishop Rainer years previously.²⁶³ Ivo soon became aware of doubts about Sancho's suitability, and challenged him on the accusations, 'namely of simoniacal heresy and invading the Church of Orléans, as well as other criminal faults'.²⁶⁴ Philip was keen for a new bishop to be installed, but Ivo gave Sancho's accusers the chance to meet with him at Chartres, 'where royal power was not an obstacle', and when these accusers failed to turn up, Ivo went ahead and consecrated Sancho.²⁶⁵

Ivo may have been satisfied, but the opposition to Sancho did not die away. The matter was brought to the attention of Hugh of Die who, much to Ivo's despair, deposed Sancho.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 54.

²⁶¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 65: 'videlicet ut studium venandi et alia juvenilia desideria in se comprimat'.

²⁶² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 51, 53-4, 59, 62, 64, 66-8; Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 65 (p. 728); Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 87-8; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 97-8; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 433-7; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 330-1; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, p. 196; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1141-5; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 195; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, pp. 111-13; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 238-9; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 163.

²⁶³ See above, p. 117.

²⁶⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 51: 'simoniaca videlicet haeresi et invasione Aurelianensis ecclesiae allisque criminalibus culpis'.

²⁶⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 53, 54: 'ubi potestas regia eis obesse non poterat'.

²⁶⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 66.

A new candidate, the archdeacon John, had been proposed and was heavily backed by Ralph II, archbishop of Tours, who was himself also provost and archdeacon of Orléans.²⁶⁷ Ivo appealed desperately to Hugh and Urban not to accept John, accusing Ralph of being a simoniac and a harmful influence at court, noting also that he had crowned Philip (at a crown-wearing ceremony) at Christmas despite a papal prohibition.²⁶⁸ As for John, Ivo criticised him on account of his age, his learning and his conduct.²⁶⁹ Philip himself had apparently told Ivo that John was the 'succubus' of the previous bishop, and he was suspected of having had relations with Ralph too; indeed, his sexual behaviour was so well known that he was the subject of a song and 'his fellow canons had given him the name Flora, after a famous concubine'.²⁷⁰

Hugh, unsurprisingly, was not deaf to Ivo's concerns, summoning him to discuss the matter on 1 March, either in 1097, following *Gallia Christiana*, or 1098, following Leclercq, who believed it made more sense to elongate the chronology of the affair, thus placing Ralph's crowning of Philip at Christmas 1097.²⁷¹ Before the meeting, Ivo wrote to Hugh, maintaining his opposition to John and claiming that, in addition to his other faults, the proposed bishop was affiliated to Bertrada: 'among us there are certain negotiators and creditors of the so-called queen, who, so they have told us, expect a portion of the money promised by John's kin'.²⁷² However, these accusations and the meeting between Hugh and Ivo, if it did take place, were not enough to prevent John from taking up the see, and he remained bishop (as John II) into the 1130s.²⁷³

An added complication to this controversy is that that there appears to have been at least one other candidate for the bishopric in the form of Baldric, abbot of Bourgueil. Ivo claims that Baldric had been promised the bishopric by Bertrada before being outmanoeuvred by Ralph's campaign, and when the abbot complained to Philip, the king told him: 'Hold off for now until I make my profit from this [John's installation], protest afterwards so that he is

²⁶⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 54.

²⁶⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 66. See above, pp. 51-2.

²⁶⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 54.

²⁷⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 66, 'a concanonicis suis famosae cujusdam concubinae Flora agnomen acceperit', 67.

²⁷¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 68; ed. Leclercq, pp. 294-5, n. 1; *GC*, vol. 8, col. 1445. See also: Demouy, *Gènese*, pp. 411, n. 175, 444, n. 289.

²⁷² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 68: 'Habentur enim apud nos quidem negotiatores, creditores illius dictae reginae, qui, secundum quod nobis dixerunt, exspectant partem pecuniarum a parentibus Johannis promissarum'.

²⁷³ *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1445-8.

deposed and then I can bring about your wish'.²⁷⁴ If these words are a true reflection of Philip's attitude, it can be seen as an incredible indictment of his approach towards right practice in elections. It can be taken to suggest the king was only interested in the money he could acquire through simony from any respective candidate, rather than their suitability or even, perhaps more surprisingly given the successful candidate would be in his debt, their longevity. It is possible that Philip's remark was hearsay or, if real, made flippantly, but it is one of the very few times we hear his reputed voice directly, and the image it creates is striking.

However, we should not be too quick to judge Philip here. The effort of various parties to secure the bishopric of Orléans had taken a number of twists and turns. Ivo makes clear that both Sancho and John had been chosen 'with the consent of the king' (*cum consensu regis*), so presumably Philip initially backed the former before switching to the latter.²⁷⁵ Any opposition to John was apparently muted 'by fear of the king' (*metu regis*) and the archbishop of Tours.²⁷⁶ However, once Sancho had been deposed, Philip had no reason to stick by him, whereas Ivo had to justify his mistake in consecrating him. Despite his opposition to John, it is clear from Ivo's letters that doubts existed about both candidates. Indeed, although Ivo regarded the claims made against Sancho to have been whipped up falsely by Ralph, the fact that they were enough to persuade Hugh against him suggests that they may have had some substance.

Witnessing all this, ultimately Philip would probably have been prepared to back either Sancho or John, and possibly Baldric as well. His dismissive comment to the latter, reported by Ivo, may be evidence not so much of his disregard for who became bishop, but of a bemusement occasioned by a recognition that in fact none of the candidates were obviously suitable.²⁷⁷ There was a logic in backing John once his candidature had emerged, given his ties to Ralph, but Philip could afford, as he said to Baldric, to wait and see how things would play out. Indeed, it may well be that Sancho, John and Baldric all paid Philip and/or Bertrada for the see, and the king was simply being politic in refusing to commit wholeheartedly to any of them. His reputed remark to Baldric might have horrified Ivo, but simony was less problematic for Philip, especially at this moment when his relations with Urban were shaky due to the marriage controversy. Indeed, he was astute enough to recognise that there was a very real

²⁷⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 66 – 'Sustinete interim donec de isto faciam proficuum meum, postea quaerite ut iste deponatur et tunc faciam voluntatem vestram'.

²⁷⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 54.

²⁷⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 66.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 330-1.

possibility that, if the controversy persisted, Baldric might get his chance. It was Ivo, much more than Philip, who was put in the spotlight in this affair, with the latter's characteristic flexibility enabling him to permit the influence of Hugh of Die whilst being confident that, regardless of the outcome, a bishop whom he could support would emerge. Such indeed is what happened, and in the end, John won the see with backing from king and pope.

Suffragans of Reims

The kind of royal involvement revealed in the elections at Paris and Orléans is unfortunately not always made so explicit. All of the suffragan sees of Reims archdiocese became vacant during the 1090s, though Philip's role in the subsequent elections is rarely elaborated on. The clearest example comes from Laon. Here, in 1098, Bishop Elinand, the final surviving member of the episcopate of Philip's father, Henry I, died, to be succeeded by Enguerrand II, a member of the Coucy family.²⁷⁸ Guibert of Nogent indicates that Enguerrand acquired his see with the aid of a simoniacal payment to the king in the form of certain 'episcopal revenues' which Elinand had previously managed to reclaim from the crown.²⁷⁹ Philip probably saw the benefits of having a member of the Coucy family installed in the see, and the influence of this family becomes clear again with Enguerrand's successor, Gaudry, as seen below.²⁸⁰

No such detail is forthcoming about Philip's involvement with elections at the other suffragan sees at this time. The controversy which saw Cambrai divided up to create the separate diocese of Arras will be dealt with in the next chapter.²⁸¹ Bishop Henry's successor at Soissons in c. 1092 was Hugh I, who came, as Theobald before him, from the local Pierrefonds family.²⁸² Simony and/or lay investiture are not improbable in his case, but equally not certain. The consecration of the king's namesake, Philip, bishop of Châlons, son of the Thibaudian Count Theobald III, was delayed in the mid-1090s on account of the elect not

²⁷⁸ GC, vol. 9, cols. 523-6; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 103-4; see above, pp. 72-3.

²⁷⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 272-5: 'episcopii redditus'; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, p. 109. Cf. Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 61 (pp. 160-3).

²⁸⁰ See below, p. 155.

²⁸¹ See below, pp. 205-7. On Noyon-Tournai, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 397-9; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, p. 177.

²⁸² GC, vol. 9, cols 353-4; Nip, *Arnulfus*, p. 212.

having achieved the required age to take up his post, though he did eventually acquire it.²⁸³ We cannot say with any surety that Philip had significant influence over his appointment.²⁸⁴

At Senlis, we can be fairly confident that Philip kept at least a watchful eye over the elections of Hugh and his successor Letald, but the fact that Hubert, Letald's successor, was consecrated directly at Rome by Pope Paschal II in 1099, perhaps suggests that royal control over this see may have been slipping.²⁸⁵ In one of his letters to Paschal, Ivo describes Hubert as 'your creation'.²⁸⁶ We also learn that Hubert was driven from his see for a time and, despite having support from Paschal and Ivo, lacked backing from his fellow bishops and the king.²⁸⁷ This may have been linked to an accusation 'of selling holy orders', of which Hubert cleared himself by vow at the Council of Troyes in 1104, notably at a time of improving relations between Philip and Paschal.²⁸⁸ The details of all this, however, remain regrettably hazy.²⁸⁹

Another prelate to face accusations around this time was Gervin, bishop of Amiens, who was accused of simony but managed to clear his name, with Urban judging the allegations to be unsupportable and urging certain unchaste clergy at Amiens who, it can be inferred, were opposing Gervin, to mend their ways.²⁹⁰ It is unclear whether Gervin was guilty of simony, or indeed whether that simony related to his earlier election as abbot of Saint-Riquier or to his subsequent elevation as bishop of Amiens, or both. If Philip was implicated, this is not stated, though it is certainly possible. However, Urban clearly doubted the strength of the accusations, and furthermore if Gervin was showing a willingness to engage with the papal reformist agenda by tackling other crimes in his diocese, then this no doubt also helped him to secure his post.²⁹¹

Urban was seemingly less comfortable with the election of Ansellus as bishop of Beauvais. Despite being elected in 1096 and having support from Ivo of Chartres and, so one of Ivo's letters can be taken to imply, the king, Urban did not agree to Ansellus's election until

²⁸³ *GC*, vol. 9, cols. 875-6; Bur, *La formation*, pp. 230, 233.

²⁸⁴ Becker, *Studien*, p. 84 and n. 222; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 66, 288; Newman, *Le domaine*, p. 223.

²⁸⁵ *GC*, vol. 10, cols 1395-7; Gabriele, 'The Provenance', p. 111 and n. 110; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 292-3.

²⁸⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 244: 'creatio vestra'.

²⁸⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 103.

²⁸⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 244: 'de venditione sacrorum ordinum', 258; Dhomme and Vattier, *Recherches*, p. 54; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 246-7; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 1179-82; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 40-1, 68. See below, pp. 222-3.

²⁸⁹ Cf. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 292-3.

²⁹⁰ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 508-11. See also: Hariulf, *Chronicle*, ed. Lot, pp. 278-83; English trans. by Thompson, pp. 278-81.

²⁹¹ Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 65-6; J. Pycke, 'Gervin II, abbé de S.-Riquier [...] et évêque d'Amiens', in: *DHGE*, vol. 20 (Paris, 1984), cols 1098-1100.

1099 due to concerns over his chastity.²⁹² It is possible that Ivo and Philip worked together to push Ansellus's case.

Finally, at Thérouanne, Bishop Gerard, after a controversial tenure tainted with accusations of simony, was suspended by Urban II and, despite support from Lambert of Arras, resigned the see.²⁹³ He was succeeded by John, who was chosen in 1099, with backing from Hugh of Die and Anselm of Canterbury, over an alternative candidate, a certain Autbert, who was a canon at Amiens.²⁹⁴ Perhaps Autbert had some support from the king, but this is only speculation. Either way, it seems that after the tumults of the previous few decades, the papacy had finally succeeded in installing a candidate with its clear backing at Thérouanne.

Assessment

The years of Urban II's pontificate witnessed an evolution of the electoral dynamics within Philip's orbit. This development can, in large part, be attributed to three factors. Firstly, Urban's willingness to reduce the role of Hugh of Die, especially in the early years of his time as pope, was a gesture which paved the way for better cooperation with Philip over elections. It was during these years when Hugh's influence was diminished that Ivo of Chartres obtained his see with papal and royal support, and it is his emergence which marks the second key factor. Ivo's skill allowed him to play a vital intermediary role which allowed figures such as Manasses II of Reims and William of Paris to secure their bishoprics, even when these elections were not totally regular, in a way which could both satisfy the pope and avoid antagonising the king. Indeed, Philip surely came to realise that Ivo could be both a help and a hindrance to his hold over elections, and so the two of them sought to work together as best they could, with Philip willing to back candidates whom reformers deemed worthy, provided that their installation would also suit his own interests. The third factor, the outbreak of the marriage controversy, undoubtedly shifted the royal-papal relationship more widely, but thanks to Ivo's diplomacy and a flexible approach from both Philip and Urban, the rupture it caused was

²⁹² *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 372-3; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 55, 87, n. 4; Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 65 (p. 729); *GC*, vol. 9, cols 714-15; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 96-7; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 75-6.

²⁹³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 376-9, 416-17; *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 646; trans. Rider, pp. 234-5; Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Rider, pp. 133-4; English trans. by Rider, pp. 159-60; Giry, 'Grégoire', pp. 407-9. On Gerard, see above, pp. 130-1.

²⁹⁴ *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 646-7; trans. Rider, p. 235; Walter of Thérouanne, *Life of John*, ed. Rider, pp. 134-6; English trans. by Rider, pp. 160-2; Giry, 'Grégoire', p. 409.

prevented from spilling over into the electoral realm to any great degree.²⁹⁵ Despite occasional anomalies, such as Ivo's opposition to John II at Orléans, it can probably be said that he, Philip and Urban were all happy enough with how elections in the 1090s proceeded. The candidates chosen certainly marked an advance for reform, but Philip was clearly still active behind the scenes, and if he had conceded on certain points, such as allowing the pope an increased role in confirming elections, he had not given up all his influence. Indeed, while Urban and Philip had avoided any major electoral controversy, when this did break out in the next pontificate, we will see that Philip successfully stood his ground.

Conflict and Compromise (1099-1108)

The Beauvais Election Dispute: Stephen and Galo

The death of Ansellus, bishop of Beauvais, on 21 November 1100, sparked the most vociferous clash of the reign between Philip and the papacy over electoral matters.²⁹⁶ As seen above, it had taken a long time to get Ansellus accepted as bishop, so his passing must have been a cause of great frustration for both Paschal II – who succeeded Urban in 1099 – and Ivo of Chartres. Furthermore, although it may have been profitable to him, there is nothing to suggest that Philip had sought the prolongation of Ansellus's election.²⁹⁷ Indeed, he may have been keen to have some stability at Beauvais, though Ansellus's death presented an opportunity to throw his weight behind a new candidate for the role.

Stephen's family – the Garlandes – held great influence around the king and his son, Prince Louis.²⁹⁸ Anselm and Pagan (Gilbert) of Garlande both served as seneschal to Philip, and Stephen himself would act as royal chancellor in Philip's final years before becoming highly influential during Louis' reign.²⁹⁹ To have Stephen elected at Beauvais was a fitting reward for

²⁹⁵ Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 196-7.

²⁹⁶ For discussions of this affair, see: Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 88-90; Bautier, 'Paris', pp. 60-1; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 112-17; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 73-4; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 441-5; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 75-8; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 27-34, 74-9; Bernard Monod, 'L'église et l'état au XII^e siècle: l'élection épiscopale de Beauvais de 1100 à 1104: Étienne de Garlande et Galon', *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences & Arts du Département de l'Oise*, 19 (1904), 53-74, via Gallica (BnF) [website], <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k414715j>>, (accessed 4 February 2024); Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. clxi-clxvi and nos. 17 (p 10), 28-9 (pp. 16-18); Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 241-2; John S. Ott, 'Clerical Networks and Canon Law: The Beauvais Election Controversy of 1100-04', in: *New Discourses in Medieval Canon Law Research: Challenging the Master Narrative* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2019), pp. 58-82.

²⁹⁷ On Philip and vacancies at Beauvais, see: Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 77, n. 50.

²⁹⁸ On the family, see: Bournazel, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 35-40, 52-3; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 54-60; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. xxiv-xxv, xxvii-xxxii, xliii-lv.

²⁹⁹ Prou, *Recueil*, pp. LXI-LXIV, CXL.

the royal service rendered by the Garlande family, as well as a way of ensuring that a loyal figure was placed in a key see. Monod suggested that the canons of Beauvais may have foreseen local advantages in the choice too, commenting: ‘The canons wanted a leader to defend them against the pillaging barons and could find no better than Stephen’.³⁰⁰

However, Ivo of Chartres was unwilling to recognise Stephen’s election and threw his support behind an alternative candidate, namely Galo, who had succeeded Ivo as abbot of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais.³⁰¹ Ivo, concerned that Stephen’s supporters might seek to obtain papal support through some form of bribery, complained to the papal legates John and Benedict that Stephen was an entirely unsuitable candidate for a bishopric and had been installed ‘through the will of the king and his bedmate [Bertrada]’.³⁰² In this letter, Ivo seems to have viewed Beauvais as something of a notorious see, detailing how it had a history of bad leaders. Given Ivo’s own time at Saint-Quentin, this was surely a comment borne out of personal experience, and indeed his personal ties to the region of Beauvais help explain why Ivo was so keen here and in the previous case with Ansellus to involve himself in affairs outside of his own archdiocese.³⁰³

Ivo’s opposition to Stephen seems to have been matched by Paschal and the legates, as is indicated in a letter from Ivo to the pope, in which he lists various reasons for his unsuitability, including his lack of required clerical grade, lack of learning, and a previous adultery, for which he had been excommunicated by Hugh of Die.³⁰⁴ In the same letter, Ivo indicates that while ‘the *sanior pars* wished, with the king’s assent, to elect a man of religion, he [Stephen] was received by certain malevolent clerics and lay excommunicates’.³⁰⁵ Ivo thus disparages the members of the electorate who had supported Stephen and in so doing thwarted the good intentions of those among their number who were, in Ivo’s eyes, of higher quality, and would have sought out a worthy bishop. This latter group had, it seems, been willing to allow Philip some sort of role – expressed here simply as ‘assent’ – in the process of

³⁰⁰ Monod, ‘L’église’, p. 56, n. 2: ‘Les chanoines voulaient un chef pour les défendre contre les barons pillards et ne trouvaient mieux qu’Étienne’.

³⁰¹ See also: Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Schmitt, vol. 4, no. 272 (pp. 187-8); trans. Fröhlich, no. 272 (vol. 2, pp. 274-6).

³⁰² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 87: ‘pro voluntate regis et illius contubernalis suae’. See also: *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 412-15.

³⁰³ Cf. Ott, ‘Clerical Networks’, pp. 62, 69.

³⁰⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 89.

³⁰⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 89: ‘sed, cum sanior pars, assensu regis, quemdam religiosum vellet eligere, a quibusdam malevolis clericis et laicis excommunicatis eundem fuisse receptum’. On *sanior pars*, see: J. Gaudemet, *Le gouvernement de l’église à l’époque classique*, part 2, *Le gouvernement local* (Paris, 1979), pp. 64-6.

installing the new prelate. However, by accepting Stephen, it seems that Philip had disappointed Ivo by agreeing to the election of someone who was not worthy of the office.

There are parallels between Ivo's strong opposition to Stephen and his similar objection to John II of Orléans, but whereas in John's case Urban II had sided with Ivo's opponent, now the new pope, Paschal, was on Ivo's side. For both men, arguably Philip's role was only problematic in the sense that it had allowed for the election of an unscrupulous and unsuitable prelate ill-aligned to reformist concerns. If Philip had abandoned Stephen at this point and thrown his weight behind another candidate – which is surely what Ivo hoped for – then the matter could have been resolved quite easily. But whereas cooperation had been possible in the past, this time Philip was unwilling to abandon his man, which is politically unsurprising given the status of the Garlandes at court. The royal stance was probably influenced also by a desire to sound out how obstinate the new pope would prove to be.

Perplexingly, Ivo's own tone changes in another letter where he seems to encourage Paschal to allow Stephen's election, or at least to listen to his case.³⁰⁶ Ivo later claimed to have written this letter under pressure from Stephen.³⁰⁷ Whatever the reasons for this apparent reversal of Ivo's attitude were, it was only a brief volte-face, and it seems clear that he remained resolute in his own opposition to Stephen becoming bishop. With matters remaining unsettled, Ivo prevailed upon Manasses II, archbishop of Reims, to consecrate a new bishop, countering claims that Galo was from too humble a background.³⁰⁸ But Manasses prevaricated, probably biding his time in the hope that the affair could be resolved without him having to risk the ire of either king or pope.³⁰⁹ Ivo grew exasperated as matters continued to drag on, claiming in another letter to Paschal that, although Galo had been elected – presumably by a faction at Beauvais opposed to that of Stephen – he could not take up his see because the king, influenced by those who painted Galo as a potential threat to him by virtue of his long association with Ivo, would not grant his consent or the episcopal goods, with Manasses perhaps complicit in this.³¹⁰

Philip was putting up a resistance unlike anything Ivo had been forced to contend with before. To raise the stakes still further, he then swore an oath that Galo would never be

³⁰⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 92. On this change in tone, see: Ott, 'Clerical Networks', pp. 70-1.

³⁰⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 95.

³⁰⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 102.

³⁰⁹ Monod, 'L'église', pp. 61-2.

³¹⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 104.

allowed to become bishop of Beauvais so long as he lived.³¹¹ Ivo believed that such a vow made no difference, and one wonders whether Philip was trying to be cunning by claiming it did, buying time whilst the exact significance of his words was debated.³¹² In his letter to Manasses, Ivo had referred wistfully to the past good practices of kings Charles (Charlemagne) and Louis (the Pious), who he believed had not interfered in ecclesiastical elections.³¹³ Ivo may have accepted a royal role in elections, but such brazen arrogance, as he saw it the will of the king exploited to the detriment of what was best for the Church, was a step too far.

For Philip, of course, his ability to take such steps was not to be given up lightly. Though they may advise, it was not for Ivo, Manasses, Paschal or anyone else to tell him who to appoint. Stephen had plenty of support, and as long as that was the case the king could hope to emerge victorious, for those sympathetic to Ivo could not force him to change his mind. Ivo decided to send Galo to Rome, where he would have Paschal's support, but in practice this made no difference, for he could not take up the see with such opposition massed against him, and as such Paschal appointed him as legate to Poland, deferring the matter further.³¹⁴

With the matter having dragged on for several years, eventually Ivo, true to his style, saw room for a compromise. Following the death of Fulk, bishop of Paris, in 1104, Ivo suggested that Galo, who he now admitted was never going to be able to take possession of Beauvais, be allowed to transfer to become bishop of Paris.³¹⁵ Whether this idea was Ivo's or came from the royal circle is not clear, but it suited and had the backing of both parties. Philip did not have to renege on his oath and could claim to have successfully fought his position, whereas Ivo ensured Galo received a prestigious appointment at Paris, close to the king. Furthermore, Ivo had successfully kept Stephen out of Beauvais, for the king seems to have abandoned his candidature, resulting in the election of Geoffrey as bishop.³¹⁶

In the end, neither of the original candidates obtained Beauvais. This is despite the fact that Philip could have given his permission to Stephen and then sought to compel Manasses

³¹¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 105.

³¹² Cf. Bournazel, *Louis VI*, p. 74; Ott, 'Clerical Networks', pp. 76-7.

³¹³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 102.

³¹⁴ 'Annales Cracoviensis', ed. Richardo Roepell, P. O. Wratislaviensi, and Wilhelmo Arndt, in: *MGH, SS*, vol. 19, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1866), pp. 582-606, at p. 588; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 110; Pierre David, 'Un disciple d'Yves de Chartres en Pologne – Galon de Paris et le droit canonique', in: *La Pologne: Au VII-e congrès international des sciences historiques: Varsovie 1933*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1933), pp. 99-113.

³¹⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 144, 146. On Fulk, see below, pp. 154-5.

³¹⁶ On Geoffrey, see: *GC*, vol. 9, cols 718-19; Becker, *Studien*, p. 119; Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*, pp. 78-9; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 82-3.

to consecrate him, thus sidestepping Paschal. However, there would have been a number of potential problems with Philip attempting this. Firstly, he had to be mindful that there was opposition to Stephen in Beauvais itself. Secondly, Manasses may have refused to consecrate Stephen due to the controversy it would have caused. Thirdly, it would have been unwise for Philip to antagonise Paschal further at a time when the royal marriage issue was still in need of a resolution.

Furthermore, and crucially, it is possible that it was in fact Louis, rather than Philip, who was Stephen's strongest backer.³¹⁷ As Philip aged, Louis was emerging as the military figurehead of the monarchy, and possessing lands in the border area between France and Normandy, he would no doubt have kept an eye on affairs at Beauvais.³¹⁸ Stephen was an ally of Louis at court, and given the latter's rivalry with the Montforts this may call into question Ivo's claim that Bertrada backed Stephen's candidature, although Bournazel has urged us not to overstate this rivalry.³¹⁹ Louis may have hoped to use Stephen to gain a stronger hold over Beauvais, but as has been observed, Louis granted the chapter at Beauvais its ancient customs in January 1104, suggesting that relations between them may have improved by then.³²⁰ Furthermore, Ivo's letter to Paschal endorsing Galo's transfer to Paris references the vow made by Louis, but not by Philip, which further teases the intriguing possibility that it was in fact Louis who was the main obstacle to Galo at Beauvais and he who had made the original commitment to Stephen, with Philip following suit.³²¹

In sum, Philip backed Stephen and did so strongly, willing to uphold his right to nominate and confirm a bishop-elect. It was still Philip's decision to take this course of action. However, the desire to install Stephen was likely due more to the influence of Louis and the political importance of Beauvais than to a rejection of Galo or Ivo. Philip, convinced by Louis and Stephen's supporters, may well have believed that Stephen was the most suitable bishop for the security of the realm and the maintenance of royal rights. As such, he felt fully entitled to back him to the hilt, but this does not mean that he was unsympathetic to Ivo's desire for good governance in the Church by reform-minded men such as Galo. As the situation changed, Stephen's installation was seen as less necessary and a compromise was made possible, with

³¹⁷ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 113-15; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, esp. p. clxv; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 242, n. 187.

³¹⁸ On Louis' youth, see above, p. 11.

³¹⁹ See: Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 54-60; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. xxiv-xxv; cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 242. For Louis and the Montforts, see below, pp. 245-6, 257-9.

³²⁰ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, no. 8 (vol. 1, pp. 12-14); Bournazel, *Louis VI*, p. 74; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 28 (pp. 16-17); Monod, 'L'église', p. 64.

³²¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 104; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 242, n. 187.

Ivo and Philip once more showing their ability to work in tandem on electoral matters. Indeed, if Philip had been completely opposed to Ivo and Galo on ideological grounds, he would never have allowed the latter to take office at Paris, the see most intimately linked to the kingship.

Fulk of Paris

We have seen how Galo obtained the see of Paris in 1104, but it is important also to take a step back and examine the circumstances of the election of his predecessor, Fulk. The death of William, bishop of Paris, probably in 1102 in the course of a journey undertaken to the Holy Land, must have been a severe blow to both Ivo and Philip, especially considering William's young age, as it meant that, as at Beauvais, a key see was plunged into uncertainty once more, so shortly after its future appeared to have been settled.³²² During William's absence, Philip had administered the see with the help of the archdeacons Stephen – the same as the candidate for Beauvais above – and Rainald, plus the dean Fulk.³²³

After William's death, Fulk was chosen to be his successor, but Ivo had concerns.³²⁴ In a letter addressed to Fulk as a dean – suggesting this was either during William's episcopate or that Fulk was yet to be consecrated bishop – he had criticised him for giving communion to two excommunicates.³²⁵ At news of Fulk's election, Ivo wrote to Vulgrin and Stephen, archdeacons of Paris.³²⁶ Though he did not explicitly criticise Fulk, Ivo asserted that he could only give his consent to one who had been elected in the right manner, and he seems to imply that the king is involved in the controversy when he says: 'Indeed we wonder at your prudence as to why you have decided to examine this matter against the king in the king's presence, where royal volition will have more power than legal justice, where truth can neither be discussed in peace, nor served if found'.³²⁷ A letter from Ivo to Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, indicates that the king invited Ivo himself to this meeting, with the latter informing the archbishop that he would try to go, but if he could not and if the meeting lacked enough attendees, then the matter should be referred to the pope.³²⁸

³²² On William's death, see above, p. 62.

³²³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 144 (pp. 356-8).

³²⁴ On this matter, see: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 117-18; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 443-4; GC, vol. 7, col. 54; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 79-80.

³²⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 112, and see also no. 103.

³²⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 138.

³²⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 138: 'Miramur autem prudentiam vestram; quare adversus regem in praesentia regis disposuistis causam istam examinare, ubi plus poterit voluntas regis quam justitia legis, ubi nec veritas poterit cum pace discuti, vel inventa servari?'

³²⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 139.

Ivo's apparent lack of confidence in obtaining a just resolution to this matter if it was allowed to be supervised by the king seems quite damning of Philip, although the fact that this all occurred whilst the Beauvais affair was still live likely heightened Ivo's fears. Fulk clearly gave him cause for concern, but he does not condemn him in the manner in which he did Stephen. Fulk would have been well-known to Philip and their respective roles during William's absence would have given the king a chance to assess his suitability.³²⁹ Nevertheless, that a meeting was called to discuss Fulk's candidacy indicates that there was more substance to the concerns than simply Ivo's own reservations. By allowing the meeting, Philip showed himself willing to look into this, even if Ivo feared that the result was a foregone conclusion. We do not know if the meeting ever took place, but Fulk's death put an end to the matter.³³⁰

Other Elections

The role played by Philip in other episcopal elections during his final years is often unclear, but we do have some indications. The best of these concerns the election which followed the death of Enguerrand, bishop of Laon, in 1104, concerning which we are largely reliant on Guibert of Nogent.³³¹ We are told that there was a two-year vacancy, during which two candidates, the archdeacons Walter and Ebohus, were both rejected by Paschal, and a third candidate tried to bribe Philip to obtain the see but, having thought himself successful, fell ill and died. Finally, another candidate, Gaudry, was successful, though Guibert admits that money helped to bribe some of the papal entourage in his favour. It is possible that Gaudry also paid Philip for the see, though Guibert does not say so. However, the real force behind the election seems to have been Enguerrand of Coucy, whom Guibert says sought to make bishop someone who would be acceptable to both Philip and the electors, but who would also be inclined to back Enguerrand in a controversy over his marriage.³³² Thus, Philip was leaving the matter largely down to local interests, safe in the knowledge that his role of oversight was recognised.

Another hint at Philip's role in elections comes from the *Life of Saint Godfrey*, which indicates that Philip consented to Godfrey's election as bishop of Amiens in 1104, with the

³²⁹ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 117-18.

³³⁰ GC, vol. 7, col. 54.

³³¹ For what follows, see: Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 280-93; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 112-16. See also: Becker, *Studien*, p. 120; Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 76; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 48-52, 83.

³³² Cf. Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 274-81; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 109-12.

legate, Richard of Albano, then agreeing to the appointment before the archbishop of Reims performed the consecration.³³³ Monod suggested that Philip would have recognised and appreciated Godfrey's worthy qualities, but also that his attitude may have been a gesture of goodwill in the context of the ongoing resolution to the royal marriage controversy.³³⁴ This is very likely, but it is also highly significant that Philip's role was acknowledged before the legate was consulted. Furthermore, Godfrey was known to Philip, who had also previously consented to his election as abbot of Nogent, which had been backed by Enguerrand of Coucy.³³⁵

Elsewhere, we hear nothing of any involvement by Philip in the election of Hugh as bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne in 1100, whom Ivo describes in one of his letters as 'an eternal lover of the Roman Church'.³³⁶ The same is true of the election of Manasses as bishop of Meaux in 1103, another candidate who delighted Ivo.³³⁷ At Soissons, the trend for locally-linked candidates continued in 1104 with the election of Manasses, son of William, count of Soissons, again without any discernible influence from the king.³³⁸ Philip may have consented to these elections much as he did with Godfrey of Amiens. The lack of controversy indicates that the candidates settled upon were acceptable enough to the key parties concerned, including king and local magnates as well as onlookers such as Paschal and Ivo, though admittedly our limited information makes drawing firm inferences difficult.

A Final Dispute: Ralph and Gervase at Reims

The death in 1106 of Manasses II, archbishop of Reims, produced one more electoral controversy, right at the end of Philip's reign. A candidate supported by Philip and Louis, namely Gervase, the son of the count of Reims, was opposed by the cathedral provost, Ralph the Green.³³⁹ Although the exact circumstances of this affair are unfortunately quite unclear,

³³³ *Life of Godfrey, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. as: 'Ex vita S. Godefridi, Ambianensis episcopi', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 174-81, at pp. 175-6. On this *Life*, see: John S. Ott, 'Writing Godfrey of Amiens: Guibert of Nogent and Nicholas of Saint-Crépin between Sanctity, Ideology, and Society', *Mediaeval Studies*, 67 (2005), 317-65. See also: Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 228-33; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 89-91. On Richard's legation, see: Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 169-74.

³³⁴ Monod, *Essai*, pp. 81-2. See also: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 119-20.

³³⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 228-9; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 89-90; *Life of Godfrey*, ed. RHF, p. 175; Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 58; see below, p. 162.

³³⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 95: 'Romanae Ecclesiae semper amator'; *GC*, vol. 9, col. 876; Becker, *Studien*, p. 119; Monod, *Essai*, p. 80.

³³⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 113, 115, 119; *GC*, vol. 8, cols 1610-11; Becker, *Studien*, p. 119; Monod, *Essai*, p. 82.

³³⁸ *GC*, vol. 9, cols 354-5; Becker, *Studien*, p. 119; Monod, *Essai*, p. 82; see above, p. 71.

³³⁹ On this dispute, see: Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 817; 'Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii', ed. Bethmann, p. 546; Clerks of Reims to the Provost Ralph, in: *RHF*, vol. 15, pp. 199-

according to the *Annals of Cambrai*, Gervase acquired the archbishopric 'by the hand of Philip and his son Louis'.³⁴⁰ However, his candidature was rejected by Paschal at the Council of Troyes in 1107, with the pope instead supporting Ralph.³⁴¹ A later chronicler, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, indicates that the pope consecrated Ralph himself, and Suger tells us that Ralph 'had incurred the severest and most dire enmity of the lord king [Philip or Louis could conceivably be meant here] when he had been elected and enthroned on the see of Reims without royal assent'.³⁴²

It is difficult to assess how much of a rift this matter would have created between Philip and Paschal, but there is little to suggest that it caused a major breach. The Council of Troyes followed the successful meeting between king and pope at Saint-Denis, and it is doubtful that either party desired to see their relationship deteriorate again.³⁴³ Nevertheless, much like at Beauvais a few years previously, neither side was willing to completely back down. Philip and Louis had a natural interest in protecting the candidate whom they, surely mindful of the local conditions at Reims, had supported and invested. When Ralph then bypassed them to secure papal assent to his election, this could only harden their resolve. As for Paschal, who had used the council at Troyes to reaffirm the prohibition of lay investiture, he could not hypocritically ignore Gervase's breach of this command.³⁴⁴

Philip never saw the end of the affair, for he died in July 1108.³⁴⁵ As we have seen, when Louis was crowned, Reims was shunned for the coronation, which was a daring warning shot against the prerogative this city could claim.³⁴⁶ In the end, Louis did, though not

200; *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 460-1; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 190; Lambert of Watrelos, *Annals of Cambrai*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, as: 'Annales Cameracenses auctore Lamberto Waterlos', in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 16 (Hannover, 1859), pp. 509-54, at p. 511; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, pp. 203-4; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 171 (pp. 416-17); Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-9; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 62-4; *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente: Analekten zur Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters aus Wolfenbüttler Handschriften*, ed. Max Sdrakel (Münster, 1891), pp. 64-6 and no. 4 (p. 114); Amyot, 'Philip', p. 62; Becker, *Studien*, pp. 123-5; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 406-7 (n. 156), 540-1, 619-20; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 396, 448-9; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, pp. 355-6; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 272-8; *GC*, vol. 9, cols 80-1; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. clxvi-clxviii, and nos. 44 (p. 25), 60 (pp. 32-3); Monod, *Essai*, pp. 56-7, 83-6; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', vol. 42, pp. 316-17, vol. 43, 127-31, 133.

³⁴⁰ Lambert of Watrelos, *Annals of Cambrai*, ed. Pertz, p. 511: 'per manum Philippi et filii eius Ludovici'.

³⁴¹ On this council, see: Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II 1100-1110* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 74-101; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 250-2.

³⁴² Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 817; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 86-9: 'qui domini regis, eo quod absque ejus assensu electus et intronizatus fuerat sede Remensi, gravissimas et periculosas incurrerat inimicicias'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 64.

³⁴³ Cf. Becker, *Studien*, p. 124, n. 115. See above, pp. 97-9.

³⁴⁴ On the pronouncement against investiture at Troyes, see: Blumenthal, *The Early Councils*, pp. 74-101, esp. pp. 92-3.

³⁴⁵ See below, pp. 259-64.

³⁴⁶ See above, p. 66.

immediately, recognise Ralph as archbishop, though according to Ivo he would not agree to this 'unless the said metropolitan swore fidelity to the king by hand and oath just as all earlier archbishops of Reims and others [bishops?] of the French realm had done to his predecessors, the kings of the French'.³⁴⁷ Ivo was clearly uneasy about this pledge, the exact implications of which are not entirely clear, but nevertheless he viewed it as permissible to resolve the dispute.³⁴⁸

Assessment

The early pontificate of Paschal II demonstrates that Philip, approaching the end of his reign, remained confident and assertive in defence of his perceived right to supervise, at least to some degree, episcopal elections in his orbit. The controversy at Beauvais over the candidatures of Stephen and Galo illustrates this best, but Philip remained firm until the very end, even after the resolution of the marriage issue, as evidenced by the events at Reims following the death of Manasses II. However, although Ivo's letters are less enlightening on Philip's role in other elections in this period compared to during the 1090s, it remained the case that bishops who met with Ivo's approval were still frequently appointed. Galo's eventual installation at Paris is the shining example of how an approach of flexibility and compromise was still very much alive. When Philip did mount opposition, this was based on political expedients which were, to his mind, completely valid, and which Ivo and others were certainly not blind to either. But again, neither side allowed matters to descend into complete disorder. In sum, Philip ensured that he was prepared for conflict, but only when compromise was not possible.

Abbatial Elections

Compared to the many cases relating to episcopal elections discussed above, our knowledge of Philip's involvement in abbatial elections is far less complete.³⁴⁹ As will be seen especially in the next chapter, religious houses were deeply important to Philip in a number of ways. However, this did not necessarily translate into a direct influence over elections, though such

³⁴⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 190: 'nisi praedictus metropolitanus per manum et sacramentum eam fidelitatem regi faceret quam praedecessoribus suis regibus Francorum antea fecerant omnes Remenses archiepiscopi et caeteri regnu Francorum'.

³⁴⁸ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 124-5; Hoffmann, 'Ivo von Chartres', pp. 409-10; Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections*, pp. 356-7.

³⁴⁹ On Philip and abbatial elections generally: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 471-6.

influence was probably of greater import in those houses which Newman termed 'royal monasteries' because they were tied to the monarchy particularly closely.³⁵⁰ However, the power of abbots could be very localised, with local magnates often treating certain houses as dynastic enterprises with personal and historic ties, forged through the history of the foundation of and support for the house and bolstered through implanting members of their own dynasty into the community.³⁵¹ In all likelihood, Philip probably looked to prioritise, exercising his influence predominantly over houses where the Capetian familial interest was most acute and to abbatial elections where there was contest, a perceived threat to royal interests or an appeal to royal mediation.

Whilst our knowledge of abbatial elections is less detailed than that of episcopal elections, there are still some examples where the king's influence shines through and which can perhaps be viewed as indicative of wider trends. There are not enough examples to provide the same kind of breakdown as for episcopal elections above, but the wider context of the latter should be kept in mind. Fliche outlined several instances of Philip's involvement in abbatial elections in his biography of the king. He believed that Philip was 'master of abbatial elections' in the 'royal' abbeys, encouraging simony and general disorder to his own profit.³⁵² However, as we shall see, such a sweeping statement rests on quite shaky evidence.

Saint-Médard at Soissons

In fact, Fliche only gives one example which clearly links Philip to simoniacal practices in an abbatial election, that being the election of Pontius as abbot of Saint-Médard at Soissons.³⁵³ Our key source here is the *Life of Saint Arnulf of Soissons*, a hagiographic text, which tells us that the abbacy passed to Pontius, who 'obtained the name and seat of the abbot from Philip, king of France, not through learning but through simony'.³⁵⁴ Pontius seems to have provoked significant discontent in his time as abbot and his opponents, backed by Theobald, bishop of Soissons, convinced Philip to allow a fresh election.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁰ Newman, *Le domaine*, pp. 69-83, 202-15.

³⁵¹ See, for example: Bouchard, *Sword*.

³⁵² Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 490-3: 'maître des élections abbatiales'.

³⁵³ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 491-2.

³⁵⁴ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, p. 23: 'non secundam grammaticam sed secundam symoniam, a rege Francorum Philippo nomen et sedem abbatis adipiscitur'.

³⁵⁵ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 23-4, 121-2; Nip, *Arnulfus*, p. 157.

Pontius's replacement as abbot was Arnulf, who we already met above as a candidate for the bishopric of Soissons.³⁵⁶ His tenure at Saint-Médard was short, as he soon fell victim to the scheming of a certain Odo, who got Philip to request that Arnulf lead a military levy, which the abbot was unwilling to do.³⁵⁷ Arnulf resigned and proposed Gerard, later abbot of La Sauve-Majeure, as his successor, but the queen reinstated Pontius instead, provoking Arnulf to foretell that Philip would eventually cast her aside.³⁵⁸

The account given in the *Life of Saint Arnulf* is the most detailed we have of royal involvement in elections to religious houses during Philip's reign, but we must be careful when analysing it. As a hagiographic text, it was in the interest of the author, the later bishop of Soissons, Lisiard, to present his predecessor Arnulf in a positive light.³⁵⁹ In contrast to the scathing presentation of Pontius's election, Arnulf's offers no hint of simony, though the account does suggest that the king's consent was required to eject Pontius, and surely this would not have happened had Philip been unwilling to condone it. Pontius probably did pay for his abbacy, but Philip could feel just as entitled to this as with his bishops, and Arnulf may well have done the same, though it may not have suited Lisiard's narrative to admit it. The negative presentation of Pontius in the *Vita* suggests that his vilification may have chimed with contemporary memory at the time of the work's composition, for at that point there were surely still living members of the community of Saint-Médard who remembered his time as abbot. However, the fact that Philip was willing to remove him reflects far more positively on the king than the fact that he allowed Pontius to accept the office through simony in the first place reflects negatively on him. Philip seems to have recognised that he made a mistake, though in his eyes the error was surely not that he had permitted a simoniacal transaction, but that Pontius was destabilising Saint-Médard and thus unsuited to the abbatial office.

Of course, Pontius returned to office after Gerard's election, which casts shadow once more on the king's motives. However, the circumstances of this return are perhaps obscured by the text. Another source, Gerard's own *Vita*, does not mention that its subject was ever a candidate at Saint-Médard, so perhaps Gerard's election was never a serious option for the

³⁵⁶ See above, pp. 128-9. On what follows, see: Hewett, 'King Philip', pp. 24-5; Nip, *Arnulfus*, pp. 156-66; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 119-35.

³⁵⁷ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 42-5, 128-31.

³⁵⁸ On Gerard, see below, pp. 196-8.

³⁵⁹ On the authorship, see: *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. XI-XV.

king, even if it had backing from the community.³⁶⁰ In Arnulf's *Vita*, it is the queen, not the king, who takes centre stage at this point. However, although the *Vita*, in its first form, was completed during the reign of Louis VI, strangely the queen is named in the text not as Bertha – who it must have been at this time and who *was* cast aside by Philip – but as Bertrada. Perhaps this was a careless error on Lisiard's part, or maybe he hoped to capitalise on Bertrada's reputation to demonise Pontius further, in the hope that some readers, particularly further into the future, might not notice the ruse. Nevertheless, Bertha may have provided support to Pontius.

If Pontius's brief ejection from office can perhaps be seen as the result of Philip recognising the will of the community, then his reinstatement, after Arnulf's unwillingness to provide military support, may have been due to a belief on the king's part that he needed to re-assert his dominance over the house. In Pontius, he was at least getting someone who was in his debt. We know nothing of Pontius's second spell as abbot.³⁶¹ Perhaps it was less controversial than the first, or perhaps his misdeeds have escaped our surviving source material. Overall, what this vacillating affair demonstrates is that Philip surely did intervene in elections at Saint-Médard, and that he likely condoned and benefited from the simoniacal installation of its abbots.³⁶² However, the nature of Arnulf's *Vita* as a source should also be remembered. Its presentation of Philip's attitude towards the abbey, at best careless, at worst destructive, should not simply be taken at face value.

Ivo, Abbot of Saint-Denis

Fliche also notes the election, in c. 1072, of a certain Ivo as abbot of Saint-Denis.³⁶³ A letter sent to Ivo by Alexander II not only expresses the latter's own approval of the election, but also notes that Ivo had Philip's royal backing too.³⁶⁴ Given Saint-Denis' prestige and importance, it was only natural that Philip would want to keep a very close eye on who became

³⁶⁰ *Lives of Gerard of Corbie*, ed. in: *AA SS, Aprilis*, vol. 1, pp. 414-30. For French translations of the two lives, see: *Vie de saint Gérard de Corbie, fondateur de l'abbaye de La Sauve-Majeure en Entre-Deux-Mers*, trans. Elisabeth Traissac (Comité de Liaison Entre-Deux-Mers, 1995); 'La seconde vie de saint Gérard', trans. by Elisabeth Traissac, in *Les Entretiens de La Sauve-Majeure*, vol. 2 (s.l.: Editions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2006), pp. 7-18

³⁶¹ *GC*, vol. 9, col. 415.

³⁶² For a later case, see: *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 368-73, 440-1; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 493.

³⁶³ On Ivo, see: Detlev Jasper, 'Ein Brief Papst Alexanders II. an Abt Ivo I. von Saint-Denis', in: *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Richard H. Helmholz, Paul Mikat, Jörg Müller, and Michael Stolleis (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zurich, 2000), pp. 131-9; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 492-3; *GC*, vol. 7, cols 365-6; Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 84-94, 96-7; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, p. 143.

³⁶⁴ Jasper, 'Ein Brief', pp. 137-8.

abbot there. Furthermore, as we will see, he and Alexander had collaborated effectively concerning Saint-Denis a few years earlier, which may have helped to make Philip more receptive to the abbey seeking papal approval for Ivo's election.³⁶⁵ If the election was uncontroversial at first, it seems that it soon became tainted with accusations of simony, which came to the attention of Alexander's successor, Gregory VII, who wrote to Ivo and the monks directly on the issue.³⁶⁶ Gregory does not implicate the king directly in this simony, but this may have been intended as implicit. The matter was referred to legatine judgement, which is the last we hear of it.³⁶⁷ Thereafter, Ivo is known to have remained abbot until the 1090s.³⁶⁸ Thus, with this case, we again get a hint of Philip's involvement in abbatial elections, but the only clear implication is that he gave his approval to Ivo. Given the trends already observed, this is not surprising.

Other Elections

Some other cases may be indicated to further illustrate Philip exercising a role in certain abbatial elections, though in all of them our knowledge of the electoral process is very limited. For example, his consent was sought over the elections of Gervin as abbot of Saint-Riquier in 1071 and of Walter as abbot of Saint-Martin at Pontoise.³⁶⁹ As noted above, Enguerrand of Coucy and Elinand, bishop of Laon, obtained Philip's agreement to the installation of Godfrey as abbot Nogent, replacing the pluralist Henry, who was also abbot at Saint-Remi at Reims and Homblières.³⁷⁰ The *Annals of Saint-Bertin* indicate that Heribert, already abbot of Saint-Bertin, briefly became abbot of Saint-Germain at Auxerre 'with the authority of the king of France', and Sassier argued that royal influence was likely at play in the 1064 election of another abbot there, Walter, who was previously a monk at Fleury.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ See below, pp. 169-71.

³⁶⁶ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 219-20 (2.64-2.65); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 157-9. For other accusations against Ivo, see below, pp. 211-12.

³⁶⁷ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 330-4 (4.22); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 233-5.

³⁶⁸ 'Annales de Saint-Denis, généralement connues sous le titre de Chronicon sancti Dionysii ad cyclos paschales', ed. Élie Berger, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 40 (1879), 261-95, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1879.446847>>, (accessed 16 June 2024), at pp. 276, 286; Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 96-7.

³⁶⁹ Hariulf, *Chronicle*, ed. Lot, pp. 268-9; English trans. by Thompson, pp. 269-70; *Lives of Walter*, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 754-5; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 490-1.

³⁷⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. Labande, pp. 226-30; English trans. by McAlhany and Rubenstein, pp. 89-90; *Life of Godfrey*, ed. RHF, p. 175; Barthélemy, *Les deux âges*, p. 58; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 490-1; see above, p. 156.

³⁷¹ *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Holder-Egger, at p. 640: 'regis Francorum auctoritate'; *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Germain at Auxerre*, ed. and French trans. by Noëlle Deflou-Leca and Yves Sassier, as: *Les gestes*

According to the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens*, towards the end of the reign Louis assured the monks of Fleury of his and his father's consent to the election of their new abbot, Boson.³⁷²

Assessment

Scattered examples such as these, where detailed information is generally lacking, are not enough to form a sure picture of Philip's attitude towards elections at religious houses, and certainly not enough to justify Fliche's claims that Philip was 'master of abbatial elections' and that he often granted abbeys 'not in favour of the most worthy, but in favour of the one who offered the most'.³⁷³ Fliche recognised that Philip often appears as the second point of recourse in these elections, acting only when a choice had already been made. Whether that choice was initially influenced by the king is difficult to tell; it is likely to have been the case in some circumstances but by no means all, with local forces, such as Enguerrand's influence in the case of Nogent, proving more substantial. There is very limited evidence to implicate Philip in simony with these elections, though it is probable that it did occur. Even so, much as with the bishoprics, this did not prevent the election of a worthy candidate. Indeed, in cases such as the initial removal of Pontius at Saint-Médard and the ending of Henry's pluralism at Nogent, Philip can be seen to be acting in the best interests of the house. To reduce Philip's role to that of an avaricious exploiter of elections for his own material gain is to oversimplify the context. He undoubtedly had a role in many of the elections at religious houses during his reign, but in many cases this role was probably procedural rather than active, only becoming the latter when the need arose, which was more likely – and more possible – with certain religious houses than others.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Philip's attitude towards ecclesiastical elections in both the secular and monastic Church and how this varied and developed over the course of his reign. In many cases, our knowledge of individual elections is limited, or largely dependent on only one or a few sources, and we are far better informed about episcopal elections than abbatial

des abbés de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (Paris, 2011), pp. 30-1; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 491; Sassier, *Recherches*, pp. 57-9.

³⁷² *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 150-3; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, p. 203; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 61-2; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. 29 (no. 54).

³⁷³ Fliche, *Philippe*, pp. 491: 'non pas en faveur du plus digne, mais en faveur de celui qui offre le plus', 493.

ones. However, when examined as a whole, these cases enable us to make some observations on Philip's approach, which in turn reveals more about his attitude to reform.

During the minority, Philip's personal role was checked by the influence of those who managed the kingdom. He would have learnt that he had an important role to play in vetting candidates, but equally that the electoral oversight of the pope was a complicating factor. As Philip's majority began, and especially from the beginning of Gregory VII's pontificate, the increased papal intervention only became more obvious, and from 1077 the legatine judgements of Hugh of Die made its implications shockingly clear. Many elections were placed under scrutiny and even longstanding prelates found their positions in peril. This seriously challenged Philip's authority, but in the 1090s, during the pontificate of Urban II, there are signs of a change in approach facilitated by the diplomatic skills of Ivo of Chartres. Though Philip and Ivo did not always agree, the latter's election as bishop marked a key moment, for it introduced into the episcopate a fervent and confident reformist who also had respect for the king, including his electoral role, all of which combined with a moral compass which did not preclude the deployment of political nous and compromise. Philip and Ivo collaborated over appointments to several bishoprics during the later part of the reign. Nevertheless, Philip held firm in his belief that he did have a role to play in elections, and illustrated this right until the end during conflicts over Beauvais and Reims.

Philip certainly practiced lay investiture, surely practiced and condoned simony in many cases, and could use his influence to manoeuvre candidates into sees, even if they had moral defects. As regards lay investiture, he had no reason, at least from a political perspective, to accept that it was wrong, except that by doing so he would gain favour with the pope and his supporters; on the other hand, he had every reason to resist its eradication, given the importance of prelates to the governance and stability of the realm. He would also have taken some encouragement from the attitude of Ivo of Chartres, which opened the way to a compromise.³⁷⁴ As for simony, Philip could probably appreciate the reasons why it offended reformers so much, but equally for him it was a powerful binding tool to ensure loyalty and signify a bond, a political *fait accompli* often, though maybe not always, demanded to ensure that his royal oversight was recognised.³⁷⁵ Philip certainly knew that elections could, in this way, be valuable to him, but the seeking of his consent, potentially with the added

³⁷⁴ See above, pp. 59-60.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Reuter, 'Gifts and Simony'.

inducement of a simoniacal payment or promise of some kind, was in essence, at least from a royalist standpoint, an expectation rather than an exaction, and it was wider factors, including local and royal politics, that played a greater role in determining his stance on individual elections.

Without suggesting that Philip always sought out the most pious and suitable candidates, it seems that in the vast majority of cases the perceived needs of the realm – including the maintenance of his own power and status – must have weighed on his choices just as much, if not more, than ideas of any personal material gain. He balanced the choices of people such as Ursio at Soissons and Stephen of Garlande at Beauvais, prelates of questionable suitability whose appointment could nevertheless be explained through political expediency, with the backing of figures like Ivo at Chartres and William and Galo at Paris, who were principled, reform-minded ecclesiastics whose elections met the political needs of the king whilst also providing the Church with able pastors. Indeed, the threat to Philip was not reform *per se*, but that for him it could result in an unacceptable loss of control over the prelates of his realm. Having a strong and effective Church was of benefit to him, providing that he could still pull its strings in certain ways if needed.

Even without the pressures of reform, the degree of influence which Philip could wield over elections varied considerably. In many other places, local interests could be of greatest import in actually finding a candidate.³⁷⁶ Thérouanne is a good example of such a see, being as it was a ‘royal’ bishopric but very much in the sway of the count of Flanders. Asking the king’s permission, potentially paired with an inducement in the form of some kind of payment, then became more of an act of deference, a recognition of the king’s position as suzerain and ultimate lord. It gave Philip a role and an influence, but it did not make him the sole arbiter of the election, even before the popes became ever more involved. Indeed, as Newman recognised, bishoprics could ebb and flow between acknowledging this royal role and not doing so.³⁷⁷ This variable context is important to remember.

Nevertheless, Philip’s presence and influence are clearly discernible in many cases and can be inferred in several more. The greatest threat to this loss of control was the resurgent papacy and its legates. The popes began to undermine the idea that it was actually necessary to obtain the king’s consent for an election to take place. A key fissure was created, for while

³⁷⁶ Cf. for example: Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 35-7.

³⁷⁷ Newman, *Le domaine*, esp. pp. 67-9.

Philip believed in the necessity of him having a right to *object* to a candidate, and probably to propose them also if he had someone in mind and circumstances allowed it, the popes increasingly sought to sidestep the king in certain cases. Philip stood his ground on this until the very end. Despite the legatine pronouncements and papal exhortations, the number of prelates who were actually deposed by the papacy during the reign is quite small in relation to the number who faced accusations, but the key point here is that, by shining a spotlight on those allegations and forcing them to be investigated, potentially requiring judgement and absolution from the pope himself, the papacy was forcing the French episcopate and the king to recognise its own role in elections.³⁷⁸ Thus, Philip was clever enough to realise that it was not politic for him to resist the papal role completely. As long as his role as overseer was acknowledged by the candidate themselves, there was no reason for him to intervene in an election, or to oppose a worthy candidate with reformist tendencies, even if the pope was backing them. Indeed, Philip even seized upon the advantages of papal intervention, such as in the cases of Guy of Beauvais, Ivo of Saint-Denis and William of Paris. Though Ivo of Chartres' role highlights Philip's increasing acceptance of such a *modus operandi* from the 1090s, this period did not mark the beginning of Philip's willingness to install reforming prelates. There are several examples of appointees from earlier in the reign who likely had royal backing but were also amenable to the papacy.

Overall, Philip's priority in ecclesiastical elections was to ensure that he continued to have a role in vetting the candidates to the bishoprics which were most important to the maintenance of his own power and the security of his kingdom. This never changed. Philip let personal and local interests guide him when intervening in elections, but the candidate's own qualities and deficiencies, the latter of which were sometimes completely separate to anything within the king's control, were also a consideration. After the turbulences of Gregory VII's pontificate, which challenged the royal role to a degree which must have both angered and concerned Philip, it came to be that, with the aid of Ivo of Chartres, the king settled on an approach which favoured compromise without completely removing his own influence. By the end of his reign, Philip did not have the same level of mastery over elections as his forebears, but he had largely maintained his role whilst adapting to a situation which forced him to recognise, with provisos, both the heightened role of the papacy and the importance of reformist concerns.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 413; Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, pp. 113-14.

Chapter 3

Supporting Reform: Patronage and Ecclesiastical Disputes

This chapter will move away from the complex dynamics of ecclesiastical elections to focus on how Philip's religious attitudes manifested themselves in his more general interactions with religious houses and spiritual issues. The first part of the chapter will consider Philip's patronage, looking at where he directed his attentions, what actions he took and what this indicates about his priorities. The second part will examine some key ecclesiastical disputes which arose during Philip's reign and which played out on the ground in France while also interacting with wider reformist currents. Four will be discussed: the creation of the Lyon primacy; the redrawing of diocesan boundaries; the exile of Anselm of Canterbury; and the issue of clerical celibacy. Each of these disputes help to add depth to our understanding of the religious climate in which Philip was working and how this was shaped by reform and the challenges it brought.

PART 1: PATRONAGE

Patronage – in a broad sense, the bestowing of favour through the giving of lands, rights, titles, etc. – was a, arguably *the*, key weapon in the arsenal of any medieval ruler.¹ Patronage could be directed towards secular or spiritual beneficiaries, though frequently the lines were blurred due to the interwovenness of these two spheres in medieval culture. For example, when a king gave lands to a monastery, the abbot and his monks would benefit, but other potential beneficiaries could be the order to which the house belonged and any local lay magnates who were connected to the monastery through familial or patronal ties. One act of patronage could thus send out multiple messages, and reap rewards for the king from more than one direction.

The discussion which follows makes no claim to be a comprehensive assessment of Philip's religious patronage. Such could be a thesis all of its own. The examples below have been chosen with the aim of providing a snapshot of the ways in which the changing religious landscape could impact upon royal patronage patterns and to assess the degree to which Philip and his own religious attitudes were affected by these changes. Our key primary documents relating to patronage are inevitably the royal *acta*, which are, as noted already, a

¹ A good illustration of the various forms which patronage could take can be found in the tables charting the patronage of Marmoutier by the counts of Blois and Anjou, in: Farmer, *Communities*, pp. 69, 71, tables 1-2.

source not without issues.² Moreover, it should be remembered that we must be careful when forming ideas of Philip's own sympathies based on his patronage. For example, when he confirmed a bishop's gift, was he endorsing the bishop, the beneficiary, the nature of gift itself, or was the deciding factor merely that the bishop was fortunate to have the king around at an opportune moment to provide a subscription? Such problems are not always easily disentangled, but when examined broadly, Philip's patronage patterns can, it shall be argued, say a great deal about his religious priorities and his evolving attitude to reform.

Older Foundations

Philip's reign coincided with a time of religious reform and renewal, but despite the advent of new forms of spiritual life supplementing and challenging the existing status quo, there were a number of older religious houses, some with roots stretching back into the Merovingian period, whose longevity and hard-fought prestige demanded attention. Given the broader reform context, it is easy to fall into the trap of branding such houses 'old-fashioned', their way of life not conforming to the strict standards befitting people whose very existence was designed to be devoted to God; certainly, some contemporaries would have seen them in just such terms. However, this neglects the very real spiritual services performed by these houses, for example through intercessory prayer, as well as the longstanding religious kudos they had acquired.³ It also neglects the fact that many of these houses underwent reforms of their own around this time. To continue to show favour to such houses did not make someone anti-reform. Indeed, Philip had to take these houses into account, not just because of their prestige but because they were powerful, wealthy landowners with strong ties to the monarchy and magnates. The real question was how much houses of more recent origin, which will be tackled in the next section, would sap the patronage which may otherwise have been directed to these older foundations. In other words, how well could they stand up to the competition?

Saint-Denis

Philip's reign offered up new opportunities for interaction between the Capetian royal house and the abbey of Saint-Denis, just north of Paris. As Große has shown, Philip intervened in affairs at Saint-Denis to a much greater degree than was seen under his father, Henry I, taking

² See above, pp. 29-32, 50.

³ On monasteries in society, see, for example: Bouchard, *Sword*, passim; Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 45-57.

advantage of the shifting political situation in the region.⁴ A house with such an illustrious history, and which housed the remains of Philip's three Capetian predecessors, could hardly fail to be far from the king's mind.⁵ Although, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Philip himself chose to be buried elsewhere, we can see that during his reign he sought to protect Saint-Denis and demonstrate his supervision over the abbey's affairs. We have already seen this to an extent with his involvement in the election of Abbot Ivo, discussed in the previous chapter.⁶

In terms of *acta*, Philip's beneficence towards Saint-Denis is not marked by a great number of personal gifts or concessions, and what we do have is loaded towards the first decade of the reign. In 1060, shortly after becoming king, Philip agreed to a request from his aunt, Adela, countess of Flanders, to grant Saint-Denis the *villa* of Courcelles, 'which she holds in pledge [*in vadimonio*]', as well as the customs (*consuetudines*) that he held there.⁷ It is possible that Adela's husband, Count Baldwin, then serving as Philip's guardian, helped to prompt this act, but it was still an important early sign of intent on the king's part. However, Große notes that, given that Courcelles is mentioned once again in a later act, from 1073, the *consuetudines* may not actually have been handed over following the 1060 act.⁸ Indeed, it is odd that the donation should be mentioned twice several years apart, but unfortunately, we know no more about this matter. Große suggested that perhaps Adela had been unable to pay Philip for the rights in question. Alternatively, perhaps the initial donation came into question when Philip reached his majority and Baldwin died, prompting the widowed Adela to seek further clarification in 1073.

However, where Philip really demonstrated his favour towards Saint-Denis during these early years of the reign was in his support for the abbey in its struggle with Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, concerning episcopal *consuetudines* over the abbey which Geoffrey claimed as his right.⁹ It is not clear exactly when the dispute first arose, but it seems that the monks sought out Philip to protect their rights and autonomy. This put the king in a tricky position,

⁴ This discussion on Saint-Denis has been considerably influenced by: Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 19-136. See also: Thomas G. Waldman, 'Saint-Denis et les premiers Capétiens', in: *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie: Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987. La France de l'an Mil: Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987 – Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (s.l.: Picard, 1990), pp. 191-7, esp. pp. 195-6.

⁵ Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 74-5.

⁶ See above, pp. 161-2.

⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 4 (pp. 13-15): 'quam in vadimonio tenebat'.

⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 65 (pp. 170-2); Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 60, 78-9.

⁹ For what follows, see: Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 61-70. Cf. Becker, *Studien*, p. 49; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 386-7.

because if he backed the bishop, he risked alienating Saint-Denis, which could set a poor precedent for the rest of the reign, but if he backed the monks, he would anger one of the major prelates of his realm who had, moreover, likely been installed with the backing of his guardian.¹⁰ As recalled in one of Philip's later *acta*, after the dispute between the monks and the bishop had been brought before his court, 'since it was seen to be a matter of great ecclesiastical and popular importance, with our permission it was referred to and decided on by the Roman pontiff, Alexander'.¹¹

The case was tackled by Alexander at a synod held in Rome, at which he judged in favour of Saint-Denis against Geoffrey, who was present alongside certain other French prelates.¹² Alexander wrote a letter to Philip and Baldwin, as well as other letters to the archbishops of Reims, Sens and Rouen, to confirm his decision.¹³ However, this was not the end of the matter. Sometime later, Philip wrote to Alexander, urging him to stand by his judgement, indicating that there was pressure from some – surely, as Große argues, linked to Bishop Geoffrey – to look again at the case.¹⁴ Philip was clearly satisfied with the vindication of the monks' claims, and probably had no wish to see the matter opened up again. As it was, Alexander's stance did not change, and king and pope remained in agreement.¹⁵ In 1068 – crucially, after the end of the minority and Baldwin's death – Philip gave an act which affirmed Saint-Denis' victory, confirming the abbey's privileges with reference to royal authority (several past kings, including Dagobert, Charlemagne and Charles the Bald are listed), historic episcopal agreement and papal decree.¹⁶

Thus, this case illustrates a theme which we have already observed, namely that Philip was prepared to utilise the pope's authority when it suited him, thus turning the growing encroachment of papal power to his own benefit. He clearly came to the conclusion – be it as a result of political pressure, genuine uncertainty, or other factors – that seeking a judgement from Alexander was the best way to resolve this case. Perhaps he merely wanted to avoid being the person to upset one of the two significant parties in the dispute. Nonetheless, Philip still consented to referring the matter to the pope and helped to enforce the final judgement.

¹⁰ On Geoffrey, see above, pp. 61-2, 102-3.

¹¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 40 (pp. 114-17): 'quia magis ordinis aecclesiastici videbatur esse quam popularis, nostra permissione in audientia Romani pontificis Alexandri perlata et finite erat'.

¹² PUF, NF, vol. 9, nos. 18a-b (pp. 116-24) (= Jaffé³, nos. 10820-2). See also: Gresser, *Die Synoden*, pp. 77-82.

¹³ PUF, NF, vol. 9, nos. 19-21 (pp. 124-7).

¹⁴ PUF, NF, vol. 9, no. 22 (pp. 127-8).

¹⁵ PUF, NF, vol. 9, no. 23 (pp. 128-9).

¹⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 40 (pp. 114-17).

In this he illustrated both his respect for the papal decision and his support for the monks of Saint-Denis.

Philip is not known to have given any more acts in favour of Saint-Denis for the rest of his reign. However, he showed his favour towards the abbey with clarity once more when he chose to have his son, Louis, spend some of his youth being educated there.¹⁷ As has been observed, there were political benefits for doing this, as it was likely intended in part to give Louis a knowledge of the local politics and figures of the region, as preparation for him becoming count of the Vexin.¹⁸ However, it was also a major coup for the abbey, not least because Philip could have chosen instead to send his son elsewhere, perhaps to the abbey of Fleury.

Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire)

The house of Fleury is forever associated with Philip for he was the only Capetian king who chose to be buried there. This was undoubtedly a great mark of respect and patronage for the old monastery, and its significance will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.¹⁹ Fleury appears fairly frequently in Philip's royal *acta* from the early decades of the reign. However, his only major landed donation to the abbey was his 1071 gift of the church of Saint-Mard at Étampes.²⁰ The settlement of Étampes was a significant site for the Capetian kings. Located there, in addition to a royal residence, was the collegiate church of Notre-Dame, built by King Robert II, and indeed the links between Philip's grandfather and Étampes are alluded to in the 1071 donation also.²¹ Philip's act records: 'Thus I liberate this place [Saint-Mard] so that it may be free from all service and, if one of God's faithful wishes to give land or something else to the aforementioned church, this should be just as Robert, my ancestor, constituted and bestowed of his own free will'.²² The special relationship between Fleury and Robert may have influenced the choice of this site of Étampes as a way of furthering the abbey's northern

¹⁷ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 33-5; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 78-9; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 3 (p. 4).

¹⁸ Große, *Saint-Denis*, p. 92. On Louis becoming count, see above, p. 11.

¹⁹ See below, pp. 259-64.

²⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 54 (pp. 144-5).

²¹ For Robert II and Notre-Dame at Étampes, see: Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 64-5, 102-3, 130-1.

²² Philip I, *Acta* ed. Prou, no. 54 (p. 145): 'Sic autem eandem libero ut libera sit ab omni servitio et, si quis Dei fidelis terram vel aliud aliquid huic supradictæ ecclesiæ dare voluerit, sit sicut Robertus, antecessor meus, constituit ac de libertate testimonium perhibuit'.

connections. It also helped Philip to forge links between his key northern settlements and areas further south, something which we will see him do again.²³

Besides the Saint-Mard donation, Philip largely confined himself, at least as far as lands and property were concerned, to confirming the donations of others towards Fleury.²⁴ He subscribed to two private *acta* making donations in 1065 and 1071 and also confirmed with his own act donations made by a certain Theobald of Orléans in 1080.²⁵ But most significantly, when in 1077 Orléans played host to a major gathering of prelates and secular magnates, the nearby abbey benefitted from the occasion through securing Philip's confirmation of the donation made to it by Pontius of Glenne of the house of Saint-Symphorien at Autun.²⁶ The assembly was a golden opportunity for Fleury to throw weight behind this donation, which was clearly opposed by the canons of Saint-Symphorien.²⁷ As well as the king and Queen Bertha, three archbishops, eight bishops and several major secular magnates put their names behind the act. Among the episcopal subscribers can be found Agano, bishop of Autun, who appears only rarely in royal documents.²⁸ However, his appearance here makes sense given the context and suggests that he backed the donation. The act also spells out that consent had already been granted by Pope Gregory VII and by Hugh, duke of Burgundy.

Gregory's consent, however, may have been claimed prematurely, or even falsely, for in a letter which has been assigned to 1082/3, the pope wrote to Hugh of Die, asking him to take care of a dispute between Fleury and clerks at Autun over Saint-Symphorien. In it, Gregory expressed puzzlement at what the clerks claimed about his past conduct on the matter, saying: 'We can in no way remember that this has been done by us, nor have we been able to discover in our Register a letter referring to this dispute'.²⁹ This suggests both that Fleury was being frustrated in its attempt to establish authority over its new possession, and that papal backing for the donation may never actually have been received. Alternatively, the consent claimed in the royal act may have been the result of vague assurances rather than

²³ See below, pp. 196-8.

²⁴ Cf. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 87; 'Les diplômes de Philippe I^{er} pour l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', ed. Maurice Prou, in: *Mélanges Julien Havet: Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)* (Paris, 1895), pp. 157-99.

²⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 18 (pp. 51-4), 56 (pp. 148-51), 100 (pp. 257-60).

²⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 86 (pp. 224-6).

²⁷ Cf. Charles Dereine, 'L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 46 (1951), 534-65, at pp. 537-8; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, p. 162.

²⁸ See above, p. 84.

²⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 618-19 (9.32): 'Quod a nobis factum nequaquam recolimus nec in registro nostro huius causę litteras repperire potuimus'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 432-3. Cf. Veyrenche, 'Quia vos estis', p. 55.

any formal pronouncement, hence the lack of a record in the *Register*. Whatever lay behind Gregory's thinking, it seems that Hugh of Die was on the side of the canons. Gregory's letter suggests this, and furthermore the legate is not mentioned in the royal act, though given his strained relationship with Philip this is not particularly surprising. Fleury was ultimately unsuccessful in its attempt to acquire Saint-Symphorien, which remained inhabited by canons.³⁰

Lemarignier suggested that the assembly at Orléans, with its impressive list of attendees, might be seen as one of the last extant manifestations of a more traditional kind of royal-episcopal leadership, especially as it came shortly before Hugh of Die's most dramatic conciliar interventions.³¹ There is, however, a risk here that one can slip easily into a teleological argument, assigning an unreasonably high degree of foresight to these prelates (and the king) who, even if they could feel the tide turning, did not know exactly what would happen next. Indeed, as noted above, the declining presence of prelates in royal *acta* is now linked to other factors too.³² It should also be remembered that the main purpose of the assembly was for Philip to gather military support against William the Conqueror.³³ It was only natural that such an opportunity would be seized to gain extra corroboration for an act which would benefit a monastery both nearby to Orléans and with close links to the king himself. It made sense for Philip too, not only because he was helping Fleury but because it offered up the possibility of forging links with Agano and with Autun, normally outside his reach. One could suggest that it also appealed because it ran counter to Hugh of Die's wishes, but the fact that soon, perhaps whilst this dispute was still ongoing, the canons of Saint-Symphorien became regular, suggests that a need for change at the house was widely recognised, even if the canons and Hugh of Die foresaw that reform coming in a different way to that pursued by the king, the bishop, and the monks of Fleury.³⁴

³⁰ *Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien d'Autun de 696 à 1300*, publ. André Déléage (Autun, 1936), pp. VII-VIII and nos. 20-3 (pp. 47-57). For comment on this whole affair, see: 'Les diplômes de Philippe I^{er} pour l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', ed. Maurice Prou, in: *Mélanges Julien Havet: Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)* (Paris, 1895), pp. 157-99, at pp. 189-90; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. 224, n. 2; Dereine, 'L'élaboration', pp. 537-8; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, p. 117 and n. 208; Lühe, *Hugo von Die*, p. 162; Richard, *Les ducs*, p. 68 and n. 4.

³¹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 115-18. On Hugh's councils, see above, 92, 118-26.

³² See above, p. 50.

³³ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 100-1.

³⁴ For the transition to regular canons, see: *Recueil ... Saint-Symphorien d'Autun*, publ. Déléage, no. 22 (pp. 54-5); Dereine, 'L'élaboration', pp. 537-8.

Philip also expressed his support for Fleury through protection of the abbey's rights and possessions. In 1067 or 1068, again when the king was at Orléans, he was called upon to resolve a dispute over a benefice between the monks and a certain knight.³⁵ In 1071, Philip affirmed that a certain Tescelin and his sons had no right to exercise customs at certain abbatial lands, noting that this followed in the footsteps of decrees by his father and grandfather.³⁶ Then, in 1080, Philip gave a significant act which not only confirmed the earlier donation of Saint-Mard, but added some further donations, confirmed the abbey's possessions and, at least in theory, guaranteed the free election of their abbot.³⁷ Philip's gifts are said to be 'so that the monks of that place [Fleury] are able to live freely following the Rule of Saint Benedict, father of monks, in his monastery, where the body of the Blessed Father Benedict is currently known to rest'.³⁸

This is the last known act of Philip's to make provision for Fleury. However, he may have viewed his earlier patronage as sufficient, with the act just mentioned providing a convenient summary of his formal beneficence. He no doubt felt the weight of historical ties. Indeed, in the act concerning the dispute between the abbey and the knight, the text has Philip declare: 'we do not wish the place which our predecessors the kings of France defended with great care to wither away in our time'.³⁹ Towards the end of the reign, a relic translation, coupled with the dedication of two altars, took place at the abbey.⁴⁰ Louis was certainly present, though accounts differ on whether or not Philip took part. It may be that, as Bournazel suggests, his health and mobility had declined substantially by this point, meaning that Louis acted in his stead.⁴¹

³⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 37 (pp. 107-9).

³⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 55 (pp. 145-7).

³⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 101 (pp. 260-2).

³⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 101 (pp. 261-2): 'ut ipsi monachi libere valeant vivere secundum regulam sancti Benedicti, patris monachorum, in suo monasterio, ubi beatus ipse pater Benedictus corporis presentia repausare dinoscitur'.

³⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 37 (p. 108): 'ut pote qui nolebamus locum, quem prædecessores nostri Francorum reges multo studio defensaverunt, temporibus nostris atteri'; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 487.

⁴⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 150-3; 'Ex chronico Stroziano dicto', in: *RHF*, vol. 13, pp. 728-9, at p. 728; 'Ex Chronico Willelmi Godelli, Monachi S. Martialis Lemovicensis', in: *RHF*, vol. 13, pp. 671-7, at p. 674; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, p. 203; Amyot, 'Philip', p. 223; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, p. 87; Monod, *Essai*, p. 60; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 33; Luchoire, *Louis VI*, no. 54 (p. 29).

⁴¹ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 79-80.

Saint-Martin at Tours and Marmoutier

In Tours in the second half of the eleventh century, there existed a complex interplay of relations between the archbishops, the cathedral of Saint-Maurice, and the two principle religious communities, the basilica of Saint-Martin (a house of canons) and the monastery of Marmoutier, all of which occurred against the backdrop of lay patronage and interference including from the Capetians, the counts of Anjou, and the Thibaudians.⁴² It was noted above how both Saint-Martin and Marmoutier were involved in the disputes which were linked to the temporary expulsion of Archbishop Ralph I in the 1080s, perhaps with some backing from Philip.⁴³ Unfortunately, we know little about Philip's relations with Saint-Martin. There are no extant *acta* to attest that he made any donations to its community, though this is also true of Henry I and Robert II.⁴⁴ However, a letter from Philip's grandson, King Louis VII, to Pope Alexander III indicates that it was Philip who granted to the house the *burg* of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier.⁴⁵

If Philip's only known gift to Saint-Martin was of a local character, bestowing a territory within the environs of Tours itself, the patronage he showed to Marmoutier stretched much further geographically. This prestigious house had a reputation as a centre of reformed monasticism, acting as mother house to a large network of priories – which as we will see, Philip played a part in expanding – and maintaining important ties to lay aristocracy, including the Thibaudians and the counts of Anjou, whilst also becoming increasingly independent of lay influence.⁴⁶ Philip's patronage of Marmoutier should be seen in connection with both its reformist credentials and its political significance.

Philip's *acta* illustrate his support for Marmoutier's continued efflorescence. Throughout the reign, there are numerous instances where Philip either grants *acta* or adds his name to the act of another person in order to affirm his consent to gifts made to Marmoutier.⁴⁷ The abbey was a popular choice for patronage at this time and Philip could use

⁴² Farmer, *Communities*, passim; Noizet, *La fabrique*, passim

⁴³ See above, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁴ Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 175-86.

⁴⁵ Louis VII (King of France) to Pope Alexander III, ed. in: RHF, vol. 15, no. 144 (p. 822); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. XLIV. Cf. Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, no. 155 (vol. 1, pp. 319-21).

⁴⁶ Bur, *La formation*, pp. 227-9; Farmer, *Communities*, esp. pp. 35-6, 65-77; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 77-84; Odile Gantier, 'Recherches sur les possessions et les prieurés de l'Abbaye de Marmoutier du X^e au XIII^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon*, 53 (1963), 93-110, 161-7, 54 (1964), 15-24, 56-67, 125-35, 55 (1965), 32-44, 65-79; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, vol. 1, pp. 173-93.

⁴⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 6 (pp. 17-21) (= Gasse-Grandjean, 'Retour', pp. 536-40, 542-4; Martin-Demézil, 'À propos', pp. 20-8, 38-41), 7 (pp. 22-4), 8 (pp. 24-7), 34 (pp. 100-3) (= Martin-Demézil, 'À propos', pp. 28-37), 50

his own patronage of such gifts to assert his royal status and place himself within the tradition of beneficence to the house, without actually necessarily giving anything away from his own possessions. For example, in 1067, Philip's name appears as a subscriber on a private act by which Robert of Sablé and his wife, Hazuisa, grant churches and land to Marmoutier.⁴⁸ Significantly, Count Geoffrey of Anjou, with his wife and son, also subscribed to this act. Thus, Philip was inserting himself into the history of this gift alongside the Angevins, who were of great local importance to Marmoutier. The act was given at Chaumont-sur-Loire, probably at the same time as another act which Philip subscribes to, this time from Count Geoffrey himself, confirming a collegiate foundation at Faye made by a certain Haimeric and his son.⁴⁹ These are the only two of Philip's *acta* known to have been given at Chaumont-sur-Loire and it seems that Geoffrey, as well as the houses concerned, may have looked to capitalise on Philip's presence to have royal weight added to these documents. Thus, there was benefit to the count as well in associating the monarch with this generosity. Nevertheless, Philip still agreed to confirm it, which was a boost to Marmoutier as it indicated that the king, who was now exiting his minority, was not averse to supporting their house.

Philip would go on to confirm further donations in later years, again probably with an eye to building relations with significant magnates who also happened to be patrons of the abbey. In 1082, he confirmed donations by Ebohus, count of Roucy, and Hugh, count of Dammartin.⁵⁰ Later, in the early 1090s, he confirmed a donation by Robert of Bellême, who controlled a powerful and highly significant Norman border lordship.⁵¹ Significantly, this donation came at a period of political instability in the duchy, making it an especially propitious time for Philip to court Robert's favour.⁵²

Confirmations of gifts went some way to indicating Philip's own support for Marmoutier. However, it is particularly notable that this was not confined to backing the beneficence of others, as towards the later part of the reign, Philip showed himself willing to

(pp. 134-7), 70 (pp. 178-81), 107 (pp. 272-3), 128 (pp. 324-7), 129 (pp. 327-8), 132 (pp. 333-7), 137 (pp. 345-6), 164 (pp. 407-8); Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 28-9.

⁴⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 34 (pp. 100-3) (= Martin-Demézil, 'À propos', pp. 28-37).

⁴⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 33 (pp. 99-100).

⁵⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 107 (pp. 272-3).

⁵¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 128 (pp. 324-7), 129 (pp. 327-8). See: Jacques Boussard, 'La seigneurie de Bellême aux X^e et XI^e siècles', in: *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 43-54; Kathleen Thompson, 'Family and Influence to the South of Normandy in the Eleventh Century: The Lordship of Bellême', *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 215-26; Kathleen Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême Reconsidered', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1990; publ. 1991), 263-86.

⁵² Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 104-52; Boussard, 'La seigneurie', pp. 51-4; Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', p. 503 and n. 17; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 212-13; Thompson, 'Robert', p. 285.

trust in the abbey when acting in a more personal capacity to help reverse the fortunes of certain other houses. In February 1094, Philip granted Saint-Magloire at Paris to Marmoutier.⁵³ The house at Saint-Magloire had been established with the support of Philip's royal forbears, Hugh Capet and Robert II.⁵⁴ It was located, as Philip's act clarifies, 'beside the royal palace', so not only was it a house with historical royal connections, it also lay in close proximity to one of the key nerve centres of Philip's government.⁵⁵ In 1075, Philip had granted the abbey wood from the royal forest at Vincennes.⁵⁶ A little earlier, in 1072, he had confirmed the donation of two churches at Montfort to Saint-Magloire by Simon, lord of Montfort, with the churches to be exempt from royal dues.⁵⁷ Perhaps it was political considerations associated with Montfort interest in the house which helped to prompt Philip into action in 1094, for he was by this point married to Simon's daughter, Bertrada.⁵⁸ According to the act, the house had fallen into a state of misgovernance and disrepair under its abbot, Haimon.⁵⁹ Thus, the king gave it to Marmoutier 'for restoring', with the act subscribed by a certain Robert who seems to have been installed as the new prior.⁶⁰ This was a clear sign that Philip wished to improve the condition of this important Parisian house, and that he trusted Marmoutier to do so in a way satisfactory to his interests.

Saint-Magloire was no isolated case either. At some point between November 1090 and 7 April 1100, probably from 1096 onwards, it seems that Philip also looked towards Marmoutier when considering the need for action at the abbey of Faremoutiers, a house of nuns founded in the seventh century.⁶¹ Similarly to at Saint-Magloire, Philip described how Faremoutiers' declined state demanded reform. This is corroborated by a letter of Ivo of Chartres to Walter II, bishop of Meaux, which talks of reports brought to Ivo, including by the

⁵³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 132 (pp. 333-7).

⁵⁴ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 80-3; Longère, 'Les premiers Capétiens', p. 62.

⁵⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 132 (p. 335): 'juxta aulam regiam'; Sohn, *Von der Residenz*, pp. 80-1.

⁵⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 73 (p. 105).

⁵⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 62 (pp. 163-5); Rhein, 'La seigneurie', p. 34.

⁵⁸ See: Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship', pp. 20-6, 31-2; Matthew Gabriele, 'Not So Strange Bedfellows: New Thoughts on King Philip I of Francia's Marriage to Bertrada of Montfort', *Journal of Medieval History*, 46 (2020), 499-512, via Taylor & Francis Online [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2020.1814393>>, (accessed 21 March 2023), at pp. 507-9. On the family, see: Châtelain, *Châteaux forts*, pp. 19-20; Rhein, 'La seigneurie' pp. 25-57. Also, see below, pp. 215-49.

⁵⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 132 (p. 335).

⁶⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 62 (pp. 163-5): 'ad restaurandum'.

⁶¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 137 (pp. 345-6); James O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', and André Galli, 'Faremoutiers au Moyen Age VII^e – XV^e siècle', in: *Sainte Fare et Faremoutiers: Treize siècles de vie monastique* (Faremoutiers, 1956), pp. 3-35, 37-56 respectively; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 248 and no. 18 (p. 450); Schulze, 'Pro Turpitudine Vitae', pp. 86-9.

monks at Marmoutier, of immoral behaviour among the nuns at Faremoutiers.⁶² Ivo urged Walter, whose diocese housed Faremoutiers, to rectify this, potentially by installing monks there. Perhaps the feeling was that only a drastic change could bring about the needed improvements at the abbey.

Ivo's letter was probably written shortly before Philip's act and suggests that the king responded to widespread concerns about Faremoutiers, brought to his attention by Ivo and/or Walter. Indeed, despite Ivo's letter, the abbey's dependence on the bishop was limited and it was under royal protection, as is revealed in an act of Louis VII, in which is read: 'We attach to our authority, in the protection of our embrace, the church of Faremoutiers, visibly free from the domination and advocacy of the bishop of Meaux, retaining its ancient right, as we find confirmed in the precepts of our predecessors Charles, Louis, my great-grandfather Henry [i.e., Henry I, Philip's father] and other kings'.⁶³ Thus, the spiritual life at Faremoutiers was Philip's to defend, and when he saw it in peril, he turned to Marmoutier for help. Countess Adela of Blois was also a significant interested party and may have advocated for Marmoutier's suitability.⁶⁴ However, it may be that Philip was already impressed and encouraged by what he had seen done at Saint-Magloire. In the end, although details are scarce, it seems that Faremoutiers was improved without becoming a priory of Marmoutier, though the concern of Philip and other important powers likely played a key role in prompting this reform.⁶⁵

Philip, therefore, afforded significant patronage to the abbey of Marmoutier, not just through the confirmation of the acts of others, but through entrusting two significant houses into its care. Through such actions he could show his support for a monastery with impressive reformist credentials and major prestige amongst the northern French aristocracy. Foulon may have struggled to see 'Gregorian thought or phraseology' behind Philip's *acta* for Marmoutier, but this should not disguise the fact that in supporting this abbey and turning to it to better the state of other houses, Philip was illustrating a measured care for the Church in his realm, projecting an image of a conscientious ruler which not only runs counter to the prevailing image of his reign but also boosted his moral clout when resisting reformist

⁶² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 70.

⁶³ *GC*, vol. 8, instr., no. 553 (col. 1166): 'ecclesiam Faremonasterii manifeste liberam a dominatione & advocacione Meldensis episcopi antiquo jure retinentes, quod in præceptis prædecessorum nostrorum Karoli, Ludovici, Henrici atavi nostri, aliorumque regum confirmatum reperimus, in sinu nostræ protectionis, nostræ ditioni accomodamus'; Henry I, *Acta*, coll. Soëhnée, no. 18 (p. 14).

⁶⁴ LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 248 and no. 18 (p. 450).

⁶⁵ Galli, 'Faremoutiers' pp. 40-3.

manifestations with which he was less comfortable.⁶⁶ Philip recognised that the benefits of being seen to support Marmoutier's spiritual example outweighed any potential disadvantages, giving him the confidence and impetus, several decades into the reign, to support the transitions which he helped to initiate at Saint-Magloire and Faremoutiers.

Parisian Houses

We have already discussed Saint-Denis and Saint-Magloire, but there were other longstanding Parisian houses where Philip's patronage could be expected. One of the most prestigious of these was the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which Philip's grandfather Robert had tasked the Cluny-influenced monk, William of Volpiano, with reforming earlier in the eleventh century.⁶⁷ However, the house did not become a Cluniac priory, retaining its independent status.

Philip's beneficence towards Saint-Germain-des-Prés was steady if not extraordinary. Early in the reign, in 1061, an agreement was reached to restore to the abbey land at Combs, where Philip's family had long held an interest.⁶⁸ The act details how Philip's great-great-grandfather, Duke Hugh the Great, who would have held the lay abbacy of Saint-Germain, had acquired this land, with his descendants retaining it until King Robert II restored it to the monks.⁶⁹ Henry I, however, had taken the land once more, and it seems that the monks used the opportunity of the new reign and Philip's minority to secure a settlement of the matter whereby upon the death of Count Odo, who held Combs from Philip, the land would return to the abbey, and in the meantime it would have possession of the royal land at Bagneux.⁷⁰

Such a settlement was a good way for Philip to indicate, early on in his reign, his willingness to cooperate with one of the most significant houses of his realm. Not only did it pay respect to the work of his grandfather Robert, but it also harked back to the pious deeds of his distant ancestors. Indeed, the text of the act, which is preserved as an original, details how Saint-Germain, as well as Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin at Tours, owed their existence to the beneficence of the Merovingian king, Dagobert.⁷¹ In 1073, Philip followed up this donation

⁶⁶ Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 28-9: 'pensée ou phraséologie grégorienne'.

⁶⁷ *Chronique de l'abbaye de saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la chronique de saint-Pierre de Bèze*, publ. E. Bougaud and J. Garnier (Dijon, 1875), p. 159; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 92.

⁶⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 13 (pp. 38-41); Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 144-5.

⁶⁹ See: *GC*, vol. 7, col. 432.

⁷⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 13 (pp. 38-41).

⁷¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 13 (p. 39).

with a renunciation of customs on some abbey land near Étampes.⁷² A few years later, in 1082, a judgement of the royal court found in Saint-Germain's favour to force Hugh Esteval and his wife to renounce the advocacy they claimed over abbey lands at Dammartin.⁷³ Philip was also party to the agreement struck between the abbey and Geoffrey, bishop of Paris, in 1070 whereby the former was granted two altars by the bishop as part of an exchange.⁷⁴ Philip thus offered frequent support to Saint-Germain.

Another Parisian house with distant roots but which had also been the subject of Cluniac renewal was Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.⁷⁵ During the reign of Philip's great-grandfather, Hugh Capet, the count of Paris, Burchard, had sought help from Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, to reform the state of religious life there.⁷⁶ It did not, however, become a Cluniac priory, and continued to have its own abbot.⁷⁷ For most of the reign, we know nothing of Philip's relations with Saint-Maur. He subscribed to an act given by his mother, Anna, sometime between 1060 and 1067.⁷⁸ However, in 1107, as his reign approached its end, Philip entrusted Saint-Maur-des-Fossés with another Parisian house, the nunnery of Saint-Éloi.⁷⁹

The house of Saint-Éloi dated back to the seventh century and was a foundation of King Dagobert, sitting, like Saint-Magloire, on the Île-de-la-Cité, in close proximity to the royal palace.⁸⁰ It seems that the standards upheld there had declined by 1107, as around this time Philip wrote to Galo, bishop of Paris, recognising that the church was 'reduced almost to nothing', and asking that Galo decide on 'which order' the house might be assigned to in order to better its condition.⁸¹ Pope Paschal also briefly mentions Saint-Éloi in a letter written to the

⁷² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 64 (pp. 169-70).

⁷³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 106 (pp. 270-2).

⁷⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 48 (pp. 130-2) 49 (pp. 132-4).

⁷⁵ 'Actes royaux et pontificaux des X^e et XI^e siècles, du chartrier de Saint-Maur des Fossés', ed. Jacques Boussard, in: *Journal des Savants* (1972), 81-113, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/jds.1972.1264>>, (accessed 18 June 2024); Émile Galtier, *Histoire de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (1913; 2nd edn, La Varenne-Saint-Hilaire, 1927), pp. 33-40, 53-5.

⁷⁶ Odo of Saint-Maur, *Life of Burchard the Venerable*, ed. Charles Bourel de la Roncière, as: *Vie de Bouchard le Vénérable, comte de Vendome, de Corbeil, de Melun et de Paris (X^e et XI^e siècles)* (Paris, 1892), pp. 9-12; Galtier, *Histoire*, pp. 53-5.

⁷⁷ Galtier, *Histoire*, p. 56.

⁷⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 36 (pp. 105-6).

⁷⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 161 (pp. 402-3). On what follows, see: Catherine Elise Schulze, 'Pro Turpitudine Vitae: The Expulsion of Nuns in the Dioceses of Paris and Laon, 1100-1150', Doctor of Philosophy thesis (University of Toronto, 2008), via TSpace (University of Toronto) [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/1807/119451>>, (accessed 4 February 2025), pp. 63-96.

⁸⁰ *Vitae Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius libri II*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 37 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905), pp. 1-294, at p. 255; Lorentz and Sandron, *Atlas de Paris*, p. 158; Schulze, 'Pro Turpitudine Vitae', pp. 74-8.

⁸¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 160 (p. 401): 'fere ad nichilum redactam', 'cujuslibet ordinis'.

clerks of Paris.⁸² It thus seems that the king had either become aware of the situation at Saint-Éloi, or been made aware of it by the bishop, and now sought to support reform there in a similar way to what had been done at Saint-Magloire. Galo evidently decided that Saint-Maur-des-Fossés was the best choice to reform Saint-Éloi, and the act by which Philip assented to this decision indicates not only his agreement, but that of his son Louis and of Pope Paschal II, 'at that time coming to Paris'.⁸³

The context here is the visit made by Paschal to Philip's lands on route to his meeting with Henry V, as discussed in Chapter 1.⁸⁴ As we have seen, this was a time of improved relations between Philip and the pope. Thus, reforming Saint-Éloi was a way for Philip to demonstrate to the visiting pope that he was looking after the spiritual welfare of his realm and engaging in a spirit of reform. Philip may have acted anyway even if diplomacy with Paschal had not been on his mind, but nevertheless it is likely that the pontiff's visit provided extra impetus. The royal act says that the transfer was done 'with the entreaty of our son Louis', which could indicate that Philip's heir helped prompt his father into action, though equally it was Philip who formally tasked Galo with reforming the house, and the mention of Louis could be aimed rather at hinting to the future when he would be king.⁸⁵

It is interesting that Saint-Maur-des-Fossés was chosen to take on Saint-Éloi. One suspects that the arrangement was agreeable to Bishop Galo, since the royal act stipulates the protection of episcopal rights over Saint-Éloi, and furthermore the transfer avoided another house in his city becoming tied to an extra-Parisian mother house, as had already happened with Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Saint-Magloire.⁸⁶ Philip himself may have also perceived the benefits of this. It has been noted that the transfer of Saint-Éloi went some way to making up for Urban II's decision, at a council held in Tours in 1096, to grant independence to the house of Saint-Maur at Glanfeuil, which had previously been under the authority of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.⁸⁷ Given that the controversy over Philip's marriage was still ongoing at this

⁸² Paschal II (Pope), *Letters*, ed. as: 'Epistolæ Paschalis II Papæ', in: RHF, vol. 15, pp. 16-63, no. 20 (pp. 28-9) (= *Cartulaire général de Paris*, ed. De Lasteyrie, no. 134 (pp. 156-7)).

⁸³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 161 (p. 403): 'tunc temporis Parisius venientis'. For Galo's own document, see: *Cartulaire général de Paris*, ed. De Lasteyrie, no. 143 (pp. 161-3).

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 97-9.

⁸⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 161 (p. 403): 'cum filii nostri Ludovici obsecratione'.

⁸⁶ Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 476-7. See above, pp. 176-7, and below, pp. 189-92.

⁸⁷ *GC*, vol. 7, cols 283-4; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 159; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 925-32; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 234. Urban's privilege for Saint-Maur at Glanfeuil can be found in: Herbert Bloch, 'The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino', *Traditio*, 8 (1952), 159-264, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27830246>>, (accessed 18 September 2024), at no. 5b (pp. 229-34).

point, Urban's action may have been motivated in part by a desire to show that he could affect the material possessions of Philip's domain to the king's detriment, especially as Bertrada's former husband, Fulk of Anjou, backed Glanfeuil's independence.⁸⁸ Paschal II's involvement in the Saint-Éloi transfer eleven years later came at a much better time in relations between king and pope, but it is also indicative that both believed that Saint-Maur-des-Fossés was up to the task of reforming a failing house. They acted in concert here to mutual benefit.

Other Houses

Philip's patronage of older religious houses was not confined to those listed above. Over the course of the reign, many benefited from his beneficence, even if in some cases he was only adding the weight of his name to the acts of others. Sometimes he was inserting himself into an already established tradition, as happened for example when he confirmed an immunity for the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens early in the reign.⁸⁹ This was to be expected when a new king acceded to the throne, but it could occur much later in the reign as well, as for example happened for Saint-Remi at Reims in 1090.⁹⁰ Naturally, Philip also agreed to relatively small-scale grants and concessions, such as the renunciation of certain customs which he made in 1060 in favour of Saint-Lucien at Beauvais, whilst also according the monastery free passage on certain routes, or the 1074 renunciation of customs in favour of Sainte-Colombe at Sens.⁹¹

Sometimes, however, Philip set out to make his own recognisable mark on the patronage tradition of a house. For example, he granted several acts in favour of the collegiate church of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne.⁹² One of these, dating to 1092, saw Philip regulate the house's rights and revenues concerning the feast of the translation of the Holy Shroud.⁹³ Ten years previously, this precious relic, which had been granted to the abbey by Charles the Bald and hitherto housed in an ivory reliquary, had been transferred into a fabulous new

⁸⁸ For Fulk's support, see: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 159.

⁸⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 52 (pp. 140-2); *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 116-17, 124-7, and no. 5 (pp. 256-9).

⁹⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 120 (pp. 304-6).

⁹¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 5 (pp. 15-17), 67 (pp. 173-5).

⁹² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 117 (pp. 297-300), 124 (pp. 311-15), 125 (pp. 315-17), 126 (pp. 318-21), 159 (pp. 397-400), 170 (pp. 414-15).

⁹³ Philip I, *Acta*, no. 126 (pp. 318-21). See also: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, publ. by Canon Morel (Société Historique de Compiègne), vol. 1, 877-1216 (Montdidier, 1904), via Gallica (BnF) [website], <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58296915>>, (accessed 30 April 2022), no. 22 (pp. 52-4); *Life of Simon of Crépy*, ed. PL, col. 1219. On this act, see also: Gabriele, 'The Provenance'.

golden reliquary supplied by Matilda of Flanders, queen of England and wife of William the Conqueror.⁹⁴ Besides the political dynamics of such an act of generosity, Matilda's gift was a big coup for Saint-Corneille and likely drew extra attention to its relic. Philip gave his act on 7 March 1092, at his palace in Compiègne, and it seems that at this time, around the tenth anniversary of the translation, he wished to formally regulate the rights to which the canons were entitled, whilst simultaneously enshrining in the story of their house the role that he and his ancestors played in facilitating the connection between Saint-Corneille and the Shroud.⁹⁵

Philip could also show favour towards religious houses through judicial judgements in their favour. In 1063, Baldwin of Flanders probably took advantage of his stewardship over the young king to have the royal court rule on a *villa* claimed by the Flemish abbey of Saint-Bertin.⁹⁶ Similarly, in 1066 a court at Compiègne dismissed the claims of Alberic of Coucy to certain customs concerning Saint-Médard at Soissons, which Alberic claimed as advocate.⁹⁷ At the same time, the court also ruled in the abbey's favour against the count of Soissons.⁹⁸ Taken together with Philip's actions around the same time in defence of Saint-Denis, as discussed above, these occasions illustrate the king, early on in his reign, taking his role as a protector of the Church seriously, even to the detriment of magnates, be they lay potentates such as Alberic or prelates like Bishop Geoffrey of Paris.

Protection of this kind helped to assert the independence of religious houses in the face of competing authorities. This can be placed within the context of the wider theme of religious houses seeking to distance themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, from secular and/or episcopal authority, which was not a new development of Philip's reign but which nevertheless struck obvious chords with larger reformist initiatives accompanying the growth in power of the papacy.⁹⁹ In addition to the examples mentioned above concerning Saint-Denis and Saint-Médard, Philip also protected the comparable rights of other older religious houses. In 1071, he confirmed the liberty granted by Burchard, count of Corbeil, to the canons

⁹⁴ On Matilda generally, see: Elisabeth Van Houts, 'Matilda [Matilda of Flanders] (d. 1083), Queen of England, Consort of William I', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004; updated 24 May 2008), via Oxford DNB [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18335>>, (accessed 15 July 2024) [unpaginated].

⁹⁵ On Philip and Compiègne, see also: Gabriele, 'The Provenance', esp. pp. 99-102.

⁹⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 17 (pp. 49-51); Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 14-16; Luchaire, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 249-50.

⁹⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 27 (pp. 79-83).

⁹⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 28 (pp. 83-6).

⁹⁹ Benjamin Pohl, 'The Problem of Cluniac Exemption', in: *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, ed. Scott G. Bruce and Steven Vanderputten (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2022), pp. 288-305; Falkenstein, *La papauté*.

of Saint-Spire at Corbeil, allowing them to exercise justice over most cases in their house.¹⁰⁰ In 1076, Philip agreed, upon petition from the counts of Flanders and Hainaut as well as Richilde, the latter's mother, to confirm the privileges of the house of canons at Saint-Amé at Douai, asserting that the house was to be free from lay interference, even that of the king.¹⁰¹ The free election of the provost there was also guaranteed.

In 1085, Philip himself asserted the judicial independence of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne, which was declared free from the judicial influence of any bishop.¹⁰² This provision, the act details, could be traced back to Saint-Corneille's foundation in the ninth century by Charles the Bald, but it was not just secular authority that bolstered this claim, for it had also been backed by Charles's contemporary, Pope John VIII. It was of course important for Philip to preserve good relations with prestigious houses sporting close historic links to the royal family, such as Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille, but this does not change the fact that such support was hardly incompatible with a reformist drive to both increase the independence of monastic houses vis-à-vis local lay and ecclesiastical powers, whilst simultaneously increasing their ultimate dependence on Rome.¹⁰³ Philip would not have wanted this papal dependence to develop too far, but at both Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille it proved useful for him to fall back on papal authority, especially as in both cases the role of a lay power – the king himself, be it Philip and/or his ancestor – was still explicitly acknowledged.

Assessment

From what has been discussed above, it is clear that Philip continued to show significant patronage to the older religious houses of his realm, either directly or through confirming the deeds of others. There is nothing particularly surprising about this; indeed, it would be extraordinary if the opposite were true. However, what is more significant is the way in which Philip expressed this patronage. These houses may have had distant roots, but that did not mean that they were unmarked by newer reformist currents. Furthermore, their historic standing did not stop Philip from introducing innovation, for he was willing to capitalise on the reformist credentials of houses like Marmoutier to better the state of the religious life at

¹⁰⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 60 (pp. 155-60).

¹⁰¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 81 (pp. 207-11).

¹⁰² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 117 (pp. 297-300).

¹⁰³ See above, p. 27.

houses under his care. Philip also showed himself active in protecting the rights of several well-established houses, asserting his own royal position whilst at the same time being willing to turn to papal assistance when it was deemed expedient.

New Foundations

While the older religious houses of France still commanded a great deal of patronage, the eleventh century witnessed the birth of a large number of new foundations which would grow to compete with them. Whilst some of these houses followed a traditional style of the monastic or canonical life, others adopted newer forms. Cluniac monasticism, though it had its roots in the early tenth century, would expand into northern France in this period.¹⁰⁴ There were also efforts to reform and reshape the lives of communities of canons, steering them towards a more structured, stricter, form of observance, seen for example through the appearance of 'Augustinian' canons in northern France early in Philip's reign.¹⁰⁵ It is not always easy to determine what kind of life the canons at certain houses observed. These developments presented Philip with new opportunities and new challenges, forcing him to decide to what degree he should support these newer, reformed expressions of the religious life.

Cluniac Priors

The abbey of Cluny itself was, of course, a relatively old foundation by the time of Philip's reign. Indeed, we have seen already how Cluniac monks were enlisted to help reform houses in northern France in earlier times. But Philip witnessed and responded to a significant expansion of Cluniac dependencies in northern France from the mid-eleventh century.¹⁰⁶ Cluny's prestigious reputation as a centre of reformed monasticism perhaps made this development inevitable regardless of royal action. However, we must ask how active a part Philip played in its realisation, and to what degree he felt comfortable supporting the Cluniacs, whose mother house in Burgundy was positioned at a significant distance from the royal heartlands.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ For the spread of the Cluniacs, see, for example: Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*; Racinet, 'Implantation'.

¹⁰⁷ On the geography, cf. Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 76-7.

Prior to Philip's reign, the last royal act directly in favour of Cluny itself had been granted by his grandfather, King Robert II, when in 1017-1023 he had confirmed various of the abbey's possessions granted to it by secular magnates and prelates.¹⁰⁸ It is important to note that although at this time Robert was in control of the duchy of Burgundy, the situation would change a few years later when, following the accession of Philip's father, Henry I, the duchy fell into the hands of a cadet branch of the Capetians led by Henry's younger brother, Duke Robert I.¹⁰⁹ Benefactions for Cluny find no place in Henry's extant *acta*.¹¹⁰ However, under Philip, we see evidence of engagement with the Cluniacs once more.¹¹¹ Admittedly, this change was centred on the expanding network of Cluniac dependencies, rather than the mother house, though of course the two were inextricably linked.

Throughout his reign, Philip confirmed a number of acts which brought territory within the royal orbit into a closer relationship with the abbey of Cluny. Of these acts, the earliest extant is one to which Philip put his name but which was given by Arrald, bishop of Chartres, and his cathedral canons, transferring a particular prebend to Cluny.¹¹² This donation, which can be dated to between 1069 and 1075, was comparatively small. However, it was not long before Philip was called upon to consent, or at least corroborate, larger-scale donations made by his magnates. An act of 1075 or 1076 saw Philip confirm donations concerning lands in Ponthieu, including of a church.¹¹³ This was followed by Philip adding his name to a private act gifting to Cluny the church at Aulnay in 1078 or 1079, then confirming an act donating a church at Gué in Pithiviers in 1080.¹¹⁴ This latter donation is interesting because among the various donors were 'certain noble men, namely the clerk Haderic, a son of the holy church of Orléans, and his brother, the *miles* Isembard, and their kin, namely a certain monk of Cluny named Guy, abbot of San Benedetto Polirone, [etc.]'.¹¹⁵ This Haderic is the same man who had previously been bishop of Orléans, succeeding his uncle Isembard.¹¹⁶ This family's wide-ranging kinship

¹⁰⁸ *Recueil ... Cluny*, ed. Bernard and Bruel, no. 2711 (vol. 3, pp. 733-5); Robert II, *Acta*, coll. Newman, no. 59 (pp. 76-7). See also the comments in: Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 76-82.

¹⁰⁹ See above, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 78, 98.

¹¹¹ See, for example: Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, p. 78, n. 40.

¹¹² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 69 (pp. 176-7).

¹¹³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 79 (pp. 200-2).

¹¹⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 96 (pp. 249-50), 99 (pp. 254-7).

¹¹⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 99 (p. 254): 'quidem nobiles viri, videlicet Hadericus clericus, sanctę Aurelianensis ecclesię filius, et frater ejus, Isembardus miles, et nepotes eorum, quidem videlicet Cluniacensis monachus nomine Wido, abbas sancti Benedicti super Padum, [etc.]'. See also: *GC*, vol. 8, instr., no. 15 (cols 495-6).

¹¹⁶ See above, pp. 63, 107-8.

ties already connected them the Cluniacs, as San Benedetto had recently come under Cluny's influence.¹¹⁷

Indeed, some of these donations involved highly significant people within Philip's domain and wider realm. The Ponthieu donations had been made by Count Guy of Ponthieu himself.¹¹⁸ In probably 1081, Philip confirmed the donation made by Hugh, count of Dammartin, of the monastery of Saint-Leu at Esserent, founded by him and handed over to Guy, bishop of Beauvais, for the latter to transfer to Cluny.¹¹⁹ As noted by Racinet, the transfer of the house into Guy's hands may be indicative of a recognition from Hugh of Dammartin, who was also a subscriber to the Aulnay act mentioned above, that churches should not be in lay hands.¹²⁰ In 1095, it seems that Robert, count of Auvergne, seized upon the opportunity of Philip's rare presence at Mozac to confirm his and his son's transfer of that house to Cluny.¹²¹ Admittedly, in this case, Philip would likely not have been involved in this transfer had he not come to Mozac, where he is never found at any other time, to hold talks with Hugh of Die.¹²²

Philip's beneficence towards Cluny was also exhibited, and arguably heavily influenced by, the events surrounding the conversion in 1077 of Simon of Crépy, who gave up his secular titles to become a monk, with Philip benefitting through the acquisition of some of Simon's lands.¹²³ Critically, this forced Philip to confront the favour shown by Simon towards Cluny. This manifested itself in various ways.

On 31 March 1077, prior to Simon's conversion, Philip subscribed to an act whereby the count transferred land at Boneuil to the house of Saint-Arnoul at Crépy.¹²⁴ This gift came at an especially poignant time for Simon, for Saint-Arnoul had recently received the remains of his father, Count Ralph, which had been transferred there from Montdidier.¹²⁵ Shortly thereafter, Philip subscribed to another act of Simon's which placed Saint-Arnoul under the

¹¹⁷ The ties between San Benedetto Polirone and Cluny are briefly discussed in: Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 249-50.

¹¹⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 79 (pp. 200-2).

¹¹⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 103 (pp. 264-6); *Recueil ... Cluny*, ed. Bernard and Bruel, no. 3586 (vol. 4, pp. 734-6).

¹²⁰ Racinet, 'Implantation', p. 13. On Aulnay, see also: *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, no. 61 (pp. 98-100); Civel, *La fleur*, pp. 73-4; Jean-Noël Mathieu, 'Recherches sur les premiers comtes de Dammartin', *Paris et Ile-de-France: Mémoires*, 47 (1996), 7-59, at p. 21.

¹²¹ Prou, *Recueil*, no. 95 (pp. 245-8).

¹²² See above, p. 83, and below, p. 221.

¹²³ See above, pp. 18-19. The key primary source is: *Life of Simon of Crépy*, ed. PL.

¹²⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 88 (pp. 229-30).

¹²⁵ See also: *Life of Simon of Crépy*, ed. PL, cols 1212-13; Lauwers, 'Du pacte', pp. 565-7; Racinet, 'Implantation', pp. 15-16.

control of Cluny.¹²⁶ Racinet suggested that Simon may have been motivated by a deterioration in the state of Saint-Arnoul, prompting him to seek help from Cluny, but this is not certain.¹²⁷

By this time, Simon was likely preparing for his imminent conversion, so getting Philip's confirmation of this important act was a way of safeguarding its future. Whether Philip was aware of what was about to happen is unclear, but he seemingly showed no opposition to this extension of Cluniac influence. Once Simon's conversion had occurred and Philip gained his share of the count's lands, he would have been called upon to assess more of the latter's gifts. We see evidence of this in another act, in which Philip states that: 'The whole gift which the lord Simon, formerly count but now, by the grace of God, a monk, gave to the church of Cluny, which because of bad counsel I took away, I now return and concede to it out of love of the said Simon and for the fraternity of the place'.¹²⁸ The specific grant in question, which included a *villa* at Mantes, had thus been given by Simon to Cluny, with this gift then called into question when Philip took over his lands, before eventually being reaffirmed by the king. It would be nice to know whose words were the source of the 'bad counsel' to which Philip had previously listened in denying Cluny's claims, but perhaps this expression was used simply as a way for him to save face as he came to reassess his actions.

Ultimately, Philip allowed the Mantes donation to Cluny to stand, and had already given his consent to the transfer of Saint-Arnoul. Thus, as he acquired a large portion of Simon's lands, it is clear that Cluniac influence there was not inimical to his designs. Furthermore, one might also suggest that to reverse the decisions of a man such as Simon, who had just made such a blatant declaration of his piety through his conversion, would have been a risky venture for Philip, and a fight probably best avoided as he looked to assert his authority over the count's former lands.

However, Philip's beneficence towards Cluny was not confined to confirming the deeds of others. A few years earlier, he had been approached by some monks of Cluny, who asked him to exempt from all customs and exactions some land near Orléans at Pont-aux-Moines.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 105 (pp. 268-9); Éliane Vergnolle, 'Saint-Arnoul de Crépy: un prieuré clunisien du Valois', *Bulletin Monumental*, 141 (1983), 233-72, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bulmo.1983.6230>>, (accessed 22 May 2024), at pp. 235-7. On the date of this act, cf.: Bur, *La formation*, p. 225, n. 102. See also: *Recueil ... Cluny*, ed. Bernard and Bruel, no. 3493 (vol. 4, p. 608).

¹²⁷ Racinet, 'Implantation', pp. 15-16.

¹²⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 89 (pp. 230-2): 'Omne donum quod domnus Symon dudum comes, modo Dei gratia effectus monachus, dedit ecclesiae CLUNIACENSI, quod malo consilio sibi abstuli, nunc reddo atque concedo sibi pro amore predicti Symonis et pro fraternitate loci'. See also: Carolus-Barré, 'Notice'.

¹²⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 76 (pp. 192-3).

The act reveals that they asked for the same protection for a donation of land around the same place given by a knight called Ingebald Mansellus. Philip agreed to their request, thus tagging on a donation of his own to one which had already been made to Cluny's benefit. It was a tactic which we see also in the above-mentioned Ponthieu donation, where in addition to confirming the count's gifts, he also provided Cluny with some of his own land at *Vetus Castellaris*, to enable a monastery to be built there.¹³⁰ Similarly, the Pithiviers act, also mentioned above, has him personally concede rights over *hospites*, in addition to what the nobles are giving.¹³¹ This was a relatively low-risk strategy for Philip, yet we should not neglect the fact that he was giving up rights and land of his own to Cluny's benefit.

However, by far the most dramatic assertion of Philip's beneficence towards Cluny was his decision in 1079 to transfer to it the Parisian house of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.¹³² The foundation of Saint-Martin-des-Champs was the result of a decision made towards the end of the reign of Philip's father, Henry I. It was to be Henry's signature foundation and was perhaps precipitated by his own growing sense of mortality.¹³³ In 1060, Henry, having secured the necessary land, gave an act signalling the construction of the house, the text noting that this was in fact not a totally new foundation, but the restoration of a house which had previously stood on the site.¹³⁴ Henry endowed the house generously and stipulated that it was to be a house of canons, which was consistent with the strong favour which he had shown to canons during his reign.¹³⁵ It would seem that these were regular canons, as opposed to secular canons, which hints also at reformist intentions.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 79 (pp. 200-2).

¹³¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 99 (pp. 254-7). On *hospites*, see: Luchoire, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 134-9.

¹³² The following discussion on Saint-Martin-des-Champs draws heavily on the following two articles: Andreas Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift zum Kloster und Klosterverband: Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris', in: *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband: Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums des Projekts L 2 im SFB 231 (22. - 23. Februar 1996)*, ed. Hagen Keller and Franz Neiske (Munich, 1997), pp. 206-38, via Digi20 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) [website], <<https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00042683-3>>, (accessed 12 February 2024); Andreas Sohn, 'Die Kapetinger und das Pariser Priorat Saint-Martin-des-Champs im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert: Mit Ausblicken auf die Beziehungen zwischen dem Konvent und den englischen Königen', *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 25 (1998; publ. 1999), 77-121.

¹³³ *The Cartulary-Chronicle of St-Pierre of Bèze*, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2020), no. 124, p. 208; Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', p. 208.

¹³⁴ *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs monastère parisien*, ed. J. Depoin, vol. 1 (Ligugé and Paris, 1912), no. 6 (pp. 14-18) (= Henry I, *Acta*, coll. Soëhnée, no. 125 (pp. 127-9)). On the older house, see: Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 216-17.

¹³⁵ See: Lemarignier, 'Aspects', pp. 376-7; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 99-102; Sohn, 'Kanonikerstift', pp. 212-14.

¹³⁶ *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, no. 6 (pp. 14-18).

Philip dutifully supported his father's great project, and indeed it may be that, as Sohn suggests, the end of Philip's minority coincided with the large gathering held in Paris at Pentecost 1067, where the new house was inaugurated and granted a privilege which saw Philip make gifts to it, including Saint-Symphorien-et-Saint-Samson at Orléans.¹³⁷ However, in 1079, Philip drastically altered the nature of Saint-Martin-des-Champs by granting the house to Cluny, thus converting it from a house of canons into a priory of Cluniac monks.¹³⁸ The act of transfer was given at Fleury and, in stark contrast to the 1067 act, has a modest list of subscribers, amongst whom can be found only one bishop, Agano of Autun. Why was it that Philip thought it necessary, or at least worthwhile, to change the makeup of a house with such important familial history for him and which lay in the heart of his lands, and why did he choose Cluny to take it on?

Firstly, it is important to note that there is a lack of any clear, contemporary evidence that the state of the religious life at Saint-Martin-des-Champs demanded reform at this time, as was the case, for example, at Saint-Magloire in 1094.¹³⁹ The fact that it was a house of regular canons, recently established, suggests that, despite its ties to the royal family, it was founded with the intention of observing a measured form of life, and perhaps it had not existed for long enough to acquire the irregularities which were seen to plague many more established houses and thus necessitate their reform. If there was no obvious *need* for reform here, then Philip surely had further reasons for pursuing the change.

The timing is certainly very interesting. In a more general context, the increasing popularity of the Cluniacs could hardly have gone unnoticed to Philip – indeed, this is illustrated by the acts already mentioned above – and Sohn suggests that he may have acted at least partly due to a fear of being left out of the trend: 'Could the French king continue to remain on the outside, while other kings in Europe and even powerful magnates in France orientated themselves towards the abbey of Cluny and sought out its monks on their land?'¹⁴⁰ More specifically, Sohn suggests that Philip may have seen the transfer as a way of courting

¹³⁷ *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, no. 12 (pp. 28-31) (= Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 30 (pp. 91-4), and see also nos. 19 (pp. 54-6) and 53 (pp. 142-4); Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 220-1. Cf. Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXXII-XXXIV.

¹³⁸ *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, no. 18 (pp. 38-9) (= Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 95 (pp. 245-8)).

¹³⁹ Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 223-5. For Saint-Magloire, see above, pp. 176-7.

¹⁴⁰ Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 228-30: 'Konnte der französische König weiterhin im Abseits stehen, wenn sich andere Könige im Europa und selbst mächtig Große in Frankreich an der Abtei Cluny orientierten und ihre Mönche ins Land riefen?'. Cf. Lemaignier, 'Aspects', pp. 383-4.

favour with Hugh, abbot of Cluny, himself.¹⁴¹ As seen in Chapter 1, Hugh was used as a legate by Pope Gregory VII around this time and historians have seen him as a counterbalancing influence to the more militant Hugh of Die.¹⁴² The Saint-Martin-des-Champs transfer came not long after the particularly significant councils at Autun (1077) and Poitiers (1078).¹⁴³ However, it also followed in the wake of the conversion of Simon of Crépy and of Philip's support of beneficence towards the Cluniacs in Simon's lands.¹⁴⁴ Overall, it seems likely that Philip saw the transfer of Saint-Martin-des-Champs to Cluny as a way to make a statement to Pope Gregory and to reformist magnates (both ecclesiastical and secular) more generally, that he was not a hardened opponent of reforming the Church, even if he could not suffer the aggressive upheaval wrought by Hugh of Die.

Indeed, as much as the transfer was a sign of Philip's sincerity regarding reform, he took care not to upset the local situation too much. The 1079 act stipulates that Cluny will 'have and possess in perpetuity [Saint-Martin-des-Champs] with all appendices pertaining to that place, just as Abbot Engelard possessed it in the life of my father [Henry I] and my own time, saving the subjection due to the holy mother church of Paris'.¹⁴⁵ Thus, despite the Cluniac ideal of exemption from episcopal interference, this act protected the position of the bishop of Paris, which may have been the result of a compromise which suited all parties.¹⁴⁶ Certainly, it was a major coup for Abbot Hugh, as Cluny gradually expanded north, to gain a priory in such close proximity to Paris. The provision did disappear when Pope Urban II granted a privilege to the house in 1096, but by this point not only had the marriage controversy worsened relations between king and pope, but there was also a new bishop of Paris, William of Montfort, who, it will be recalled, sought out and received Urban's confirmation of his controversial election a short time earlier, so perhaps was not in a position to reject the tacit change in his status vis-à-vis the house.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 225-30.

¹⁴² See above, pp. 91-2.

¹⁴³ See above, pp. 92, 118-26.

¹⁴⁴ See above, pp. 187-8.

¹⁴⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 95 (p. 247): 'ut habeant et possideant in perpetuum cum omnibus apendiciis ad eundem locum pertinentibus, sicut Engelardus abbas possedit in vita patris mei et in tempore meo, salva subiectione debita sanctę matris aeccliesię Parisiensis'. Also: *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, nos. 18-19 (pp. 38-40).

¹⁴⁶ Falkenstein, *La papauté*, p. 126; Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 231-4. On Cluny, see above, p. 25.

¹⁴⁷ Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 231-4. For Urban's privilege: *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, no. 76 (pp. 121-3). For William, see above, pp. 142-3.

There is little evidence for further support from Philip for Saint-Martin-des-Champs after 1079, though perhaps it was largely unnecessary, given the generous provisions which had already been made by both him and his father.¹⁴⁸ There is evidence that Philip confirmed some donations by other people to the house later in the reign.¹⁴⁹ Overall, however, Philip had done enough to make sure that his generosity towards and concern for Saint-Martin-des-Champs was conspicuous. Alongside his father, he had inserted himself into the history of the house as its original lay benefactor. Both he and Henry were remembered in the house's necrology.¹⁵⁰ Their beneficence also allowed for a precious contemporary depiction of King Philip in a manuscript from Saint-Martin-des-Champs, now housed at the British Library.¹⁵¹ The manuscript features the text of Henry's foundation charter and Philip's inauguration act of 1067, complete with rare illustrations of both Henry and Philip, the latter shown beside the house and surrounded by the subscribers to the 1067 act. The foundation was Philip's as much as Henry's, which makes his decision to transfer it to Cluny especially significant, both from the perspective of Philip's personal sympathies and for how it must have looked to contemporaries who sought an indication of the king's attitude to reform. This reformist venture originated not so much from any improper conduct amongst the canons of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, whose behaviour may not, in the eyes of many, have needed bettering at all, but rather from Philip's desire to use Cluny's fame and reputation to rehabilitate his image at a time when his control over the Church was increasingly under threat.

Le Bec

Though it did not have had the same geographical reach as Cluny, the Norman abbey of Le Bec, founded only a few decades prior to Philip's reign, was nonetheless a monastic house with an impressive reputation in the eleventh century.¹⁵² Philip's father, Henry I, is not known

¹⁴⁸ Sohn, 'Vom Kanonikerstift', pp. 210-11; Sohn, 'Die Kapetinger', pp. 81-3.

¹⁴⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, p. XLIV; *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, nos. 80 (p. 130), 127bis (p. 204), 157 (p. 248); Sohn, 'Die Kapetinger', pp. 81-3.

¹⁵⁰ 'Eine Totenliste aus Saint-Martin-des-Champs', ed. Joachim Mehne, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 212-47, at p. 231; *Synopse der cluniacensischen Necrologien*, ed. Joachim Wollasch et al., 2 vols (Munich, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 423, 435; Sohn, 'Die Kapetiner', pp. 101-2. For other Parisian houses, cf.: Julian Führer, 'Le souvenir des rois de France dans les chapitres parisiens', in: *Memoria: Kultur – Stadt – Museum*, ed. Andreas Sohn (Bochum, 2006), pp. 81-91.

¹⁵¹ British Library Add MS 11662, 'A Versified Chronicle'; *Recueil ... Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, pp. 13-23; Prou, 'Dessins'.

¹⁵² Jean-Hervé Foulon, 'The Foundation and Early History of Le Bec', English trans. by Saskia Dirkse, in: *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, ed. Benjamin Pohl and Laura L. Gathagan (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2018), pp. 11-37.

to have given any acts in favour of the abbey, though this is unsurprising, especially given its embryonic state. Philip, however, showed clear patronage towards Le Bec during his reign, which testifies further to his interest in and appreciation for houses of good spiritual repute. Undoubtedly, it also had the benefit of extending Capetian influence in Normandy and forging connections with a house possessing close ties to his rivals, the Anglo-Norman rulers.

In 1069, Philip confirmed the donation of a *villa* given to Le Bec by Hugh of Meulan, but it is only from the later 1070s that we see more direct royal intervention concerning the abbey.¹⁵³ Indeed, Philip's capture of the French Vexin upon the conversion of Count Simon seems to have been the catalyst for most of his beneficence towards Le Bec, which was henceforth in much closer proximity to Capetian lands. This favour began with an act whereby Philip confirmed all donations made to Le Bec from his realm, as well as granting it the house of Notre-Dame at Poissy and a church of canons at Meulan, and confirming provisions which Simon had made concerning transit rights between Mantes and Pontoise.¹⁵⁴ This act probably dates to around the same time as the restoration of the *villa* of Mantes to Cluny as mentioned above, namely shortly after Simon's conversion, when Philip was asserting his hold on the former count's lands.¹⁵⁵ It is dated to 1077, though the text only survives now in an early modern copy.

By granting it holdings at Meulan and Pontoise, as well as confirming the transit rights, Philip was not only courting favour with Le Bec, but also forging closer connections between it and his realm by increasing its holdings in a critical area, with Mantes, Meulan, Poissy and Pontoise all lying on the route along the Seine from Normandy to Paris. Later in the reign, Philip granted another act in Le Bec's favour, exempting their goods from exactions both on water and land, with Paris, Pontoise, Poissy and Mantes all named.¹⁵⁶ In addition, Philip and Louis – who, it should be remembered, was granted the Vexin by his father – gave a joint act protecting Le Bec's rights concerning travel on the Seine.¹⁵⁷ Clearly, the preservation of these

¹⁵³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 47 (pp. 129-30).

¹⁵⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 90 (pp. 232-4).

¹⁵⁵ See above, pp. 187-8.

¹⁵⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 122 (pp. 308-10).

¹⁵⁷ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 1, no. 18 (pp. 31-2) (= Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 167 (pp. 410-11)). On Louis and the Vexin, see above, p. 11.

ties, which were about far more than just the economics of trade, was of great importance to Philip.¹⁵⁸

The gift of Notre-Dame at Poissy, however, did not turn out to be as simple as Philip had hoped. Notre-Dame had been rebuilt and generously provided for by Philip's grandfather, Robert II.¹⁵⁹ It was the recipient of an early act of Philip's, whereby he confirmed donations made in its favour by his predecessors, including his father. The act refers to Poissy as 'our seat', reflecting the fact that the town housed a royal residence.¹⁶⁰ At this point it was a community of canons, but Philip's transfer of the house to Le Bec paved the way for the introduction of monks. However, it seems that at some point before c. 1093, a major dispute had arisen between Le Bec and the monks of Molesme over Notre-Dame. We are reliant for this dispute on two letters from Ivo of Chartres, one written to Philip himself and another, probably penned shortly after the first, to Anselm, the former abbot of Le Bec who had recently been elected archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶¹

The monastery of Molesme, located in the diocese of Langres, had only been founded in the mid-1070s, not long before Notre-Dame was transferred to Le Bec.¹⁶² It is unclear how it acquired a claim over Notre-Dame at Poissy, which finds no mention in the Molesme cartularies. Nevertheless, tensions between Molesme and Le Bec over this priory had clearly become violent by the time that Le Bec turned to Ivo, in whose diocese Poissy was located, for help. Ivo's letters tell of how he brokered an agreement which saw the abbot of Le Bec agreeing to concede 'a part of his goods which Molesme claimed back', which presumably meant the priory of Notre-Dame itself.¹⁶³ This seems to have provoked Philip's ire, which is understandable given that his original donation was being undermined. Nevertheless, Ivo expressed surprise at the king's position, whilst at the same time defending his actions and offering to come to Philip, under the assurance of a safe conduct, to explain himself. He affirms

¹⁵⁸ Discussion of Bec's presence in and around the Vexin can be found in: Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. and English trans. by Samu Niskanen, as: *Epistolae Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi | Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. 1: *The Bec Letters* (Oxford, 2019), pp. xxxii-xxxvii.

¹⁵⁹ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 70-1, 132-3; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La priorale Saint-Louis de Poissy', *Bulletin Monumental*, 129 (1971), 85-112, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bulmo.1971.5075>>, (accessed 18 June 2024), at pp. 85-9.

¹⁶⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 12 (pp. 34-7): 'sede nostra'; cf. Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 70-1.

¹⁶¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 9, 39.

¹⁶² *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme, ancien diocèse de Langres, 915-1250*, ed. Jacques Laurent, 2 vols (Paris, 1907-11), vol. 2, no. 2 (pp. 5-6).

¹⁶³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 9: 'portione victualium suorum [...] quae Molismenses repetebant'. See: Canon Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Évreux, 1901), vol. 1, pp. 241-2, n. 2.

that: 'Just as it is for the royal power to serve civil law and to punish transgressors with the penalty they owe, so it is for the episcopal power to ensure the application of ecclesiastical rules on their subjects and to call back transgressors to proper order with paternal severity'.¹⁶⁴ One wonders whether this case, fairly early in Ivo's episcopate, was one of the first times that he and Philip clashed over ecclesiastical matters.

It may be that Ivo decided to take matters into his own hands in the face of what he saw as royal indecision or inaction. His letter to Philip indicates that, mindful of the king's interest in the matter, he refrained from making a quick judgement.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, his letter to Anselm says that 'they [it seems that the community at Le Bec is meant here] would have found full justice from us concerning the monastery of Poissy, had they not first attempted to capture the goodwill of the king'.¹⁶⁶ This suggests that Le Bec recognised the potential weight of Philip's position and sought out his support, even though they also had recourse to Ivo. As far as the latter was concerned, even if Philip had been dragged into the affair, ultimately it was an ecclesiastical matter, and as such he felt fully entitled to judge on it.¹⁶⁷

Exactly what happened thereafter is uncertain. We know from one of Ivo's acts, dated to 1100, that the monks of Notre-Dame were replaced by canons, this having been formalised by a now lost act of Philip and his son Louis of which Ivo's act is the only testament.¹⁶⁸ It may be that the 1100 transfer was the result of a final accommodation reached between Philip and Ivo over this matter. It seems that, if Le Bec could not have the house, Philip was willing for it to return to its previous state as a community of canons, as it seems was Ivo.¹⁶⁹ This affair illustrates how Philip's beneficence could face challenges, especially when an assertive, reform-minded bishop like Ivo became involved. He might have been prepared to wait for guidance from Philip, but his patience was not infinite and his professed deference did not prevent him from taking matters into his own hands. Most other bishops, in the knowledge that the king was involved in the affair, may have matched the sovereign's stance. No wonder

¹⁶⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 9: 'Sicut enim est regiae potestatis civilia jura servare et eorum transgressores debita poena multare, sic episcopalis officii est ecclesiasticas institutiones subditis servandas imponere et transgressores earum paterna severitate ad debitum ordinem revocare'.

¹⁶⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 9.

¹⁶⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 39: 'Et jam de Pixiacensi monasterio plenam per nos consecuti fuissent justitiam, nisi quod prius affectant regis captare benivolentiam'.

¹⁶⁷ Claude Carozzi, 'Les évêques', p. 241.

¹⁶⁸ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 139 (pp. 348-9) (= Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 10 (p. 330), and see also no. 10 (p. 7); Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 1, no. 3 (p. 5) [mention only]).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Lemarignier, 'Aspects', p. 386; Sprandel, *Ivo*, p. 146.

Philip reacted so strongly to the actions of a man who he had only recently helped into office.¹⁷⁰

Notre-Dame at Poissy was not, however, the only priory of Le Bec to which Philip lent his support. It must also be mentioned that, in 1080, Philip confirmed the donation made to Le Bec by Ivo, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, and his wife Adelaide, of the church of Sainte-Honorine at Conflans.¹⁷¹ There are parallels between this donation and those of Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Saint-Éloi, for Sainte-Honorine lay within the diocese of Paris, and the text stipulates that the rights of the bishop are to be protected.¹⁷² Conflans lay along the Seine between Normandy and Paris, so this donation can also be seen to fit into the strategy pursued by Philip, which we have already observed, of supporting the multiplication of Le Bec's holdings in this crucial area, which not only helped Philip politically and reputationally but was of significant benefit to the monastery of Le Bec itself.

La Sauve-Majeure

If Philip's beneficence towards one nascent foundation, Le Bec, can be viewed in connection with attempts to expand Capetian influence northwards into Normandy, the favour he showed towards another institution, the abbey of La Sauve-Majeure near Bordeaux, can be framed within the context of the king's political objectives in the south, in the lands of the dukes of Aquitaine.¹⁷³ As has already been observed, Aquitaine was largely autonomous during Philip's reign, though its dukes maintained ties with the monarchy nonetheless.¹⁷⁴ In the late 1070s, Duke William VIII helped the wandering Gerard, previously a monk of Corbie (in the diocese of Amiens) and abbot of Saint-Vincent at Laon, to set up a new religious

¹⁷⁰ For Ivo's election, see above, pp. 133-5.

¹⁷¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 102 (pp. 263-4).

¹⁷² See also: Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 476.

¹⁷³ For a more detailed examination of Philip's relationship with La Sauve-Majeure, on which this section draws, see: Hewett, 'King Philip'.

¹⁷⁴ See above, p. 21.

foundation, the abbey of La Sauve-Majeure, on a plot of land not far from Bordeaux.¹⁷⁵ The new house would expand over the coming decades to possess a vast network of priories.¹⁷⁶

It did not take long for the reputation of this nascent institution to have an impact on Philip. In 1081, he renounced certain lands and rights to La Sauve-Majeure.¹⁷⁷ Then, in 1083, he granted the abbey the woodland church of Saint-Lèger at Laigue, with the text of the act expressly referencing Gerard's reputation and stating Philip's wish to be thought of in the prayers said by La Sauve-Majeure's monks.¹⁷⁸

For Philip to take an interest in an abbey so far south of his own lands is noteworthy. Rarely are recipients of his *acta* found south of the Loire, and these two donations for La Sauve-Majeure are the only time we see his reach extending beyond the Dordogne.¹⁷⁹ However, Philip likely knew Gerard of old from the latter's time spent in prominent northern houses. Furthermore, in Chapter 2 we saw Gerard appear in the context of the abbacy at Saint-Médard at Soissons.¹⁸⁰ It is also significant that among the companions with whom Gerard journeyed south were several men who plausibly crossed Philip's path.¹⁸¹

If La Sauve-Majeure's northern links help to explain Philip's involvement with this house, it may also be that his support was prompted by his own political objectives concerning Aquitaine. In providing for La Sauve-Majeure, Philip was endorsing the beneficence of William VIII, duke of Aquitaine, to whom the abbey owed its existence. Notably, Philip acted similarly in 1076 when he agreed to confirm any donations made to another of William's foundations, Montierneuf at Poitiers.¹⁸² Overall, Philip's acts in favour of both Montierneuf and La Sauve-

¹⁷⁵ For Gerard's life, see: *Lives of Gerard of Corbie*, ed. in: *AA SS, Aprilis*, vol. 1, pp. 414-30. For French translations of the two lives, see: *Vie de saint Gérard de Corbie, fondateur de l'abbaye de La Sauve-Majeure en Entre-Deux-Mers*, trans. Elisabeth Traissac (Comité de Liaison Entre-Deux-Mers, 1995); 'La seconde vie de saint Gérard', trans. by Elisabeth Traissac, in *Les Entretiens de La Sauve-Majeure*, vol. 2 (s.l.: Editions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2006), pp. 7-18. See also: Guy M. Oury, 'Gérard de Corbie avant son arrivée à la Sauve-Majeure', *Revue Bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 306-14.

¹⁷⁶ On La Sauve-Majeure, see: *Grand Cartulaire de la Sauve Majeure*, publ. Charles Higounet and Arlette Higounet-Nadal, with Nicole de Peña, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1996); Cirot de la Ville (Abbot), *Histoire de l'abbaye et congrégation de Notre-Dame de La Grande-Sauve, en Guienne*, 2 vols (Paris and Bordeaux, 1844-5); Jean-François Duclot, *Une promenade historique dans l'abbaye de La Sauve-Majeure ou Les Grandes Heures de l'abbaye* (s.l.: Editions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2001).

¹⁷⁷ *Grand Cartulaire de la Sauve Majeure*, publ. Higounet and Higounet-Nadal, no. 902 (vol. 1, pp. 491-2); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 104 (pp. 266-8).

¹⁷⁸ *Grand Cartulaire de la Sauve Majeure*, publ. Higounet and Higounet-Nadal, nos. 1255, 1276, 1364 (vol. 2, pp. 718, 728-29, 791-92); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 109 (pp. 276-9).

¹⁷⁹ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, table 3.5.

¹⁸⁰ See above, pp. 159-61.

¹⁸¹ Discussed in: Hewett, 'King Philip', pp. 26-8.

¹⁸² Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 84 (pp. 217-21); *Recueil des documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers (1076-1319)*, publ. François Villard (Poitiers, 1973), esp. no. 1 (pp. 1-3); Alfred Richard, *Histoire des*

Majeure, whilst on the one hand showing favour to these nascent houses, also helped to assert the royal role in areas which were, for now at least, generally out of bounds for the king.

Other Houses

Philip's patronage of the communities centred around Cluny, Le Bec and La Sauve-Majeure illustrate well his engagement with newer religious endeavours of the age and linked to reformist ideas such as a distancing from outside interference, which could be seen to conflict with royal interests. However, they are not lone examples. For example, in 1061, when admittedly Philip would still have been quite young, he granted the monastery of Saint-Adrien at Béthisy – founded by Richard, the castellan of this settlement – an exemption from all secular power.¹⁸³ The wider court context here may be hinted at by the fact that the gifts provided for the abbey by Richard himself were also consented to by Odo of Dammartin: 'All these things Count Odo of Dammartin, to whose fief they pertain, concedes to this church for the soul of his father Manasses'.¹⁸⁴ Odo's successor Hugh subscribes to several of Philip's early *acta*, and was involved in later donations to Cluny and Marmoutier which Philip corroborated.¹⁸⁵

Later in the reign, in an act jointly subscribed by both Philip and William the Conqueror at Gerberoy in 1079, the monastery of Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, recently founded by Bishop Guy, received a similar commitment as to its independence from 'extraneous power'.¹⁸⁶ Beauvais was a border diocese, so Guy took advantage of a convenient opportunity here, whilst ensuring that the text reserved his right to supervise abbatial elections at Saint-Quentin. Although these donations concerned houses founded by others, Philip's support for them sent out a signal about what he would be willing to put his name to. Such gestures were certainly not an idea inaugurated in Philip's reign. For example, another act of a similar kind concerns

comtes de Poitou, 778-1204, 2 vols (Paris, 1903; repr. London: Forgotten Books, s.d.), vol. 1, pp. 308, 323-4, 326-33, 355; François Villard, 'La fondation de l'abbaye Saint-Jean, dite Montierneuf', in: *Poitiers: Saint-Jean-de-Montierneuf*, ed. Robert Favreau (Poitiers, 1996), pp. 9-23.

¹⁸³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 11 (pp. 32-4). See: Lemaignier, 'Aspects', pp. 379-80; Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 103-4 and n. 44.

¹⁸⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 11: 'Hæc omnia comes Odo de Domno Martino, ad cujus feodum pertinebant, concessit eidem ecclesiæ pro anima patris sui Manasse'.

¹⁸⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 32 (pp. 97-9), 52 (pp. 140-2), 60 (pp. 155-60), 62 (pp. 163-5), 103 (pp. 264-6), 107 (pp. 272-3). See: Mathieu, 'Recherches', pp. 20-4; Lemaignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 112-14, 131, and table 2d.

¹⁸⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 94 (pp. 242-5): 'extraneae potestatis'; *GC*, vol. 9, col. 818.

Saint-Père at Melun and confirms provisions made by Philip's father and grandfather.¹⁸⁷ However, in the climate of reform in the second half of the eleventh century and its effect of bringing secular and spiritual distinctions into sharper focus, they sent out an important message, especially given the heightened risk for Philip that, with Rome's reach expanding, such provisions could pave the way for tighter relations between French religious houses and the papacy.¹⁸⁸

It was not just nascent monasteries that Philip supported, but houses of canons too. Early in the reign, he confirmed his aunt Adela's foundation at Harlebeke, which included an assertion that the house was to be free from episcopal jurisdiction in the manner of certain other houses, among which are named Saint-Médard at Soissons and Saint-Martin at Tours.¹⁸⁹ A few years later, Philip confirmed gifts made by Count Baldwin V to the latter's foundation of Saint-Pierre at Lille.¹⁹⁰ Both of these communities likely benefited from the Flemish influence on Philip's minority, but the king also, in 1085, confirmed the goods of Saint-Pierre at Cassel, a house of canons founded by Count Robert the Frisian at the site where he won his great victory over Count Arnulf's forces in 1071.¹⁹¹ Again, stipulation was made that the bishop (of Thérouanne, in this case) would have no jurisdiction here, with the text of this act drawing a comparison to the historic provisions made by the Merovingian King Theuderic for the abbey of Saint-Vaast at Arras.

As already noted, this period witnessed the emergence of Augustinian regular canons in northern France, with Gervase, archbishop of Reims, playing a key role in supporting this.¹⁹² Philip was still young during Gervase's tenure, but we do see that he gave an act in favour of the archbishop's foundation for regular canons at Saint-Denis at Reims, with this royal act confirming Gervase's donations to the new house, which was 'under the rule of Blessed Augustine'.¹⁹³ Philip also supported his mother Anna's foundation of a house of canons at Saint-Vincent at Senlis, the foundation charter for which provides for the community 'so that men of religion serving God there may renounce the world to live peacefully and undisturbed,

¹⁸⁷ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 133 (pp. 337-9).

¹⁸⁸ For a less positive assessment, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 494-8.

¹⁸⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 15 (pp. 47-5, 433-5).

¹⁹⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 25 (pp. 70-6).

¹⁹¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 115 (pp. 288-90). On these acts with links to the comital family of Flanders, cf.: Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 75-7. For the Battle of Cassel, see above, p. 19.

¹⁹² Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 15-18, 88-9, 281-2, 310, 324-8'; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 452-3; see above, p. 26.

¹⁹³ Gervase of Reims, 'Gervasii Diplomata', ed. *PL*, no. 2 (cols 1402-4); Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 31: 'sub beati AUGUSTINI regula' (pp. 94-7).

regularly, embracing the canonical life just as is written of the Holy Apostles and Blessed Augustine'.¹⁹⁴ In 1076, Philip confirmed donations to a new house of canons at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons, where again the community will be 'under the rule of Saint Augustine'.¹⁹⁵ The act also grants the house freedom from exactions and free election of its prior, though preserving a role for the bishop. It is not always easy to decipher what kind of a life canons were living at this time, but these examples provide clear proof of Philip's beneficence towards the new Augustinian regular communities.¹⁹⁶

Assessing Philip's Patronage

Philip's patronage of religious houses offers an invaluable window into his own religious sympathies and, within this, his attitude towards reform within the Church. We must always preserve a degree of caution; for example, were it not for Orderic Vitalis's explanation that Philip made a donation to Saint-Josse to thank the patron saint of that house for delivering the king from illness, we would not know about this very personal and specific motivation for that particular act of beneficence.¹⁹⁷ However, during Philip's reign, it is noticeable how he made efforts to alter and improve the state of many religious houses, be it through his own initiative or through confirming the acts of other magnates. Patronage, of course, was rarely devoid of political concerns, and Philip's beneficence, just like his interference in ecclesiastical elections, was affected and moulded by the extent of the king's control over certain areas and his relations with the magnates within them. It is no accident, for example, that Philip is found supporting the beneficence of Hugh of Dammartin towards Cluny, or Ivo of Beaumont towards Le Bec.

Nevertheless, we should not take too much away from Philip himself. Much of the initiative lay with him, including concerning major changes such as those at Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Saint-Magloire, Faremoutiers and Saint-Éloi, all of which can be framed, at least partly, within a pious desire to better the state of his Church. For example, historians have long noted Philip's patronage of Cluny, and although this might be seen within the context of

¹⁹⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 130 (pp. 329-31): 'quatinus ibi quiete et tranquilli religiosi viri Deo servientes, mundo renuntiantes, regularem, id est sanctorum apostolorum et beati Augustini, que scripta est, vitam canonicè amplectentes, vivere valeant'.

¹⁹⁵ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 82 (pp. 211-14): 'sub regula beati Augustini'; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 134 and no. 103 (p. 505).

¹⁹⁶ For comment on this support, see: Lemarignier, 'Aspects', esp. pp. 378-86; Veyrenche, 'Quia vos estis', pp. 43-5, 47-8.

¹⁹⁷ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, pp. 166-7; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 166 (p. 409).

wider developments among the northern magnates, that does not mean that we have to relegate Philip's actions to be reactionary rather than proactive.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, Cluny was far from alone in claiming Philip's favour, and it is striking that Philip spread his patronage over a number of houses, both old and new. In Paris, so important to his domain, he granted Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Saint-Magloire and Saint-Éloi to three *different* houses in Cluny, Marmoutier and Saint-Maur-des-Fossés respectively, which allowed him to spread his support in a manner which perhaps seemed less risky to him. Less dramatic than the changes seen here but still absolutely key to Philip's patronage were the smaller gifts he gave or consented to, the judicial backing he provided, and the confirmations of rights and privileges which he affirmed. That this was done in several cases in the face of opposition from lay and/or ecclesiastical figures testifies to the importance of these houses to Philip's realm. But equally, it illustrated a certain royal willingness, even if tackled on a case-by-case basis, to back reformist initiatives seeking to establish the independence of these houses from outside interference.

Philip was careful not to go too far with such provisions and in so doing risk his own position. The potential for the king to exploit his own outside interference was still politically desirable, though it did not stop Philip from making provisions around rights like free elections which, at least in theory, excluded his involvement. Bishops' rights were often protected, such as in the transfer of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, but this was not always the case, with the dismissal of Bishop Geoffrey's claims over Saint-Denis illustrating Philip's capacity to hold firm in defence of a key house. Moreover, it displays Philip falling back on papal judgement to settle a dispute and resolve it in a way acceptable to him. This was not ideal for the king, but the monks of Saint-Denis had come to him first, and whilst he could still hope for this kind of deference, the recourse to growing papal authority need not always be a threat. If Philip calculated that the changes of the age made completely resisting this development untenable, then cultivating strong relations with the religious houses, and ensuring good governance within them, became all the more important.

Indeed, Philip's patronage sent a signal, not just to the magnates and prelates of his own realm, but to the papacy as well. In this context, it is interesting how many of the key decisions happened later on in the reign, including the transfers of Saint-Magloire, Faremoutiers and Saint-Éloi. To what extent we can read in this an increased desire on Philip's

¹⁹⁸ Racinet, 'Implantation', p. 16. See also: Civel, *La fleur*, pp. 316-18; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 488.

part to broadcast a better image of himself, especially after the eruption of the marriage controversy, is unclear. However, such actions, it should also be noted, certainly speak against the historical narrative which sees Philip's self-initiative decline towards the end of the reign as a result of his relationship with Bertrada.¹⁹⁹ Philip never made a major foundation of his own, but he could reasonably feel that he made up for this through the many houses he improved during his reign, perhaps especially his father's foundation of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.²⁰⁰ Through his patronage, he balanced continuity and change, but showed that he could be a powerful and committed supporter of reformist objectives when he wanted to be.

PART 2: ECCLESIASTICAL DISPUTES

The Issue of Primacy

In April 1079, Pope Gregory VII issued a privilege which recognised Gebuin, archbishop of Lyon, as primate of the archbishops of Rouen, Sens and Tours.²⁰¹ Gregory wrote an accompanying letter to these three prelates, in which he stated that the archbishop of Lyon was to be afforded 'such honour and reverence as have been stipulated by our forebears to be due from your churches as you yourselves do not doubt should be rendered to you by your own suffragans'.²⁰² For the primate was to be reserved 'the highest matters of business'.²⁰³ In theory, therefore, Gregory was paving the way for Gebuin and his successors to claim a place apart within the diocesan structure, with an authority which superseded that of these other three metropolitans. However, exactly how much power Gregory envisaged this grant bestowing in practice, and to what degree he was drawing on precedents, even if only passed down through oral tradition, to establish Lyon's primacy, has been a matter of debate.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ See above, pp. 9-15.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 115, on William Rufus's foundations.

²⁰¹ Gregory VII (Pope), *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 447-9 (6.34); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 315-16.

²⁰² Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 450-2 (6.35): 'honorem et reverentiam a maioribus nostris de ecclesiis vestris prefixam ita vos exhibere [...], quemadmodum vobis a suffraganeis vestris reddi debere non dubitatis'; English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 317-18.

²⁰³ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 451 (6.35): 'summa negotia'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 318.

²⁰⁴ See: Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 388-94, 602-4; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 347-53; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, pp. 227-33; Fliche, 'La primatie'; Peter R. McKeon, 'Gregory VII and the Primacy of Archbishop Gebuin of Lyons', *Church History*, 38 (1969), 3-8, via JSTOR [website], <<https://jstor.org/stable/3163645>>, (accessed 10 February 2023); Robinson, 'Periculosus Homo', p. 124; Rony (Abbot), 'Saint Jubin, archevêque de Lyon et la primatie Lyonnaise', *Revue d'histoire et de l'Église de France*, 69 (1929), 409-30, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/rhef.1929.2521>>, (accessed 6 February 2023); François Villard, 'Primatie des Gaules et réforme grégorienne', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 149 (1991), 421-34, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1991.450622>>, (accessed 10 February 2023).

Discussion on this topic has not failed to note that, however ill-defined or malleable the primatial position was thought to be, Gregory's decision posed a potential problem for Philip. As seen above, all of the three subordinated archbishops, especially those of Sens and Tours, were among the most significant prelates with whom the king interacted at this time, and a key buttress to his power, whereas Lyon lay outside the kingdom of France, beyond Philip's reach.²⁰⁵ The legates were troublesome enough to the king as an outside authority and court of appeal in cases of controversy or discontent, but Philip may now have feared the prospect not just of sporadic meddling by papal appointees, but a formally instituted and papally-backed subordination of archdiocesan sees within his sphere of influence to a see which was not.²⁰⁶

Such a subordination was prospective, however, and if the potential threat was apparent, it was not immediately clear how the newly-affirmed – or perhaps newly-created – primacy would exist in actuality. Ralph I, archbishop of Tours, seems to have accepted Lyon's primatial role.²⁰⁷ Richer, archbishop of Sens, did not mount any opposition to start with, which, following Fliche, may have been prompted in part by the fact that Gregory had just reinstated him after he had been suspended at the 1078 Council of Poitiers, and he would not have wanted to risk further controversy.²⁰⁸ Fliche also believed that Philip did not concern himself too much with this privilege at the start.²⁰⁹ Whether Gebuin would be effectively and consistently able to exercise real authority over his fellow metropolitans, and to what degree he would even try to, was still unclear, and Philip knew that attitudes such as those expressed by Archbishop Manasses I of Reims, who in 1080 refused to attend a council at Lyon partly on account of the fact that it was not in France, would prove a hinderance to any attempt to push things too far.²¹⁰ Furthermore, the primate was surely not intended to eclipse or render unnecessary the role of the legates; the latter would, in Villard's words, still be entrusted with 'the most important matters'.²¹¹

However, the lines between legate and primate quickly blurred when, following Gebuin's death in 1082, he was succeeded as archbishop of Lyon by Hugh of Die, who also

²⁰⁵ See above, pp. 56, 84-5.

²⁰⁶ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 353; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 2, pp. 228-9; Rony, 'Saint Jubin', pp. 420, 424-7.

²⁰⁷ McKeon, 'Gregory VII', p. 7; Rony, 'Saint Jubin', pp. 423-4, 430; Villard, 'Primatie', pp. 422-8.

²⁰⁸ Fliche, 'La primatie', p. 338. See above, p. 124.

²⁰⁹ Fliche, 'La primatie', p. 338.

²¹⁰ On Manasses' refusal, see above, p. 84.

²¹¹ See above, n. 204, and for the quote: Villard, 'Primatie', p. 434: 'les affaires les plus importantes'.

held the office of legate.²¹² Nevertheless, we still see no strong opposition to the primatial role until the mid-1090s, when Richer was deprived of his pallium on account of his refusal to recognise the authority of Lyon over his own archdiocese.²¹³ As observed by Fliche, this apparent change in attitude from the archbishop of Sens coincides suspiciously with the ongoing dispute between Philip and Urban II over the king's marriage, and it may be that Richer was prompted by the king to voice opposition to Hugh's primatial role on account of this.²¹⁴ It enabled Richer, loyal to the king, to assert his metropolitan authority, and it posed a problem for Hugh and Urban, both hostile to the royal marriage. Fliche even goes so far as to suggest 'that together they [Philip and Richer] devised a plan of attack against the pope'.²¹⁵ It is entirely possible that Philip saw the primacy issue as a convenient target to voice his displeasure with Urban over the marriage. He likely supported Richer's stance and may well have licenced it. However, it was for Richer to fight for the autonomy of his see, and the fact that the archbishop was willing to go so far as to lose his pallium suggests that there were already pre-existing conditions which precipitated this fight, even if royal politics made it a propitious time to engage in it.

As it happened, the issue was not resolved in Richer's lifetime. He died in 1097 and the man elected to be his successor, Daimbert, continued his struggle for a time.²¹⁶ This in itself adds weight to the idea that Daimbert was a royally-backed candidate for the see.²¹⁷ However, that Daimbert's opposition was not merely a renewal of some pact between his predecessor and the king is indicated by the support he received from none other than his suffragan, Ivo of Chartres, who was keen to ensure that Hugh did not overextend his powers. In one of his letters, for example, Ivo wrote to Hugh and attempted to convince him of the validity of Daimbert's election, asserting that there was no basis for 'ordering that the elect of Sens presents himself to you prior to his consecration and offers subjection and obedience on account of your primacy'.²¹⁸

²¹² See above, pp. 91-4.

²¹³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 212-17. For opposition from Sens in the 1090s under Richer and Daimbert, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 350-3; Fliche, 'La primatie', pp. 338-41.

²¹⁴ Fliche, 'La primatie', pp. 339-40.

²¹⁵ Fliche, 'La primatie', p. 340: 'qu'ils ont élaboré ensemble un plan d'attaque contre le pape'. Cf. Becker, *Studien*, p. 76; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 353.

²¹⁶ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 218-23; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 58-60, 65, 67; *GC*, vol. 12, cols 41-2; see above, pp. 57-8, 141-2.

²¹⁷ See above, pp. 141-2.

²¹⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 60: 'praecipiendo ut Senonensis electus ante consecrationem suam vobis praesentetur et jure primatus vestri subjectionem et obedientiam profiteatur'.

In the end, Daimbert appears to have backed down, for he visited Rome and agreed to accept Lyon's primacy, in return for which Urban consecrated him as archbishop.²¹⁹ Daimbert and Philip probably had to accept this as a *fait accompli*, for whilst Richer was suspended for his resistance, he had still been consecrated archbishop beforehand. Daimbert, on the other hand, did not have this benefit, and there was only so long that he could hold out, even with royal backing, before his own metropolitan authority began to erode in the face of this impediment. The king could take some comfort in the knowledge that the decision had been forced into Urban's hands, rather than Hugh's. Nevertheless, Urban had forced the archbishop to submit to his will on this matter.

To summarise, the primacy of Lyon was potentially problematic for Philip from the start, but it was only from the mid-1090s, in the context of the royal marriage dispute, that the matter sparked serious opposition. The resistance was spearheaded by the archbishops of Sens, but likely lent on wider sympathies and was surely tacitly, if not openly, supported by the king. In their determination not to be subjected to another archbishop whose seat, moreover, lay outside of the French realm, the archbishops of Sens placed themselves in opposition to the papacy. During his pontificate, Urban II also affirmed the primacy of Narbonne over the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence and Narbonensis Secunda, as well as the primacy of the archbishops of Reims over all of Belgica Secunda, though this latter case was different to that of Lyon, for Belgica Secunda equated to the archbishopric of Reims anyway, so a primacy did not infringe upon the autonomy of another archbishop.²²⁰ If, as seems likely, Philip did offer some resistance to the Lyon primacy, this was a calculated act of disobedience to papal directive, perhaps prompted as much by opposition to his oftentimes opponent, Hugh of Die, than to the primacy *per se*. However, neither Philip nor Daimbert thought it worthwhile or prudent to pursue the matter too far.

Changing Diocesan Boundaries

It was not just primatial disputes which rocked the diocesan foundations of northern France around this time. The boundaries of certain bishoprics were also a matter of dispute and

²¹⁹ Urban II, *Letters*, in: RHF, vol. 14, no. 76 (p. 735); Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 353; see above, pp. 141-2.

²²⁰ *Codex Lambertii*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 208-13; Urban II, *Letters*, in: RHF, vol. 14, no. 62 (p. 727); Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 211-12, vol. 3, pp. 389-94; Villard, 'Primatie', pp. 428-30. On the boundaries of *Belgica Secunda* as defined by the *Notitia Galliarum*, see: *Codex Lambertii*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 506-9; Harries, 'Church and State', pp. 40-1.

potential revision.²²¹ For Philip's attitudes, the most revealing case is the successful attempt by Arras to secede from the bishops of Cambrai in the 1090s.²²² When Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, died in August 1092, clerks at Arras seized the opportunity to appeal to Pope Urban II to re-establish a separate see of Arras, subject (like Cambrai) to the archbishop of Reims.²²³ Urban was favourable to the scheme, which would be to the detriment of Henry IV of Germany, his enemy, in whose realm Cambrai lay.²²⁴

However, Rainald, archbishop of Reims, and his suffragans, showed more reticence. They were wary of the claims of Cambrai over Arras, and there was also concern that, if they were ignored, Cambrai itself might try to secede from the archdiocese of Reims.²²⁵ A candidate for Arras was decided upon in the form of Lambert of Guînes, but in the face of Rainald's indecisiveness, he had to go to Rome to receive consecration from Urban himself, which he did in March 1094.²²⁶ Even after this there was still some delay before Rainald received Lambert's profession in September.²²⁷ Thus, Urban succeeded in dividing up the bishopric of Cambrai, and by doing so inflicted a blow on the emperor. The papal privilege for Arras, which Urban had given to Lambert, was then read and confirmed at the Council of Clermont in November 1095.²²⁸

What about Philip in all this?²²⁹ Following the *Codex Lamberti*, there is little indication that Lambert's election as bishop of Arras was the result of outside influence from secular powers, be it the king of France or the count of Flanders. It is reasonable to suggest that anyone with a vested interest in seeing Arras established as an independent bishopric would have been at pains to ensure that the conduct of the election was above reproach, given the controversy that its secession provoked.²³⁰ However, even if this was the case, Philip could still advocate for his preferred outcome, and indeed certain sources do indicate that he

²²¹ See generally: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 372-4, 426-9.

²²² This affair can be traced in the *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 92-169. For discussion, see: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 81-2; Cauchie, *La querelle*, vol. 2, pp. 121-30, 142-4; Bernard Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIV^e siècle: Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols (Arras, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 39-52; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 426-9; Lotte Kéry, 'Urban II et la résistance à la création du diocèse d'Arras', in: *Schismes, dissidences, oppositions: La France et le Saint-Siège avant Boniface VIII*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Rolf Große (Paris, 2012), pp. 95-106; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 102-3, 127-9.

²²³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 92-3.

²²⁴ Cf. *Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 651; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 427.

²²⁵ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 136-7.

²²⁶ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 122-35.

²²⁷ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 154-61.

²²⁸ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 150-5.

²²⁹ Cf. Delmaire, *Le diocèse*, vol. 1, p. 44; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 426-9.

²³⁰ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, p. 17.

supported Lambert's candidacy. An account, dating to the late twelfth century, of the founding of the monastery of Arrouaise, says that 'the clerks of Arras, with the favour of Guy, archbishop of Reims, and Philip, king of France, appealed to Pope Urban'.²³¹ The *Chronicle of Saint-André*, dating to the earlier twelfth century but written by someone who was at Clermont, similarly talks of Urban being 'persuaded by the requests of a great many and especially the king of France'.²³²

We should be cautious with these sources; the Arrouaise document incorrectly names the archbishop of Reims, and even if this can be passed off as a careless error, neither source is strictly contemporary.²³³ The *Codex Lamberti* does include a letter written by Lambert after Philip's death which suggests that the creation of the diocese had occurred with the latter's support.²³⁴ In general, however, it may be that the compiler of the *Codex* thought it preferable to paint the campaign for independence as an initiative originating from Arras, rather than linking its success to support from lay powers.²³⁵ At the very least, Philip surely would have realised that the creation of a separate diocese of Arras would result in a bishopric which, unlike Cambrai, would be more inclined to look to France than to Germany. The division drew these lands towards the French realm, even if Philip's own royal authority in that area was limited for the time being.²³⁶ As such, Fliche commented that: 'The interests of Philip I and Urban II were found here in agreement, and the pope augmented the power of the king of France to the detriment of that of the emperor'.²³⁷ At the very least, we can imagine the two men working towards the same end, even if they were not strictly working in unison.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury

Another instance when wider political currents caused an overlap of papal and royal concerns is seen with the tribulations faced by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109).²³⁸

²³¹ *Monumenta Arroasiensia*, ed. Benoît-Michel Tock with Ludovico Milis (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 22-3: 'Atrebatenses clerici, fauente sibi Widone Remorum archiepiscopo et Francorum rege Philippo, summum pontificem Urbanum adeunt', and see p. XXXVII for the date of this work.

²³² 'Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii', ed. Bethmann, p. 544: 'At ille [Urban] crebris multorum maximeque regis Francorum precibus exoratus', and see p. 526 on the date and authorship.

²³³ Cf. Delmaire, *Le diocèse*, vol. 1, p. 44.

²³⁴ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 486-9.

²³⁵ On the compilation of the *Codex*, see: *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 13-17.

²³⁶ See above, pp. 76-8.

²³⁷ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 427: 'Les intérêts de Philippe I^{er} et d'Urbain II se sont trouvés ici confondus, et le pape a augmenté la puissance du roi de France au détriment de celle de l'Empereur'.

²³⁸ On Anselm's life and career, see: R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study in Monastic Life and Thought 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963); R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (1990);

Anselm was the premier prelate of England during his time as archbishop, but he clashed with both King William II and his brother and successor, Henry I, resulting in two periods of exile on the continent. During both of these exiles, Anselm spent time at Lyon in the company of Hugh of Die, and it was during one of these sojourns that he was seemingly contacted by Philip and his son Louis, who each wrote the archbishop a letter urging him to come to come and visit them.²³⁹ It has been convincingly argued that these letters likely date to between Christmas 1103 and April 1105, during Anselm's second exile.²⁴⁰

What did Philip and Louis hope to achieve through this offer? On the one hand, Philip was likely trying to paint himself in a better light than his English counterpart, well aware that the bellicose Henry was a major threat to the north. To welcome a distinguished prelate such as Anselm whilst, on the contrary, Henry shunned him, would be a diplomatic coup for the French king.²⁴¹ Furthermore, Anselm was not unknown to Philip. Prior to being archbishop, he was abbot of Le Bec which, as seen above, was important to Philip's patronage and territorial strategy.²⁴² In 1079, Anselm was present as one of the subscribers to a joint act from Philip and William I of England for Saint-Quentin at Beauvais.²⁴³ A later act where Philip renounced rights in favour of Le Bec was, the text tells us, given directly into Anselm's hands at Pontoise.²⁴⁴ If Vaughn perhaps goes too far in calling them 'friends of long standing', certainly they were by no means strangers.²⁴⁵

Anselm's second exile from England was occasioned by the stance he came to adopt against the king's ability to invest prelates with their office or require homage from them.²⁴⁶

repr. Cambridge, 1993); R. W. Southern, 'Anselm [St Anselm] (c. 1033-1109), Abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004; updated 8 October 2009), via Oxford DNB [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/572>>, (accessed 16 February 2023); Sally N. Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2012).

²³⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 150 (pp. 380-3) (= Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Schmitt, vol. 5, p. 279); Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 1, p. 16 (no. 11) (= Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, ed. Schmitt, vol. 5, p. 279). English translations of both letters can be found in: Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, trans. Fröhlich, vol. 3, pp. 68-70. See also: Kriston R. Rennie, 'The Fruits of Exile. Anselm of Canterbury and Lyons', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 107 (2012), 78-97.

²⁴⁰ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. 380-1, n. 1; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 31 (p. 19).

²⁴¹ Cf. Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 59-60; Rennie, 'The Fruits', p. 86; Sally N. Vaughn, 'Anselm in Exile, 1103-1106: The Creation of Public Images and the Uses of Propaganda in the Anglo-Norman State', *Annali Canossani*, 1 (1981), 93-127, at pp. 113-14 and n. 142; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 138-9.

²⁴² See above, pp. 192-6.

²⁴³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 94 (pp. 242-5).

²⁴⁴ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 122 (pp. 308-10).

²⁴⁵ Vaughn, 'Anselm in Exile', pp. 125-6, n. 142.

²⁴⁶ Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, pp. 163-80; Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait*, pp. 277-307; Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, pp. 133-52; Vaughn, 'Anselm in Exile', passim

One might wonder, therefore, whether Philip truly identified with Anselm's plight, given that he probably sympathised to some degree with Henry's position. However, the prospect of enticing the exiled archbishop had irresistible political potential. Henry and Philip may have been grappling with the same problem of how to cling on to the benefits of investiture in the face of papal opposition, but that mutual interest could be overruled by the diplomatic expediency, which Philip surely recognised, of using Anselm to embarrass his rival monarch.

However, behind this superficial motive was also the potential for Philip to make a pointed statement on his own religious attitudes, and we should not assume that it was insincere simply because it also held political benefits. By offering to house Anselm, Philip was showing himself willing to engage with a prominent yet controversial ecclesiastical figure, thus drawing a contrast with Henry, whose attitude kept Anselm at a distance. This objective seems all the more likely when it is recalled that this was a time when Philip was edging towards an accommodation with Pope Paschal II to resolve the breach between them over the royal marriage.²⁴⁷ Whether the letters date to before or after the decisive Council of Paris in 1104, where Philip was absolved, is unclear, but the overall context remains the same. Thus, the overture made by Philip, backed by his son Louis, in an attempt to entice Anselm to his court, can be related not only to diplomatic manoeuvring between France and England, but also to the context of resolving the issues of investiture and the royal marriage. There is no evidence that Anselm responded to the letters, nor that he met with Philip or Louis before returning to England, but this nevertheless remains a fascinating and underappreciated episode in his and Philip's story.

Clerical Chastity

If the connections between kingship and reformist issues such as lay investiture and simony are easy enough to grasp, interactions with the issue of clerical chastity can be harder to pin down.²⁴⁸ In essence, this was an issue of moral reform, with the papacy and other reformers concerned that clergy, whose lives were meant to be devoted to spiritual service, might pollute their divine office through taking wives or concubines, engaging in sexual relations,

²⁴⁷ See below, pp. 215-49.

²⁴⁸ For clerical chastity in general, see, for example: James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London, 1987), pp. 183, 214-23; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 410-13; Megan McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000-1122* (2010; pbk edn Cambridge, 2014), pp. 31-6; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1989; repr. Oxford, 2001), pp. 103-5; Rennie, *Law and Practice*, pp. 144-52; Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 161-7.

and fathering children. However, much in the same way that lay investiture and simony had been standard practice for a long time, many clergy did have families and saw nothing wrong with this, and others, even if they were not married, were reluctant to remain chaste. During Philip's reign, the popes took a stronger stance on the issue, putting an increased spotlight on those clerics who did not practice celibacy and, by consequence, forcing this into greater consideration when selecting occupants of high ecclesiastical office, such as bishops. Note, for example, the case of Ansellus of Beauvais mentioned in the previous chapter.²⁴⁹

The interaction between this issue and Philip's own royal politics now starts to become a bit clearer, for if unchaste clerics were no longer deemed fit for office, then this reduced the pool of 'suitable' candidates and cast doubt on the reputation of incumbents who disregarded this directive. Furthermore, if Philip himself refused to recognise this as a problem, then his own piety might be called into question. In all likelihood, the theological debates over whether clerical celibacy was necessary were perhaps of little consequence to the king, and we have no way of knowing whether he personally thought of it as right or wrong. It is reasonable to suggest that he wanted a Church which was seen to be respectable and upholding certain standards; indeed, what we have seen already in this chapter concerning his patronage patterns suggests this. However, on this particular issue, he had to balance papal directives against the attitudes of his own clergy, who were not universally convinced of the merits of casting aside their wives, an action which would have been seen as reformist by some, but completely unnecessary by others.

An indication of the tensions provoked by the drive for clerical celibacy can be seen in the two famed letters composed by clerks at Cambrai and Noyon respectively, which rail against sanctions targeting married clergy and the sons of clerics, with the strict demands stemming from Rome regarded by these ecclesiastics as being wholly unjustified and moreover actually damaging to the reputation of the clergy.²⁵⁰ Similarly, around the same time and likely originating from Thérouanne, there emerged a treatise which also sought to push back against the prohibition of clerical marriage.²⁵¹ In 1076, Pope Gregory VII wrote to Robert,

²⁴⁹ See above, pp. 147-8.

²⁵⁰ 'Die Briefe der Kleriker von Cambrai und Noyon', ed. Erwin Frauenknecht, in: *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit* (Hannover, 1997), pp. 241-51; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 412-13; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 366-7; Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 56-8; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 59-65.

²⁵¹ *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*, ed. Erwin Frauenknecht, in: *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit* (MGH, Studien und Texte, 16) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1997), pp. 253-66; Brigitte Meijns, 'Opposition to Clerical continence and the Gregorian Celibacy Legislation in the Diocese of Thérouanne: *Tractatus*

count of Flanders, and his wife Countess Adela, to state that fornicators should not be allowed to minister, with Adela, seemingly in direct connection with this, told to disregard the heretical teachings of Archdeacon Hubert of Thérouanne.²⁵² But lay intervention in matters of this kind, even when backed by reform-minded ecclesiastics, could be problematic, as Manasses II, archbishop of Reims, later found out when he was forced to back down from his plan to encourage Robert II, count of Flanders, and his vassals to intervene with clergy who refused to separate from their partners by forcibly enacting this separation.²⁵³ Manasses admitted that he had acted without first gaining support from his suffragan bishops, and informed Robert that it had now been agreed that lay support in cases concerning clerical chastity should be dependent upon a suffragan requesting it. Thus, negotiating this issue was no simple matter.

Whatever the concerns of reformist churchmen to enforce clerical chastity, it was probably not an issue at the forefront of Philip's mind when he considered candidates for bishoprics. Even if we allow that he had some sympathy towards the end goal of the reformers on this issue – which is possible but by no means certain or even likely – it was, at least from a political point of view, much more important for the king to surround himself with loyal and effective prelates, even if their morals were questioned by some. For example, Abbot Ivo of Saint-Denis, whose election was commented on in the previous chapter, was not only suspected of simony.²⁵⁴ From a poem, or rather a set of poems, apparently written by a certain Odo, we get a scandalous picture of Ivo which alleges that he had a lover called Fredesinde, who moreover was already married.²⁵⁵ It was Odo's awareness of this relationship which led to his imprisonment by Philip at Orléans. Given that, as noted in the previous chapter, Ivo was backed to become abbot by Philip, it was in the king's interest to remove Odo from the scene in an attempt to prevent him from stirring up any more trouble and risking Ivo's abbacy. The

Pro Clericorum Conubio (c. 1077-1078)', *Sacris erudiri. A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity*, 47 (2008), 223-90.

²⁵² Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 1, pp. 309-11 (4.10-11); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 219-21. See also: A. Giry, 'Grégoire VII et les évêques de Térouane', *Revue Historique*, 1 (1876), 387-409, via JSTOR, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40937534>>, (accessed 2 September 2022), at pp. 396-9; Meijns, 'Opposition', esp. pp. 249, 253-6, 267, n. 134, 283-7; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 116-17.

²⁵³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 408-11; Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 451-2; Meijns, 'Opposition', pp. 256-7; Ott, *Bishops*, pp. 157-8.

²⁵⁴ See above, pp. 161-2.

²⁵⁵ Heinrich Böhmer, 'Ein Schmähdgedicht auf Abt Ivo I. von St. Denis', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 21 (1896), 761-9; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 492-3; Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 86-94 and esp. p. 87.

claims concerning Ivo's behaviour, which was both unchaste and adulterous, were not enough to shake the king's faith in him.

Likewise, we have also seen how in the succession to John I, bishop of Orléans, in the 1090s, two of the candidates, Sancho and John, were both under suspicion over their chastity; in John's case this was in the form of a sexual relationship with his namesake and predecessor, as well as Archbishop Ralph of Tours.²⁵⁶ Regardless of the truth of the accusations, both men still had their supporters and as we know, John eventually did become bishop. Indeed, both he and Ivo of Saint-Denis obtained their offices in spite of the scrutiny against them. It is probably fair to say that, as far as Philip was concerned, if candidates themselves could overcome any opposition – from the pope, legates, their own electors, etc. – which centred around their sexual behaviour, then he himself would be disinclined to deny them their office, at least on those grounds. Whatever his personal feelings, and we should not pretend to know these, he was enough of a realist to appreciate that bigger issues were at play.

That is not to say, however, that the debates around clerical chastity could not cause significant discord, even in the heart of Philip's realm. Gregory VII's pronouncements against unchaste clergy seem to have been a key cause of the uproar which, according to the *Life of Walter of Pontoise*, was witnessed at a council held in Paris, likely in 1074.²⁵⁷ Prelates gathered for the council voiced their opposition to Gregory's measures, leading Abbot Walter, horrified by this stance, to speak out. He was promptly escorted from the council by the king's men and placed in prison, with his friends later securing his release. It is not clear whether Philip himself was present at this council, but it is certainly possible; the presence there of his men at least indicates that he afforded it his protection, and it was held in Paris, so very much within his area of control. This need not mean, however, that he was the force behind the prelates' opposition to the papal directives concerning clerical celibacy; they probably needed no prompting from him to take the stance which they did. At that time, Philip himself was probably more concerned about problems such as ecclesiastical elections and assessing Gregory's approach to matters such as simony. Interestingly, another passage in Walter's *Life* has its protagonist try to convince the king of the wrongs of that practice.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ See above, pp. 143-6.

²⁵⁷ *Lives of Walter*, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 755, 760. On this council, see also: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 409-11; Gaul, *Manasses*, pp. 54-6; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 437-8; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 191.

²⁵⁸ *Lives of Walter*, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 755, 759-60; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 409-10.

Overall, whilst it might not have been of greatest concern to him personally, it was in Philip's interest to tread carefully over the issue of clerical celibacy. He had no need to alienate elements of the French Church through a rigorous enforcement of it, nor was it necessary for him to join those who rejected it, though he may have appreciated the value in allowing such sentiments to be expressed at a time when the influence of the popes over his lands was growing. If Philip stayed aloof from the issue, it is worth noting in contrast that Gregory VII specifically praised William I, king of England, for his actions to combat unchastity in the clergy, noting in a letter to Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron that William 'shows himself a good deal worthier of approval and more to be honoured than other kings' by, among other things, forcing married priests to put aside their wives.²⁵⁹ Yet although William's son and successor, Rufus, is not associated with such reformist zeal, Gillingham has encouraged us to appreciate the reality of the situation, noting: 'it can be argued that if he [Rufus] had given the religious radicals their head in their campaign to impose celibacy on the clergy, very many of whom had wives and children, the outcome would have been widespread turmoil and unhappiness. Many families throughout his dominions had reason to be grateful to a king who opposed this sort of "reform"'.²⁶⁰ Philip may well have made a similar calculation, so in this sense it can be argued that he acted sensibly with his measured approach.

Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated Philip I's treatment of the Church and attitude towards reform in the context of his patronage, as well as through the lens of certain ecclesiastical disputes in which the interests of papal reform impacted upon the king's own politics. Philip showed a consistent engagement with these matters from the start to the end of his reign, and as the currents of reform became more intense, he was forced to find ways to adapt. From the later 1070s especially, he became more confident in his support for reform-minded houses, to the extent that by the later years of the reign he was taking an active interest in drawing on them to improve conduct elsewhere. He adopted a measured approach, being careful not to give away too much or to throw his weight excessively behind any one group or house. This same practicality can be seen in his approach to such issues as the Lyon primacy and clerical chastity.

²⁵⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 579-80 (9.5); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 405-6: 'ceteris regibus se satis probabiliorem ac magis honorandum ostendit'. Cf. Morris, *William I*, pp. 84-6.

²⁶⁰ Gillingham, *William II*, pp. 13-14.

Indeed, if Philip was increasingly capable of supporting reform, he also maintained his own interests. Nevertheless, his politics and those of the reformers, including the popes, were by no means always incompatible, and much like with ecclesiastical elections, there are notable examples of cooperation or at least a recognition of mutual benefit. Philip, whilst never a beacon of pious devotion, showed himself on numerous occasions to be a thoughtful and considered protector of the French Church, drawing on established precedents and new reformist initiatives when attempting to aid it. That he upset people along the way, or acted with his own interests also in mind, is to a large degree merely a reflection of the complex dynamics of rulership. Philip's attitudes, as expressed in this chapter, show again that his approach was variable but considered, and by no means always directed against expressions of reform.

Chapter 4

Embodying Reform: Marriage, Crusade and the End of the Reign

The last chapter of this thesis is directed at the final decade and a half of Philip's life, in other words that part of the reign which has been most crucial to his posthumous reputation right down to the present day. The previous chapters have already demonstrated that, far from slipping away into obscurity in these years, Philip remained an active director of the governance of his realm and continued to pursue his objectives in ecclesiastical matters such as the election of prelates and the distribution of his patronage. Our focus will now be directed towards three central events of this period, all of which help us to understand Philip and his ecclesiastical attitudes, thus informing our assessment of him in relation to reform. Firstly, the topic of Philip's controversial marriage to Bertrada of Montfort will be tackled. Next, we will turn to Philip's attitude towards the advent of crusading. The chapter will then end with a consideration of Philip's preparations for his own death and burial.

Philip's Marriage to Bertrada of Montfort

No event in Philip's life had a more devastating effect on his subsequent reputation than his second marriage, to Bertrada of Montfort. Despite the fact that Philip ruled for forty-eight years, his twelve-year struggle to secure the legitimacy of this marriage, which saw him at odds with two successive popes, Urban II and Paschal II, as well as Ivo of Chartres, tends to be the defining feature of accounts of his life.¹ It has also attracted more modern historiographical comment than any other point in his reign, winning the interest not just of historians of France and the French monarchy, but of wider issues to do with the nature of marriage in medieval society.²

¹ See above, pp. 9-15.

² On the marriage, see, for example: Becker, *Studien*, pp. 85-93, 112-14; Becker, *Papst Urban*, vol. 1, pp. 193-201; D. L. d'Avray, *Dissolving Royal Marriages: A Documentary History, 860-1600* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 47-9; D. L. d'Avray, *Papacy, Monarchy and Marriage, 860-1600* (2015; pbk edn Cambridge, 2017), pp. 15, 40-1, 62-3, 240; Jan (Jean) Dhondt, 'Sept femmes et un trio de rois', *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale*, 3 (1964-5), 35-70, at pp. 61-9; Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 28-45; Georges Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 3-21; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 40-75; Matthew Gabriele, 'Not So Strange Bedfellows: New Thoughts on King Philip I of Francia's Marriage to Bertrada of Montfort', *Journal of Medieval History*, 46 (2020), 499-512, via Taylor & Francis Online [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2020.1814393>>, (accessed 21 March 2023); Große, 'Philipp', pp. 123-4; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 230-47; Christof Rolker, 'Kings, Bishops and Incest: Extension and Subversion of the Ecclesiastical Marriage Jurisdiction around 1100', in: *Discipline and Diversity: Papers Read at the 2005 Summer Meeting and the 2006 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 159-168, at pp. 163-6; Abbot Rony, 'La légation d'Hugues, archevêque de Lyon, sous le

In the context of reform, the importance of this dispute derives from the fact that it tested how far Philip, who by this time had decades of experience in dealing with reform-minded ecclesiastics, including popes, would allow his own matrimonial strategy and choices to be challenged by people who pushed different standards to those which he was willing to accept. Georges Duby observed that the marriage practices of kings particularly mattered 'since they served as examples and showed the people how to act'.³ The royal marriage controversy became, thus, a defining moment in the relationship between the French monarchy and ecclesiastical reform, a litmus test of the extent to which reformist ideals, subjecting secular power to the supervision and judgement of the Church, could force a change in behaviour at the highest level of the lay hierarchy.⁴

Overview: The Course of the Affair

Before examining the controversies and context at the heart of the dispute over Philip's marriage, it is important to outline how the matter unfolded. It is worth noting here at the outset that, given the effect that Philip's marriage to Bertrada has had on his reputation, it is remarkable how little detailed comment on it there is in contemporary sources.⁵ Many mention the affair in passing, but few go into any detail about it. For further explanation, we are largely reliant on letters, either of the popes or of figures such as Ivo of Chartres and Lambert of Arras. As we have seen, the marriage was far from the only issue which demanded the attention of both Philip and the popes at this time; other matters such as ecclesiastical elections continued to be significant concerns. Furthermore, circumstances help to explain the survival of Ivo and Lambert's correspondence, for the former was a recognised authority on marriage, a topic which occupies many of his letters and finds discussion in his canon law, and the latter was directly involved in the final resolution of the controversy.⁶

pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)', *Revue des questions historiques*, 58 (1930), 124-47, esp. pp. 132-47; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', pp. 101-13, 118-20, 123-6.

³ Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 25; cf. Duby, *The Knight*, p. 124; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, p. 173.

⁴ Dominique Barthélemy, 'Église et pouvoirs dans le royaume capétien (jusqu'au début du XII^e siècle)', in: *Église, société et pouvoir dans la chrétienté latine (910-1274)*, ed. Christine Bousquet-Labouërie and Patrick Henriët (Paris, 2023), pp. 221-44, at p. 239.

⁵ A very helpful overview of these sources can be found in: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 40-75.

⁶ For Ivo and marriage, see for example: Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, ed. PL, cols. 583-690; Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 161-77; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 211-47. For Lambert, see below, pp. 227-8.

It is the information given by Suger which has proved of most enduring influence, but in fact he says very little about the circumstances of the affair itself.⁷ Moreover, the subject of his work was not Philip, but his son Louis, and Suger's main concern was his protagonist. He tells us nothing about how Philip and Bertrada's relationship began, nor about the complex and lengthy course of the affair, which we will trace below. Instead, he tells his readers of how Philip's heart and mind were stolen by Bertrada, claiming that: 'After his irregular union with the countess of Anjou he [Philip] did nothing worthy of the royal majesty, for he was carried away by lust for the married woman he had carried off and gave himself over to gratifying his desires'.⁸ As Suger tells it, the remedy to this unseemly situation, the one hope for the prosperity of the kingdom, was Louis, which suited the abbot's purpose perfectly.⁹ Suger does name Bertrada, but only once; in his first chapter, he calls her 'Countess Bertrada of Anjou'.¹⁰ Note how Bertrada is referred to as countess here, and indeed her ties to Anjou are brought out elsewhere by Suger where he refers to her simply as 'the countess of Anjou' or 'the Angevin woman'.¹¹ Bertrada, as far as Suger was concerned, was a countess, not a queen.¹² Accordingly, her children had no legitimate right to challenge Louis' succession, try as they might.¹³

So what did happen? We must begin much earlier in the reign, with Philip's first marriage. The death of Baldwin VI, count of Flanders, in 1070, produced a succession crisis. Baldwin's son, Arnulf III, was challenged by his uncle (Baldwin VI's brother), Robert 'the Frisian'.¹⁴ Philip, only a few years out of his minority, threw his weight behind Arnulf, but it was Robert who emerged victorious, with Arnulf slain at the decisive Battle of Cassel in 1071.¹⁵ Philip and Robert now had to come to terms, and it seems that part of the agreement struck

⁷ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 10-11, 36-7, 82-3, 122-5; trans. Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 27, 40, 61-2, 81. On Suger's influence, see above, pp. 8-15.

⁸ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 82-3: 'neque enim post superductam Andegavensem comitissam quicquam regia majestate dignum agebat, sed rapte conjugis raptus concupiscentia, voluptati sue satisfacere operam dabat'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 61, and see c. 1, n. 9 (on p. 172) for the difficulties of translating the word 'superducta'. Cf. Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 10-11, 36-7, 122-3; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 27, 40, 81.

⁹ On Suger's aims, see above, pp. 8-9, 38-9.

¹⁰ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, pp. 10-11: 'Andegavensi comitissa Bertrada'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 27.

¹¹ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, pp. 36-7: 'Andegavensi comitissa', 82-3: 'Andegavensem comitissam', 122-3: 'Andegavense'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 27, 40, 61, 81.

¹² Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 13-14.

¹³ See below, pp. 245-6, 257-9.

¹⁴ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 52; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 43-72.

¹⁵ On Cassel, see: Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 65-8.

between them was a marriage pact.¹⁶ Robert's sobriquet, 'the Frisian', derives from the fact that in 1063, he had married Gertrude of Saxony, the widow of Florent I, count of Holland (d. 1061), thereafter acting as guardian to Gertrude's children from her first marriage, including the new count of Holland, Theoderic, and a daughter, Bertha.¹⁷ Thus, when he needed to secure his seizure of Flanders and placate Philip, Bertha became her step-father's diplomatic pawn. Probably in the autumn of 1071, she was married to Philip.¹⁸ Bertha does not appear in the royal *acta* as queen until 1075, though as noted already, subscriptions by her – and later Bertrada also – are rare in Philip's *acta* anyway.¹⁹

Philip's first marriage was thus the result of political manoeuvres to renew relations with Flanders in the wake of Robert the Frisian's conquest of the county. The king was around twenty years old at this time.²⁰ He and Bertha had at least two children, these being a son, Louis (the future King Louis VI), born in 1081 or 1082, and a daughter, Constance, whose date of birth is uncertain.²¹ Unfortunately, we know very little about Bertha or her time as queen, and almost all of what we do know comes from the *Life of Saint Arnulf of Soissons*.²² The story in this which links Bertha with the abbatial election at Saint-Médard was already mentioned above.²³ The *Life* also claimed that Arnulf foretold Louis' birth to Bertha, asserting that her as-yet unborn child would be the future king of France.²⁴

Philip and Bertha remained married for twenty years. There is no firm evidence to suggest that there were any major difficulties in the course of their marriage prior to its collapse, though we know so little about it that such silence can only be relied upon lightly. Indeed, it is worth highlighting a particular source which seems to indicate that, perhaps even before the introduction onto the scene of Bertrada, Philip began, after many years with Bertha, to consider the prospect of a remarriage. This source is Geoffrey Malaterra, who wrote

¹⁶ Discussed in: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 37-8, 265.

¹⁷ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, pp. 792-3; 'Annales Egmundiani', ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 16 (Hannover, 1858), pp. 442-79, at p. 447; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 36-7; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 27-39.

¹⁸ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 265.

¹⁹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 78 (pp. 197-200); Fliche, *Philippe*, p. 37. For the rarity of subscriptions by Philip's queens, see above, p. 31.

²⁰ See above, p. 9.

²¹ On Louis' date of birth, see above, p. 11. On Constance, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 86-90. For other possible children of Philip and Bertha, see below, p. 245.

²² *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 42-5, 61-3, 128-31, 144-5, 152-4. On Bertha, see generally: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 36-40; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 117-35.

²³ See above, pp. 159-61.

²⁴ *Vitae ... Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. Nip, pp. 61-3, 144-5, 152-4; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 25-7; Fliche, *Philippe*, 38-9.

a work on Roger, count of Sicily, and his brother, Robert Guiscard.²⁵ According to Geoffrey, Philip no longer wished to be married to Bertha and tried to claim that they were too closely related so that he could marry instead Emma, daughter of Count Roger. Emma was sent by her father to Saint-Gilles, where Roger's son-in-law, Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles, having learnt that Philip had changed his mind and now planned to take Emma's treasure but not actually marry her, decided instead to marry her to someone else and thus obtain the treasure for himself. This plan too was foiled, because Emma's companions took the treasure (but not Emma herself) back to Sicily. Raymond then found another match for Emma.

This story is certainly peculiar. It is not improbable that, if Philip was searching for a wife, he would have turned to Norman Sicily, which may have held appeal both for its obvious French connections as well as for the prospect of diplomatic advantages.²⁶ However, it may be that, looking back with hindsight and aware of the controversy which would arise over Bertrada, Geoffrey simply found in Philip a useful and believable villain to insert into his story. The details about the king seeking out Emma so that he could put aside his current wife, before turning to deception on account of the seduction of money, could easily have been fabricated by Geoffrey in the knowledge that they would fit with historical memory in that Philip did indeed repudiate his wife, thus placing his morals into the spotlight. Nevertheless, we should not discard the story completely; even if it was embellished or the details have been distorted in some way, it is by no means improbable that Philip, if he had in mind to repudiate Bertha, sought out other potential brides before marrying Bertrada, and maybe one of those was Emma. Perhaps the marriage to Emma was abandoned not because of Philip's monetary greed, but because negotiations broke down or he decided against the match. Overall, a healthy scepticism but certainly not an outright dismissal of Geoffrey's account seems sensible.²⁷

²⁵ Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, as: *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius auctore Gaufrido Malaterra, monacho Benedictino*, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento*, ed. L. A. Muratori, vol. 5.1 (1724), new edn ed. Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, and Pietro Fedele (Bologna, 1927-8), pp. 1-108, at p. 90; English trans. by Kenneth Baxter Wolf (2005; repr. Ann Arbor, MI, 2008), pp. 184-5.

²⁶ Cf. Lewis, Andrew W., *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1981), p. 45. For Norman activity in the Italian peninsula and on Sicily, see: G. A. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the Eleventh Century', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.2, c. 1024-c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 94-119.

²⁷ Cf. Étienne Baluze, *Histoire genealogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1708), via HathiTrust [website], <<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015034603715>>, (accessed 16 August 2024), pp. 54-5.

Bertrada herself comes into the story in 1092, at which point she was the wife of Fulk IV 'le Réchin', count of Anjou (d. 1109), who had become count in 1067-1068 following a conflict which ousted his older brother, Geoffrey IV 'the Bearded'.²⁸ Fulk had at least two wives prior to Bertrada, and the potential problems this may have caused are discussed below.²⁹ Bertrada was the daughter of Simon I, lord of Montfort, whose sons Amalric II, Richard, Simon II and Amalric III all inherited in turn this important lordship during the later decades of Philip's reign.³⁰ Despite her marriage to Fulk, in 1092 Philip married Bertrada himself. The circumstances behind how the relationship began are unclear, with accounts differing over the role played by Bertrada.³¹ More than one modern commentator has suggested that Fulk was acquiescent to the arrangement.³² Either way, Philip repudiated Bertha and entered into a new marriage.

To seek ecclesiastical backing for his new union, Philip gathered together senior prelates in Paris to celebrate.³³ In fact, Philip and Bertrada may have seen themselves as married already prior to this gathering, for at this time the need for a formal marriage ceremony was still not firmly asserted, with consent between the two parties potentially enough to bind them together in matrimony.³⁴ Nevertheless, it was wise for Philip to ensure he had his prelates on side, if only to offer them the chance not to object and thus to tacitly agree by staying silent. What he probably did not count on, however, was the resistance mounted by Ivo, bishop of Chartres, who was at least deeply uneasy about the marriage. He did not come to the Paris gathering, and his opposition would endure for years to come.

Urban II refused to recognise Philip's marriage to Bertrada, but held off from taking any decisive action against the king for some time.³⁵ Eventually, he revived the legation of Hugh of Die, tasking him with tackling the issue, but working alongside Rainald, archbishop of

²⁸ On Fulk IV, see: Jim Bradbury, 'Fulk le Réchin and the Origin of the Plantagenets', in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 27-41; Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 1, pp. 111-24; Louis Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 133-201; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 33-143.

²⁹ See below, pp. 228-34.

³⁰ On Bertrada's family, see: Rhein, 'La seigneurie', pp. 31-57.

³¹ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 41-5.

³² Duby, *The Knight*, p. 7; Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', pp. 502-5.

³³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 13-15; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 46-50.

³⁴ See, for example: James A. Brundage, 'Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 1-17, repr. in: James A. Brundage, *Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, UK, and Brookfield, VT, 1993; repr. King's Lynn, 1998), no. 7 [pagination retained], at esp. pp. 7-8; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp. 189-91; Sara McDougall, 'Marriage: Law and Practice', in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 453-74, at pp. 461-2.

³⁵ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 51-4. See also: *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7.

Reims.³⁶ The situation changed in 1094 when Bertha, who had been sent away to her dower lands at Montreuil-sur-Mer after the repudiation, died.³⁷ There is no hint of foul play, so Bertha may have died of some unspecified illness; indeed, if she had been sickly for some time, this may have helped to prompt Philip's actions. Regardless, if Philip had acted questionably in putting Bertha aside, he could now think that point null and void, because her death *de facto* removed the notion that a pre-existing marriage prevented him from marrying Bertrada.³⁸ Thus, Bertha's death presumably predated the assembly of bishops which Philip gathered together in September 1094, this time at Reims, probably to affirm the royal view that the matter of the marriage was now closed.³⁹ However, Hugh of Die clearly thought the matter still live, for a few weeks later, in October, he held a council at Autun where Philip was excommunicated.⁴⁰

All now hinged on what Urban II did next. Would he confirm Hugh's sentence against Philip, or row back on it, and by doing so show that leniency which he and previous popes had afforded to numerous (but not all) members of the French episcopate over the preceding years?⁴¹ Hugh's judgement had raised the stakes considerably, just at the time when the affair might have been allowed to fall away into the background. Urban did not act immediately, and it seems that a period of negotiation followed.⁴² Philip is found, exceptionally, at Mozac in 1095, sometime after 23 May, where he subscribes to an act alongside Hugh.⁴³ As Fliche says, it seems highly likely that Philip used this meeting to attempt to persuade Hugh to change his mind and sanction the marriage.⁴⁴ However, any efforts were ultimately in vain, for at the major council he held at Clermont in November 1095, Urban confirmed Philip's excommunication.⁴⁵ A key line had now been crossed. The pope would not back down and

³⁶ Urban II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, at p. 758; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 54-5; Rony, 'La légation', pp. 126-32, 139-40.

³⁷ 'Ex continuatione historiarum Aimoini', ed. RHF, vol. 12, p. 122; *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 136-7.

³⁸ See discussion below.

³⁹ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 136-7; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 35; Note on the Council of Reims (1094), in: RHF, vol. 14, pp. 750-1, note c; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 55-6; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 795-8; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 222.

⁴⁰ Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle*, ed. Robinson, pp. 515-16; trans. Robinson, pp. 321-2; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 56; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 799-802; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 223; Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 156-7.

⁴¹ See above, c. 2.

⁴² Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 56-9.

⁴³ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 135 (pp. 342-3).

⁴⁴ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 58-9.

⁴⁵ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 59-62.

simply allow the king's marriage to Bertrada. Instead, he preferred to cut Philip off from the community of the faithful.⁴⁶

As we will see, it is by no means certain that this excommunication had as serious an effect on Philip's spiritual activity as Urban may have hoped. But that is not to say that Philip was unmoved by it. In July 1096, Urban held a council at Nîmes, where it seems that a settlement was reached that the marriage would end, allowing for Philip to be absolved.⁴⁷ Clearly, however, Philip continued to engage in his relationship with Bertrada, and soon – the exact date is uncertain but 1097 seems quite possible – this came to the attention of the ever-watchful Hugh of Die, resulting in yet another excommunication for the king, coupled with an interdict.⁴⁸ Towards the end of Urban's pontificate, it seems that there may have been plans afoot for another reconciliation, but this did not materialise, though the interdict may have been lifted.⁴⁹ When Paschal II became pope in 1100, the issue of the marriage remained unresolved, and Philip's excommunication was renewed at the Council of Poitiers in November that year.⁵⁰

Fliche argued that Paschal essentially pursued the same strategy towards Philip's marriage as had Urban, but that, unlike Urban, he found a way to make a breakthrough.⁵¹ Key to this may have been the fading from the scene of Hugh of Die, one of the king's most intransigent opponents.⁵² The early years of the pontificate were also overshadowed by the contest between king and pope over the episcopal succession at Beauvais, during which it would have become clear to both sides that compromise was the only feasible way forward.⁵³ In July 1104, a council was held at Beaugency, where an initial commitment was made by Philip, in person, to end his marriage to Bertrada.⁵⁴ Then, in December, a group of prelates

⁴⁶ On excommunication generally, see also: Peter D. Clarke, 'Excommunication and Interdict', in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 550-69.

⁴⁷ Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle*, ed. Robinson, p. 529; trans. Robinson, p. 330; *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, ed. and French trans. by Jean Verdon, as: *La Chronique de Saint-Maixent 751-1140* (Paris, 1979), pp. 152-5; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 931-42; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 62-3; Gresser, *Die Synoden*, pp. 311-12; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 234-6.

⁴⁸ Becker, *Studien*, p. 92 and n. 281; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 63-7.

⁴⁹ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 92-3 and n. 288; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 66-7.

⁵⁰ Mansi, vol. 20, cols 1118-26; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 67-71; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 16-23; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 244-6; Jean-Claude Tillier, 'Les conciles provinciaux de la province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux au temps de la Réforme grégorienne (1073-1100)', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Année 1968, vol. 2 (1971), 561-81, at pp. 574-81.

⁵¹ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 67. Cf. Monod, *Essai*, esp. pp. XIX-XXVII, 1-3.

⁵² See above, p. 97.

⁵³ See above, pp. 149-54, esp. with reference to Becker, *Investiturstreit*, p. 116, who also talks about compromise emerging around this time.

⁵⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 144; Mansi, vol. 20, cols 1183-6; Becker, *Studien*, p. 113 and n. 27; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 72-3; Monod, *Essai*, p. 41; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 247.

gathered at Paris where Philip and Bertrada both pledged to end their relationship.⁵⁵ The couple were thus absolved, but committed to separate.

This, for all the parties that truly mattered, was the end of the affair. The case, as far as Paschal and Philip were concerned, was closed, and no French bishops – even Ivo – thought to raise it again. Nevertheless, Philip and Bertrada are still found together at Angers in 1106, so there are serious doubts over whether they actually ended their relationship.⁵⁶ The vow which Philip swore at Paris, preserved now in the *Codex Lamberti*, purportedly included the commitment that: ‘I will not have mutual conversation or companionship with this woman [Bertrada], except in the presence of people beyond suspicion’.⁵⁷ Thus, as Becker notes, these words did not completely rule out further contact between Philip and Bertrada, and may have been interpreted with some flexibility to allow the two of them to continue to see each other, though in what capacity we can only speculate.⁵⁸

During the course of their marriage, Philip and Bertrada also had three children together – two sons, Philip and Florus, and a daughter, Cecilia.⁵⁹ It is quite likely that all three children were born in the early years of the marriage. Indeed, the young Philip is commonly referred to as Philip of Mantes, because he was married to Elisabeth, the daughter of Guy Trousseau, lord of Montlhéry, with Louis agreeing at the same time to transfer Mantes to his half-brother.⁶⁰ Gabriele has suggested that Philip may have been born c. 1093, as this would mean that when he was granted Mantes he would have been around the same age as Louis was when he was invested with the Vexin.⁶¹ There may also have been a fourth son, Odo, though he is only mentioned by a later writer, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who notes his death in 1096 and specifies that his mother was different to Louis’, without explicitly claiming that

⁵⁵ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 238-7; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 73-4; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 42-3; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 247-8.

⁵⁶ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, nos. 157 (pp. 391-5), 158 (p. 396); Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 74-5; Gabriele, ‘Not So Strange’, pp. 509-12; Qureshi, ‘Crusade’, pp. 128-32, 138-41; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 243.

⁵⁷ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 244-5: ‘Cum eadem quoque fœmina mutuum colloquium et contubernium, nisi sub testimonio personarum minime suspectarum, non habeto’, and see also pp. 238-41.

⁵⁸ Becker, *Studien*, p. 114 and n. 23.

⁵⁹ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 90-1. On Philip’s children generally, see: Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 47-51; Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 72-4.

⁶⁰ *Le cartulaire du prieuré de Notre-Dame de Longpont de l’ordre de Cluny au diocèse de Paris*, [publ. Jules Marion] (Lyon, 1879), no. 197 (pp. 181-2); Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 36-7; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 40; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement*, p. 33.

⁶¹ Gabriele, ‘Not So Strange’, p. 509 and n. 50. On Louis and the Vexin, see above, p. 11.

he was Bertrada's son.⁶² As for Bertrada herself, she outlived both of her former husbands, but did not remarry after Philip's death in 1108.⁶³

Now that we have outlined the context of the affair and the course of events which unfolded in the decade which it took to resolve it, let us turn to look in more detail at exactly what issues were at stake, and why this marriage produced the reaction that it did.

The Dissolution of Philip's Marriage to Bertha

If the way in which Philip and Bertrada's relationship began is shrouded in some mystery, there is no doubt that it was initiated while Bertha was still alive. There is also no doubt that, before Bertha's death, Philip believed Bertrada to be his wife; such is made clear by Ivo's letters concerning the council held by Philip in Paris in 1092.⁶⁴ What then had become of Bertha? And how did Philip justify putting aside one wife to take another?

It is unclear when Philip repudiated Bertha. It may be that their marriage had begun to break down before Bertrada came onto the scene, which could help to explain stories like Geoffrey Malaterra's.⁶⁵ In fact, Geoffrey's account is the only one to suggest a serious possible reason through which Philip may have justified this repudiation. Geoffrey says that 'Philip began to despise his wife, challenging the legitimacy of their union. He tried, in a way contrary to church law, to repudiate her by seeking a writ to that effect. When he was unable to point to any infraction, he tried to make a false case based on consanguinity, but failed'.⁶⁶ Thus, according to Geoffrey, Philip justified his plan to marry Emma through alleging that he and Bertha were related within prohibited degrees. Such a justification leaned upon canon law which was to be found, for example, in the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, which forbade marriages where the two spouses were related within seven degrees of kinship.⁶⁷ In an aristocracy where intermarriage was so common, this theoretically presented a problem, as

⁶² Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicle*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 805; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p. 50, n. 23 (on p. 245).

⁶³ On Bertrada's later life, see for example: Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 151-9; below, p. 253.

⁶⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 13-15.

⁶⁵ Bradbury, *The Capetians*, p. 118.

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Malaterra, *The Deeds*, ed. Pontieri, p. 90: 'Philippus, [...] contra jus legitimae conjunctionis exosam habere coepit: et a se contra Canones, labellum repudii conando, repellere, nihil criminis objecto, exexcepto quod consanguinitatem falso adnumerare tentabat, nec poterat'; trans. Wolf, p. 184.

⁶⁷ Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, ed. PL, cols 781-2, 784-8; Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 9-54; Brundage, *Law*, pp. 140-1, 191-4; Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 69-70; McDougall, 'Marriage', pp. 456-60.

many marriages were in breach of this provision.⁶⁸ Often breaches to the rule must have been allowed without comment, especially if the kinship was quite distant.⁶⁹

Genealogical analysis has shown that Philip and Bertha were related within prohibited degrees, but not particularly closely, and there is no indication that anyone had thought of it as an obstacle to their union previously.⁷⁰ But a few decades later, when Philip was looking to end their marriage, it could be a useful claim for him to make, providing him with a canonically justifiable excuse for remarriage. However, as Rolker notes, although Geoffrey mentions this in connection with Emma, it is not a justification which we know Philip to have employed in connection with Bertrada, which led Rolker to suggest that Philip's claims of consanguinity between himself and Bertha met with little success and so were abandoned.⁷¹

We should not rely blindly on Geoffrey's testimony, but if Philip did look to justify his repudiation of Bertha, consanguinity was a logical avenue to pursue. However, if so, it is remarkable that this finds no reflection in Ivo's correspondence, given that for him consanguinity was a clear impediment to marriage.⁷² If Philip wanted to win over Ivo in favour of the remarriage, would he not have at least tried to make this claim? An indication of how seriously Ivo could take such accusations is seen in a letter he sent regarding a separate marriage issue, whereby the count of Meulan had entered into a consanguineous marriage with the daughter of Hugh, count of Crépy.⁷³ Ivo produced genealogies to prove that this marriage should be disavowed.

Thus, it seems likely that Philip either did claim consanguinity between himself and Bertha, but that this claim was so tenuous that even Ivo could not support it, or that he acted more unilaterally, repudiating Bertha without seeking to justify his actions with reference to canon law. Philip could hope that the French prelates would, in the interests of stability, not question his decision with any force. It should also be noted that, if Philip had claimed consanguinity between himself and Bertha, this could have potentially thrown doubt on the legitimacy of their two children, Louis and Constance, which, given that they were the heirs to

⁶⁸ Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 35-6.

⁶⁹ Cf. for example: Marie-Bernadette Bruguière, 'Canon Law and Royal Weddings, Theory and Practice: The French Example, 987-1215', in: *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: San Diego, University of California at La Jolla, 21-27 August 1988*, ed. Stanley Chodorow (Vatican City, 1992), pp. 473-96.

⁷⁰ On the kinship, see: Bruguière, 'Canon Law', pp. 482-4.

⁷¹ Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 231 and n. 113.

⁷² Duby, *The Knight*, 164-5, 172-5; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 220.

⁷³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 45.

the realm and Philip was an ageing king, was not in anyone's interests except the Montforts. This perhaps explains why Ivo did not want to entertain the claim either, for the stability of the realm was of paramount importance to him.⁷⁴ Overall, it was undesirable for almost everyone involved to question the legitimacy of Philip's first marriage. The point of difference then became whether he could get away with turning his back on it.

Rolker has argued that 'Ivo opposed the marriage [between Philip and Bertrada] for only one reason, namely that the king had remarried in Bertha's lifetime'.⁷⁵ In other words, Ivo's problem was that the king had taken a second wife, thus making himself guilty of bigamy and adultery because his first marriage was still live and legitimate. That this was, on the face of it, the principal wrong committed by Philip is corroborated by primary sources which mention it as the reason for Philip's excommunication. Bernold of Saint-Blasien, for example, has that at Autun, 'King Philip of France was likewise excommunicated because, while his wife was still alive, he had replaced her with another woman'.⁷⁶ But Bertha was already dead by the time Philip was excommunicated, so why had this not opened the way to a resolution? Clearly, there were other issues to be worked out.

Penance and Remorse

For Ivo of Chartres, Bertha's death did not, on its own, remove all obstacles to Philip marrying Bertrada. Two more issues had to be resolved, and we will tackle these in turn. Firstly, there was the question of Philip showing remorse for his sins – bigamy and adultery – and performing appropriate penance. Bruguière stresses the public nature of Philip and Bertrada's sin in beginning their relationship while Bertha was still alive.⁷⁷ Following Rolker, Ivo believed that those who sin must show clear remorse for their actions, making their contrition visible in the world as a true reflection of the inner contrition they felt in their heart and which was known only to God.⁷⁸

Even if figures like Urban II and Hugh of Die did not share precisely the same conception of penance and contrition as Ivo did, the need to ensure that Philip did not simply get away with his actions would have heightened the need for a display of appropriate

⁷⁴ See below, p. 235-6, 258-9.

⁷⁵ Rolker, 'Kings, Bishops', pp. 163-4. Cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 234.

⁷⁶ Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle*, ed. Robinson, pp. 515-16: 'item rex Galliarum Philippus excommunicatus est, eo quod vivente uxore sua alteram superinduxerit'; trans. Robinson, pp. 321-2. Cf. Andreas of Marchiennes, *Chronicle*, in: *RHF*, vol. 13, pp. 419-23, at p. 419.

⁷⁷ Bruguière, 'Canon Law', pp. 495-6.

⁷⁸ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 190-3.

remorse. Not too long ago, Gregory VII had famously prompted Henry IV of Germany to perform a humiliating penance to him in person at Canossa, and Hugh may have hoped to force Philip into a similarly humbling act.⁷⁹ Urban, inclined towards accommodation though he was, would also have appreciated the value and necessity of Philip doing penance. The fact that he repeatedly gave Philip opportunities to right his wrong – before Clermont at Mozac (1095); at Nîmes (1096); and again, towards the end of his pontificate – indicates that a convincing display on Philip’s part was a requirement for the pope. As for Paschal, he finally managed to secure this penance through the public contrition expressed by Philip and Bertrada at Paris in 1104.

The issue with requiring penance was that, because no one can know for certain another person’s true feelings, it was left open to interpretation whether or not the contrition was actually heartfelt.⁸⁰ Ivo’s insistence on public display was a way to try to mitigate this, but it was not a perfect solution. Hugh of Die’s decision to excommunicate Philip at Autun in 1094 was presumably intended, at least in part, to provoke the king to satisfactory penance and bring a close to the controversy. If so, it spectacularly backfired on both counts. Hugh would have feared that the French prelates Philip assembled at Reims a month earlier – and Ivo was not among them – would have been unlikely to insist on heartfelt contrition from the king as a condition for their acquiescence to his marriage.⁸¹ The excommunication may have succeeded in prompting Philip to discuss the matter in person with Hugh at Mozac, but whatever justification or remorse Hugh may have heard there was clearly not convincing enough, because Urban, likely on Hugh’s recommendation, went on to confirm his legate’s sentence at Clermont.

As we have seen, there were moments of rapprochement between Philip and Urban over the next few years, but no definitive resolution. This vacillation, where Philip promised to renounce Bertrada but then did not do so, would have cast further scepticism on any professions of penance he made or intended to make. Indeed, Ivo seems to have lost faith in Philip’s genuineness on the matter.⁸² However, Paschal II eventually decided upon a different approach. Rather than requiring Philip to express his intentions either to him in person or

⁷⁹ On Canossa, see for example: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 116-17.

⁸⁰ On this point, Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 191-2, draws attention to such letters as: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 228.

⁸¹ For the attendees at Reims, see: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 35; Note on the Council of Reims, ed. RHF.

⁸² See, for example: Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 46, 104 and n. 11.

before his legates, he allowed the French clergy to supervise the judgement. The Council of Paris was conducted purely by French prelates, including Lambert of Arras and Ivo of Chartres, with no legatine supervision.⁸³ Thus, Paschal benefitted from transferring the final judgement on the king's contrition to the latter's own prelates, something which Hugh and Urban had been unwilling to do. A letter written by Ivo between the councils of Beaugency and Paris also seems to have prompted this turn of events, which suggests that he too had softened his stance towards Philip, perhaps because the king had shown himself more outwardly contrite than had been the case previously.⁸⁴

Paschal was no fool; he would have known, just as Hugh had a decade earlier, that these prelates would have been unlikely to reject Philip's sincerity. But the pope could take some heart from the fact that a public declaration was probably more than the king would have wanted to concede. Furthermore, at least in terms of bringing an end to the affair, this demission of authority was a masterstroke by Paschal, and it may be that, with no other clear solution to the marriage question in sight and bigger problems such as conflict with Germany to consider, an imperfect resolution to this long and arduous affair was enough for the pope. Philip had publicly shown contrition; assessing the genuineness of this was probably now of lesser concern than it had been.

The Nature of Bertrada's Marriage to Fulk

If Philip's penance was a prerequisite for resolving this affair, what actually made it necessary? It seems unlikely that Philip's own bigamy and adultery were the only concerns, for if so then, after Bertha's death, sincere penance would have provided him with a means to secure formal recognition of his second marriage, and so ultimately the 1104 Council of Paris should have been the occasion not for the dissolving of his and Bertrada's union, but rather for its legitimation. Admittedly there may have been a reluctance among some to allow a marriage between a king and a former concubine, but both a papal legate, Roger, as well as Ivo of Chartres, had indicated that such a marriage was possible, so it is doubtful whether this would have formed any serious barrier.⁸⁵ However, there was, besides the requirement for penance, another factor which remained in play after Bertha's death, and this was Bertrada's own marital status.

⁸³ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 242-7; Hiestand, 'Les légats', p. 71; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 42-3.

⁸⁴ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 144.

⁸⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 16; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 217-19. On Roger, see below, p. 237.

As noted above, prior to the start of her relationship with Philip, Bertrada had already been married to Fulk IV, count of Anjou.⁸⁶ The *Deeds of the Counts of Anjou* states plainly that: 'Fulk took many wives'.⁸⁷ Indeed, when Fulk married Bertrada, he had already been married at least twice and possibly as many as four times.⁸⁸ Orderic Vitalis says that two of Fulk's former wives (Orderic mentions three in total) were still alive at this time.⁸⁹ Fulk's eldest son and heir, Geoffrey, was the child of Ermengarde of Bourbon, who was perhaps Fulk's second wife.⁹⁰ However, Geoffrey predeceased his father in 1106.⁹¹ The heir to Anjou then became Fulk's son with Bertrada, also named Fulk, who succeeded his father as Fulk V in 1109 and would later give up his county in 1129 to become king of Jerusalem.⁹²

Bertrada and Fulk were married by 24 April 1090 at the latest.⁹³ According to Orderic Vitalis, their marriage was arranged with the help of Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, in the context of diplomatic arrangements between the latter and Fulk.⁹⁴ Orderic, perhaps with a hint of sarcasm, has Fulk declare, 'I love Bertrada', as he asks Robert to facilitate his marriage to her.⁹⁵ Bertrada was then in the care of Helwise, countess of Évreux, whose husband, Count William, was Bertrada's uncle and a vassal of Robert. William apparently allowed the marriage only once Robert agreed to cede him some properties which he claimed. Even if William and Helwise had care over Bertrada's upbringing, it is hard to believe that her wider Montfort kin were not involved in the discussions over this high-profile marriage too.

As Bradbury notes, there is little to suggest that Fulk encountered substantial ecclesiastical opposition to the dissolution of his various marriages prior to Bertrada.⁹⁶ That there were some grumblings is perhaps indicated by Orderic's comment that 'the count of

⁸⁶ See above, p. 220.

⁸⁷ *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Counts of Anjou* | *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, in: *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise*, publ. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris, 1913), pp. 25-73, at p. 65: 'Fulco plures duxit uxores'.

⁸⁸ On Fulk's wives and children, see: *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Counts of Anjou*, publ. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 65; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 186-7 and n. 3; Bradbury, 'Fulk', pp. 36-7; Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 169-71; Patrick van Kerrebrouck (dir.), *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste maison de France*, vol. 2, *Les Capétiens 987-1328* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2000), p. 71, n. 29.

⁸⁹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 186-7.

⁹⁰ *Chronicle of the Deeds of the Counts of Anjou*, publ. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 65.

⁹¹ Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 174-5.

⁹² For a concise overview of Anjou in the years after Philip's death, see: Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 333-40.

⁹³ Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 2, no. C 363 (pp. 226-7); Rolker, 'Kings', p. 164, n. 21; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 499-515.

⁹⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 182-7; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 127-8; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 505-10.

⁹⁵ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall vol. 4, pp. 184-5: 'Amo Bertradam', and see also vol. 1, pp. 41-2. Cf. Chibnall, 'The World', p. 131; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', *Haskins Society Journal*, 2 (1990), 105-21, at pp. 118-19.

⁹⁶ Bradbury, 'Fulk', pp. 36-7. Also: Rony, 'La légation', p. 134.

Anjou jubilantly received the girl [Bertrada] he desired, and married her as his third wife though the two former wives were still living'.⁹⁷ Orderic's implication that Fulk was acting improperly is clear. Moreover, by taking Bertrada as his wife whilst his previous spouse – indeed spouses – were still living, he was acting similarly to how Philip would act a few years later. Fulk may have justified these repudiations with grounds such as consanguinity, but it is not clear how much scrutiny these marriages were subject to at the time, and it may be that Bertrada's later relationship with Philip opened up buried questions about them.⁹⁸

Ivo of Chartres, when he heard of Philip's plans to marry Bertrada, refers to her in a letter to Rainald, archbishop of Reims, as 'the so-called wife of the count of Anjou'.⁹⁹ In another letter, written to Philip himself around the same time, he confesses that 'I do not know if she [Bertrada] can be your wife'.¹⁰⁰ This careful wording could be Ivo refraining from passing judgement on Bertrada's capability to marry the king until he had ascertained all the facts, and if he was aware of some controversy over her marriage to Fulk, then this could have contributed to his stance. Rolker, who also drew attention to these letters, argued that Ivo's doubts about the validity of Bertrada's marriage to Fulk enabled him to foresee a way out of the controversy, provided that Philip did penance for having begun his relationship with Bertrada whilst Bertha was still alive.¹⁰¹

This is possible, but the fact that Ivo did not continue to debate the validity of Fulk and Bertrada's marriage need not mean that he was convinced of its uncertainty. Furthermore, regardless of Ivo's opinion and how that may have changed, as Rolker admits there is no suggestion that Urban – or Paschal, for that matter – ever called into question Bertrada's previous union.¹⁰² Each attempt at a resolution, including the final successful one in 1104, was predicated on an agreement that Philip and Bertrada would separate. The most logical reason to explain why this was so consistently insisted upon for such a long time is that, if Bertrada's union to Fulk was recognised as legitimate, then regardless of the status of Philip's union with Bertha, the royal marriage was adulterous and thus unconscionable.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 4, pp. 186-7: 'Andegauensis consul concupitam puellam gaudens suscepit, et uiuentibus adhuc duabus uxoribus terciam desponsauit'.

⁹⁸ Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 68-9.

⁹⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 13: 'dicta conjuge comitis Andegauensis'.

¹⁰⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 15: 'de qua nescio utrum possit esse uxor'.

¹⁰¹ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 234-6.

¹⁰² Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 235, n. 141, with reference to: Urban II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 68 (col. 354) (= *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7).

¹⁰³ Cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 234.

This issue – that Philip had married another man’s legitimate wife – seems to have been the crucial point on which the royal marriage controversy centred. Importantly, regardless of the truth of the matter, it also allowed clerics to make *both* Philip and Bertrada guilty, for they had both partaken in the adultery. Thus, at Paris in 1104, they both had to show contrition and foreswear their relationship, which nevertheless remained – in the eyes of many, with Suger among them – an enduring stain on their reputations. Throughout the whole controversy, we hear remarkably little about what arguments Philip and his supporters used to actually justify the marriage, but we can suppose that part of their case centred on Fulk and Bertrada’s marriage either having been legitimately dissolved or having not been legitimate in the first place.

The role played by Fulk in all this is not entirely clear. Both Duby and, more recently, Gabriele suggested that he was acquiescent to the king marrying, or at least having relations with, Bertrada.¹⁰⁴ Did Fulk agree to repudiate her, as he likely had done with previous wives? Perhaps Philip pressured him to do so, or extracted the agreement as the price for something else. Indeed, Gabriele argues that the marriage between Philip and Bertrada may have occurred as a result of an offer made by Fulk to the king, in order to prevent the latter from aiding Robert Curthose in military action against Maine.¹⁰⁵ If so, this would, following Orderic, be the second time in a matter of years when Bertrada was used as a marital pawn in the politics between Normandy and Anjou.

There are, however, reasons to doubt whether Fulk did give up his wife so willingly.¹⁰⁶ Firstly, there is no evidence to suggest that Fulk repudiated Bertrada, or that anyone insisted upon a firm impediment, such as consanguinity or Fulk’s prior marriages, to their union. Ivo’s uncertainties were no more than that. Furthermore, Fulk and Bertrada had only been married a short time and had a son together. True, Fulk had repudiated at least one of his former wives, and he and Ermengarde of Bourbon had also had a son: Fulk’s heir, Geoffrey. However, Philip had shown in the past that, when it came to intervening in the politics of Normandy, he could be bought off, so unless we accept that Fulk did not have the material resources to do this at this time, which is possible, then why would he risk an arrangement which imperilled his own marriage, with all the potential problems that could bring?¹⁰⁷ Surely a vestige of such an

¹⁰⁴ Duby, *The Knight*, p. 7; Gabriele, ‘Not So Strange’, pp. 502-5.

¹⁰⁵ Gabriele, ‘Not So Strange’, pp. 502-5.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Firnhaber-Baker, *House*, pp. p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ For Philip being bought off, see for example: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 548-9.

arrangement would have made it into the surviving source material, especially given Fulk's own reputation with regard to matrimonial matters.

Furthermore, Fulk's own actions in the wake of Philip and Bertrada's marriage are indicative. In a letter to Ralph, archbishop of Reims, written after Philip's death, Ivo of Chartres recalls that, when he was in Rome in late 1093 or early 1094, envoys from Fulk raised the issue of the king's marriage, which was consanguineous on account of the king's kinship with the count.¹⁰⁸ According to Ivo: 'Legates of Fulk, count of Anjou, calculated and proved the same consanguinity [Ivo is referring to another case which is the actual subject of this letter] at another time in the aforesaid [papal] curia, where the king of France was accused since he had stolen the wife of the aforesaid count, his kinsman, whom he indeed retained illicitly. On account of this accusation and the confirmation of the incest brought about, King Philip was excommunicated by Pope Urban at the Council of Clermont'.¹⁰⁹

Later, we have a charter given by Fulk to Saint-Serge at Angers in 1095 in which the dating clause talks of 'France at that time having been polluted by the adultery of the unworthy King Philip'.¹¹⁰ Fulk's own chronicle refers 'the impious Philip'.¹¹¹ When Urban made his tour through parts of France in 1095-1096, he may have avoided the royal lands, but he did visit Fulk, where, as Bradbury says: 'Relations between pope and count were clearly cordial'.¹¹² Urban ceremoniously presented Fulk with a golden flower during his time in Angers.¹¹³ Orderic's comment about Fulk's love for Bertrada, mentioned above, may also have some substance. Suger, though he was surely mocking the count and demonising Bertrada, whose power over men he emphasised, may also allude to the hold she held over his heart when he says that: 'She [Bertrada] had so fully tamed her first husband [Fulk], the Angevin, that he still venerated her as if she were his lady, even after he was totally rejected from the marriage bed. He often sat on a stool at her feet, like someone under a spell, completely

¹⁰⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 211, and for the trip, see no. 27, as well as: Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 211: 'Computaverunt eandem consanguinitatem alio tempore in praedicta curia legati Fulconis Andegavensis comitis et probaverunt, cum accusaretur rex Francorum quod praedicto comiti consanguineo suo uxorem suam subtraxerat, quam etiam illicite retinebat. Propter quam accusationem et patrati incestus comprobationem, excommunicatus est rex Philippus a domno papa Urbano ad Claromontensi concilio'.

¹¹⁰ *Premier et Second livres des Cartulaires de l'abbaye Saint-Serge et Saint-Bach d'Angers (XI^e et XII^e siècles)*, ed. Yves Chauvin, 2 vols (s.l.: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1997), no. 163 (vol. 1, pp. 147-50): 'Francia ex adulterio PHILIPPI indigni regis foedata' (= Guillot, *Le comte*, vol. 2, no. C 386 (pp. 239-40)); Fliche, *Philippe*, p. 45.

¹¹¹ 'Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis', publ. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 233: 'impium Philippi'.

¹¹² Bradbury, 'Fulk', pp. 37-8, 40-1; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 49-58. For Urban's trip through France, see above, p. 96.

¹¹³ 'Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis', publ. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 238; Bradbury, 'Fulk', pp. 40-1.

surrendering to her will'.¹¹⁴ Taken together, these pieces of evidence do not point towards a passive acceptance of Bertrada's loss on Fulk's part.¹¹⁵ Only later do relations between Philip and Fulk seem to have recovered.¹¹⁶

Thus, it seems more likely either that Philip did steal away with Bertrada – with or without her agreement – or that he insisted upon her hand as the only condition for not aiding Robert, thus forcing Fulk to agree, although the latter scenario would still create the issue of a lack of evidence for her repudiation by the count. As Gabriele notes, Philip was journeying westwards around this time, which plausibly created the opportunity for a meeting with Fulk.¹¹⁷ This may have been the first time Philip met Bertrada, and if he was already searching for a wife, as Geoffrey Malaterra's account suggests, and if he was attracted to Bertrada either through love/lust or political prospects or both, then this may have been enough to push the king to drastic action.¹¹⁸ Ultimately, we will never know exactly what happened, but for our purposes the key point is that Bertrada's marriage to Fulk was still viewed by some as legitimate, which in turn could only ever render her marriage to Philip illegitimate.

Returning to Ivo's letter to Ralph, what should we make of Fulk's accusation that the marriage between Philip and Bertrada was consanguineous? Only a few additional sources suggest that this issue may have been raised.¹¹⁹ The kinship between them was twofold, for not only were Philip and Bertrada related to each other within prohibited degrees but also, because Philip and Fulk were fourth cousins, this raised the issue of affinity which could also be used to argue against the legitimacy of the royal marriage.¹²⁰ Thus, as Rolker says: 'Urban from the beginning accused Philip not only of adultery but incestuous adultery, that is, adultery with his cousin's wife'.¹²¹ Georges Duby believed that consanguinity was the issue at the heart of opposition to Philip and Bertrada's marriage.¹²² However, as noted above, Rolker

¹¹⁴ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 124-5: 'Andegavensem priorem maritum, licet thoro omnino repudiatum, ita mollificaverat, ut eam tanquam dominam veneraretur et scabello pedum ejus sepius residens, ac si prestigio fieret, voluntati ejus omnino obsequeretur'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 81.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 45; Qureshi, 'Crusade', p. 523.

¹¹⁶ See below, p. 247.

¹¹⁷ Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', pp. 502-3.

¹¹⁸ For the political prospects, see below, pp. 244-7.

¹¹⁹ Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 235, notes the following: *Annals of Saint-Aubin at Angers*, ed. as: 'Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis', in: *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, publ. Louis Halphen (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-49, at p. 42; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Pertz, p. 492; French trans. in: RHF, vol. 16, p. xlv; Urban II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 68 (col. 354) (= *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7).

¹²⁰ Bruguière, 'Canon Law', pp. 482-4; d'Avray, *Papacy*, pp. 62-3, n. 4, 100-1; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 220-1.

¹²¹ Rolker, 'Kings, Bishops', p. 164. See also: Urban II, *Acta*, ed. PL, no. 68 (col. 354) (= *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7); Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 220-1, 226-7, 235.

¹²² Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, esp. pp. 28-9, 34, 40-5; Duby, *The Knight*, p. 6.

instead argued that Ivo did not believe Fulk's marriage to Bertrada to be legitimate, and would have preferred to preserve the marriage between Philip and Bertrada, which 'was still illicit after Bertha's death, but was no longer necessarily invalid'.¹²³ If Philip did heartfelt penance, it could be legitimised.

Rolker is probably right to play down the issue of consanguinity between Philip and Bertrada, and Duby likely inflates it. Moreover, Fulk and Bertrada themselves were related within prohibited degrees, so neither of the unions in question stood up to deep scrutiny!¹²⁴ Indeed, it is doubtful that consanguinity and/or affinity alone would have been enough to convince Urban II to mount a sustained opposition to the royal marriage.¹²⁵ As Bruguière notes, in the long-term history of the Capetian dynasty, there were many marriages which could have been challenged on such grounds, but either were not or, when they were, were bound up in other concerns.¹²⁶ With this in mind, it seems likely that the allegations as recorded in Ivo's letter were probably only raised by Fulk's envoys as a means to add weight to their complaints against Philip's conduct. It was an additional accusation, but not the core issue, which remained the legitimacy of Fulk and Bertrada's marriage.

Indeed, if the count's marriage was recognised, then Philip's adultery was obvious and hard to dismiss. As noted, Rolker stressed Ivo's uncertainty over whether the marriage between Bertrada and Fulk was legal. However, despite this, it could also be contended that there is no firm evidence to suggest that Ivo was convinced that it was not. Uncertainty would have been useful to Ivo, as it gave him an escape clause. However, while, as seems likely, the pope insisted on the legitimacy of Fulk and Bertrada's marriage, this in turn determined Ivo's opposition to Philip's marriage even after Bertha's death. Ivo kept his options open but followed the papal line. Ultimately, the resolution of the affair, and final judgement on both the comital and the royal marriage, was not in his gift, but that of the pope, first Urban and then Paschal.

The French Prelates

The issues at the heart of the controversy over Philip's marriage to Bertrada have now been outlined, but what about the attitude of those prelates of the French Church who were placed

¹²³ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 230-47, quote at p. 234.

¹²⁴ For their kinship, see: Bruguière, 'Canon Law', pp. 482-4.

¹²⁵ Cf. d'Avray, *Papacy*, 62-3, n. 4; Rolker, *Canon Law*, esp. p. 235 and n. 142.

¹²⁶ Bruguière, 'Canon Law', esp. pp. 495-6.

in the middle of this battle? We have discussed what concerns Ivo had with the marriage, but it is important to recognise that there was more nuance to his position. Ivo was astute and – despite his reformist credentials – worldly enough to know that he had to be mindful of more than theology and canon law, important though these were to him. He was a canonist, but also a prelate of the French realm, and he did not allow the affair to cut his ties with Philip.

Although Ivo clearly had concerns about the morality and legitimacy of Philip's marriage, he was not merely looking down on the king as judge, but advising him as counsellor.¹²⁷ Indeed, Ivo's concern for Philip's soul was twinned with and amplified by a concern for the royal image, which in turn was derived from a respect for kingship.¹²⁸ In the early days of the Bertrada affair, Ivo wrote a letter to Philip in which he firmly but measuredly expresses his reservations about the marriage. As a way of explaining his concerns, he tells Philip that: 'I believe this [the marriage] will be both greatly damaging to your soul and an utmost danger to the crown of your realm'.¹²⁹ In a later letter, when the affair was more advanced and papal pressure on Philip was greater, Ivo wrote to the king again to inform him that he felt unable to attend his summons. He seems to indicate that he might not be able to restrain himself from speaking against the king if he did accept, before adding: 'But I myself have no wish to scandalise you, nor to diminish your royal majesty, as long as it is possible to look away through some other honourable reason'.¹³⁰

One could see such expressions as mere platitudes on Ivo's part, a way for him to voice his moral concern while tempering his words with sentiments of deference. To a degree, this is exactly what they were. However, what we can also see here is a bishop who is genuinely torn between enforcing the laws of the Church and protecting the security and dignity of the realm. Ivo had no wish to see the marriage controversy weaken Philip, but he feared it would do so. As scholars – such as Rolker and Gabriele – have started to realise, Ivo and Philip did not break over the marriage controversy, but continued to work together when common ground could be reached.¹³¹ This has already been seen in this thesis on numerous occasions. The marriage dispute would have undoubtedly strained their relationship, and they certainly did not see eye-to-eye over it. However, there is no reason to believe that the marriage

¹²⁷ Amyot, 'Philip', pp. 53-6.

¹²⁸ See above, pp. 59-60, with esp. reference to Carozzi.

¹²⁹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 15: 'hoc et animae vestrae magnum credam fore detrimentum, et coronae regni vestri summum periculum'.

¹³⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 28: 'Ego autem nolo vos scandalizare, vel regiam majestatem vestram minuere, quamdiu possum aliqua honesta ratione dissimulare'. Cf. also no. 23.

¹³¹ Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 242-3; Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', pp. 505-6.

created any sustained period of unworkable relations between king and bishop. Although Ivo was imprisoned in 1092 by Hugh of Le Puiset, this may have had more to do with local politics at Chartres.¹³² Overall, Philip recognised Ivo's worth, and Ivo recognised Philip's importance and dignity as king.

Ivo's attitude is also clarified by his actions following Philip's death, when he looked to ensure that Louis was quickly anointed king, presumably to stave off the threat of Bertrada's children putting forward a counter-claim or making demands of their own.¹³³ Ivo clearly had reservations about Bertrada. We have already seen that she was implicated in the disputes concerning both the Orléans and Beauvais elections.¹³⁴ In a letter to Hugh of Die, Ivo tells of how Italy is under the sway of 'another Ahab' and Gaul of 'another Jezebel', references which would seem to refer to King Henry IV of Germany and Bertrada respectively, painting them both as enemies of the Church.¹³⁵ Their characterisation as these biblical spouses suggests that Ivo viewed them as a devilish couple pulling the secular strings of Christendom away from the true path of righteousness.¹³⁶ It also allowed Ivo to deflect some of the blame away from Philip, again working in the interests of his sovereign's dignity.

As well as ensuring that Louis was anointed rapidly upon Philip's death, Ivo continued to look out for the royal dignity in matrimonial matters in the new reign. In one letter, he strongly advises Louis to follow through on his intention to marry, noting the dangers to the realm should he die without an heir.¹³⁷ Though Ivo does not say so explicitly, he knew that Bertrada's sons would have had a strong claim to be next in line. The prospective bride was Adelaide of Maurienne, whom Louis did indeed marry in 1115.¹³⁸ Thus, opposition to the marriage between Philip and Bertrada – tinged, it seems, with a genuine opposition to Bertrada herself – was for Ivo also a matter of security and stability in France.

¹³² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 20-1, and see also no. 22; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 134-5; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 87; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 50-1; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 235; Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 232-3; Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 103-6, 178.

¹³³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 189; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-9; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 62-4. See below, p. 263.

¹³⁴ See above, pp. 143-6, 149-54.

¹³⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 24: 'alter Achab [...] altera Jezabel'.

¹³⁶ See: *The Holy Bible* (New International Version) (1979; edn London, 2011), pp. 585-6 (1 Kings 16:29-33).

¹³⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 239.

¹³⁸ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 174-5; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, p. 208; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 130-2; Andrew W. Lewis, 'La date du mariage de Louis VI et d'Adélaïde de Maurienne', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 148 (1990), 5-16, via Persée [website], <<https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1990.450569>>, (accessed 17 June 2024); LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 345-6; Luchoire, *Louis VI*, no. 192 (p. 97).

What about the other prelates of the realm? Ivo stands as an outlier in that he was willing to voice his opposition loudly.¹³⁹ As such, and because we have so many of his letters, we know far more about his stance than that of his episcopal colleagues. With the evidence available, it is often unclear to what degree other bishops sympathised with Ivo or Philip respectively, but some observations can be made.

At the start of the affair, when Philip was preparing to celebrate his marriage to Bertrada, Ivo wrote a letter to Rainald, archbishop of Reims, seeking clarification over the marriage plans. Ivo was concerned that the king was still married to Bertha, but Philip had apparently told him that this was of no consequence, since 'he claimed [the matter] to be fully settled by Apostolic authority and with the agreement of you and your co-bishops'.¹⁴⁰ What was Philip alluding to here? It is entirely possible that he had sought out Rainald and other suffragans of Reims to provide some spiritual legitimacy for his repudiation of Bertha. That Philip was confident enough to cite this episcopal permission for his new marriage to Ivo suggests that these prelates had indicated that they would not stand in the king's way.

As for the 'Apostolic authority', this is harder to unpack. There is no evidence that Philip sought papal consent to a dissolution of his marriage to Bertha prior to marrying Bertrada – he may have viewed this as an unnecessary step, and perhaps simply a risk not worth taking. Though Ivo's letter to Rainald does not specifically mention a legate, Duby suggested that one may have agreed to the marriage at the start, seemingly drawing on another of Ivo's letters, which indicates that a legate called Roger, at an otherwise unknown council at Senlis, agreed that a man could marry his former concubine.¹⁴¹ There is no suggestion from Ivo that this council – the date of which is uncertain – had any direct relevance to the king, but Duby may have inferred this.¹⁴² Perhaps though the 'Apostolic authority' was a more oblique reference to some canon law which may have been used to justify the dissolution; consanguinity would seem to be the only grounds here, but as noted above, there were several issues with insisting on this.¹⁴³ Whatever the truth of the matter, Ivo was not convinced enough to come to Paris in 1092 to celebrate the marriage. As far as he was

¹³⁹ Becker, *Studien*, esp. p. 86 and n. 238. See also: Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 556-60; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 246; 'Rony, 'La légation', pp. 127-8, 135.

¹⁴⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 13: 'testatus est pleniter diffinitam esse apostolica auctoritate et vestra vestrorumque coepiscoporum laudatione'.

¹⁴¹ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 16, and cf. no. 18; Duby, *Knight*, p. 10; cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 232, n. 115.

¹⁴² On Roger, see also: Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten*, pp. 141-3.

¹⁴³ See above, pp. 224-6.

concerned, Rainald and others had capitulated to the king's wishes too willingly, or at least without due consideration.

Ivo's letter to Rainald may not have been totally fruitless. We do not know which prelates were present at Paris in 1092, but Rainald may not have been among them, for he did not preside over the marriage ceremony. Different sources attribute this act to different prelates, but most likely the ceremony was conducted by Ursio, bishop of Senlis, as indicated in a letter of Urban II.¹⁴⁴ That Ursio performed this role does not exclude Rainald's presence, but one does wonder why he would have been chosen if Rainald or another archbishop was there and willing to play the role. Following Fliche, who believed it likely that Rainald and most of his suffragans were at Paris, the archbishop may have had reservations about the king's course of action.¹⁴⁵ This may be true even if the king had consulted him prior to Paris; Philip may have adduced compliance from the archbishop's unwillingness to commit one way or the other. The ambiguity of Rainald's true feelings, and those of other prelates, was not a problem for Philip, providing they were not willing to voice their concerns with any force. Ivo, though, was ready for the fight.

Even if only a small number of prelates were present at Paris to assent in person to the king's marriage in 1092, and this is far from certain, we can be more confident of the numbers present at the council held in Reims in 1094, after Bertha's death. Philip called this council and was present there, alongside various prelates including Rainald, archbishop of Reims – by that time old and frail – Richerius, archbishop of Sens, Ralph, archbishop of Tours, as well as several other bishops.¹⁴⁶ If Philip did, as seems entirely plausible, use this council to solidify support for his marriage to Bertrada, this may suggest that the prelates saw Bertha's death as relieving any impediment. It should be remembered that Urban had associated Rainald of Reims with Hugh of Die's legatine investigation into the marriage, so his voice would carry weight.¹⁴⁷ However, we should be careful in reading too much into who was present, for the council was also concerned with other matters.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, if the prelates gathered there did offer some support to Philip's position, this may have been no more formal than the acquiescence already indicated in 1092.

¹⁴⁴ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 234-7; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 46-50.

¹⁴⁵ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 47-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 136-7; Note on the Council of Reims, ed. RHF.

¹⁴⁷ See above, pp. 220-1.

¹⁴⁸ Note on the Council of Reims, ed. RHF.

Hugh of Die's excommunication of Philip shortly after this Reims council ensured that the affair dragged on. The excommunication, and later the interdict too, must have caused great concern to at least some of the prelates, regardless of what they thought about the rights and wrongs of the marriage. However, the effect on their relationship with the king may not have been drastic. Fliche is probably right in suggesting that 'it is unlikely that they [the bishops] completely ceased divine service, even in the diocese where the king was found'.¹⁴⁹ In 1098, Ralph, archbishop of Tours, dared to crown Philip despite the sanctions against him, and this happened again at Pentecost 1100 with bishops from the province of Reims.¹⁵⁰ Ivo alerted the papal legates to these transgressions, but as noted even he did not wholly break contact with Philip during these years. The bishops could not afford the luxury of ignoring the king, even if he was excommunicate. It is true that there is a noticeable lacuna in Philip's *acta* between the Council of Clermont and 1100, which perhaps indicates a degree of reticence among the clergy with regard to seeking out the king's confirmation during these years, but other factors, including simple loss of records, may well be at work here too.¹⁵¹

In one of his letters to Urban, Ivo cautioned the pope against trusting some envoys sent by Philip to discuss the marriage question.¹⁵² These envoys, Ivo warned, had either already obtained ecclesiastical honours from the king, or had been promised them. This suggests that Philip may have been vetting candidates for bishoprics or other ecclesiastical office based partly on their level of support for his marriage, but this is not surprising. More striking is Ivo's claim that the envoys would argue that 'the king with his realm will withdraw from obedience to you if you do not restore to him his crown and absolve him from his anathema'.¹⁵³ If such a threat was made, Philip was proposing schism, which would turn France into, in Urban's eyes, a pariah realm like that of Henry IV. Given Urban's own troubles, it is possible that the prospect was raised as a way of striking fear and uncertainty among the pope and his entourage, thereby encouraging a softening of Urban's position on the marriage, but it is highly unlikely that Philip actually wanted or intended to follow through on his

¹⁴⁹ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 66: 'il est peu vraisemblable qu'ils aient fait complètement cesser le service divin, même dans le diocèse où se trouvait le roi'.

¹⁵⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 66-7, 84; Becker, *Studien*, p. 112; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 66, 93-4; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 5-6. See above, pp. 51-2, 144.

¹⁵¹ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 62; cf. Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', pp. 505-7.

¹⁵² Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 46.

¹⁵³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 46: 'regem cum regno ab obedientia vestra discessurum, nisi coronam restituatis, nisi regem ab anathemate absolvatis'.

threat.¹⁵⁴ Despite the prolongation of the marriage controversy after this letter and into Paschal's pontificate, Philip did not subtract France's obedience. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 1, he resisted aiding the emperor or his anti-popes in their struggle with the papacy throughout his entire reign.¹⁵⁵ Ultimately, to provoke schism would have been extremely risky for Philip, but if Ivo is accurate, and the king felt confident enough to make this threat, then this suggests that it was at least thought credible that should he choose to take drastic action over the marriage, a fair proportion of the French prelates would back him.

It is notable that, when the marriage affair was finally resolved, this was done ultimately through the French prelates, not Paschal or his legates.¹⁵⁶ Richard of Albano had been present slightly earlier at Beaugency, but no decision was made there. Ivo's letter alludes to Philip's frustration at this missed opportunity, but in fact it seems that there was a reluctance on the part of the French clergy to act without direct papal say-so, which probably indicates the strength of feeling that this controversy had to be settled for good.¹⁵⁷ Paschal thus conferred responsibility onto not another legate, but a French bishop, Lambert of Arras.¹⁵⁸ As we saw in the previous chapter, Lambert was a prelate with ties to both king and pope, head of a diocese recently created by the papacy but to Philip's benefit.¹⁵⁹ He was an ideal man to bring about a lasting resolution to the affair, less bound to the king than other prelates like the archbishop of Reims, but still rooted in the French context, unlike Paschal's legates. He oversaw the 1104 Council at Paris, at which only French prelates were present. This was a solution which allowed the French Church to take the lead in resolving the longstanding controversy. Paschal may have imposed the terms, but it was up to Philip, together with Lambert and his co-bishops, to enact them. When they did so, Paschal accepted, and the matter was closed.

Overall, the attitude of the French prelates towards Philip's second marriage is filled with uncertainty, but we should probably distinguish between the private feelings of individual prelates, who may have discussed the morality and legality of the marriage amongst themselves, and the outward displays of these men, who may have been willing to question their king on this issue but not, ultimately, to defy him. Ivo was the loudest opponent, but did

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 56-7; Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 238; Rony, 'La légation', pp. 142-4.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 98.

¹⁵⁶ See above, pp. 227-8.

¹⁵⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 144.

¹⁵⁸ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 238-41.

¹⁵⁹ See above, pp. 205-7.

not forget that Philip was the king. Other prelates surely shared Ivo's concerns to a greater or lesser degree. A letter written to Ivo by Walter II, bishop of Meaux, suggests that the latter may have felt some degree of unease over the marriage, though he stuck by Philip all the same.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, whatever reservations may have been present across the many years it took to resolve this affair, acquiescence, though not necessarily ambivalence, seems to have been the general attitude of the French prelates. The probability of this stance would not have been lost on Philip, Ivo or the popes.

Philip and His Marriage

Finally, let us consider how Philip himself understood the controversy around his second marriage. Duby encouraged an appreciation of how Philip's outlook may have differed from that of those who opposed his marriage to Bertrada, arguing that 'he did not think [...] that he was doing anything wrong' and, moreover, that 'he also had principles', which 'might have been different from those of Yves of Chartres, but they were no less exacting'.¹⁶¹ These principles, as Duby and others have recognised, were bound up in political concerns too, as we will see.

As for whether Philip thought he was doing anything wrong, this is simply impossible to know. As he formulated his plans to renounce Bertha, we can assume that, whilst his grasp of canon law was probably limited, he was not unaware of matters of precedent. Within his own family, his grandfather, King Robert II, had courted controversy over his marital affairs. Before marrying Philip's grandmother, Constance of Arles, Robert had been married twice: his first wife, Rozala (also known as Suzanne), was quickly repudiated; his second marriage, to Bertha, widow of the count of Blois, was consanguineous and attracted papal censure, and was eventually abandoned.¹⁶² However, despite the dissension which this created, Robert's reputation was still defensible to Helgaud of Fleury, who whilst acknowledging the king's fault in marrying Bertha (Rozala is not mentioned in Helgaud's account) did his best to emphasise that he had made amends.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 16.

¹⁶¹ Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁶² Bruguière, 'Canon Law', pp. 477-81, 494-5; d'Avray, *Dissolving Royal Marriages*, pp. 44-6; Dhondt, 'Sept femmes', pp. 38-52; Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 45-54; Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 78-85; Ch. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031)* (Paris, 1885), pp. 41-69; Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 56-7.

¹⁶³ Helgaud of Fleury, *Life of Robert*, ed. Bautier and Labory, pp. 27-8, 92-7.

Whether Philip was aware of these events in any detail is uncertain, but aside from whatever was passed down through family oral tradition, he may well have been introduced to Helgaud's text through his contact with Fleury and its monks.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, other prominent incidents had occurred nearer to Philip's own time. The marriage contracted in the late 1040s between William, duke of Normandy, and Matilda, daughter of Philip's uncle, Baldwin V, count of Flanders, was prohibited for a time, probably because William and Matilda were too closely related, but crucially the couple eventually managed to secure papal consent to their match.¹⁶⁵ Even Fulk IV of Anjou's own marriages may have helped to convince Philip that he would be able to push through with his plans with little by way of obstacle.

However, although examples such as these might have suggested to Philip that marital controversy could be worked around, other precedents offered more cause for caution. Early in Philip's reign, his widowed mother, Anna of Kyiv, married Ralph of Valois.¹⁶⁶ In order to marry Anna, Ralph controversially repudiated his wife on grounds of adultery, but this provoked controversy which drew the attention of Pope Alexander II and led to Ralph's excommunication.¹⁶⁷ A few years later, in the mid-1070s, William VIII, duke of Aquitaine, went to Rome to settle with Pope Gregory VII over the legality of his marriage to Hildegard. An agreement seems to have been reached which may have involved Hildegard and William remaining apart – we lose sight of her in the sources after this until after William's death – whilst affirming the legitimacy of their son.¹⁶⁸ In summary, common as repudiation and matrimonial controversy might have been, the papacy was not necessarily in the business of letting such matters slide lightly. This had not been the case in the time of Robert II, and it was even less the case now in the age of the reforming popes of the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁶⁹ Even if Philip thought he could succeed in repudiating Bertha and marrying Bertrada, he knew he was taking a risk because such a move was bound to come under at least some scrutiny.

¹⁶⁴ See above, pp. 171-4.

¹⁶⁵ David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2016), pp. 91-4; 99-122; 157-9.

¹⁶⁶ On this marriage, see: Bautier, 'Anne', pp. 552-9; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 18-20; Große, 'Philipp', p. 117; Ward, 'Anne', pp. 447-50; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 113-14.

¹⁶⁷ Alexander II, *Letters*, ed. RHF, no. 10 (p. 539); *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 126-7; Gervase of Reims, *Letters*, ed. RHF, p. 499.

¹⁶⁸ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, 2 vols (Paris, 1903; repr. London: Forgotten Books, s.d.), vol. 1, pp. 306-8, 321-3.

¹⁶⁹ On changing times, cf. for example: Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 45-54.

What Philip surely did not count on was the sheer strength of opposition from Ivo of Chartres, which had the unfortunate by-product of attracting the attention of Urban II and, more crucially still, of Hugh of Die. The objections of Fulk of Anjou can be added to this mix, which when taken as a whole suddenly made Philip's position a lot more precarious than he would have anticipated. It was discussed above how Philip may have approached the issue of justifying his repudiation of Bertha, but also how, once she died, the crux of the problem became the legitimacy of Fulk's own marriage to Bertrada. Did Philip not believe that this was a valid marriage? Or did he simply think that such an issue, which was not totally clear even to Ivo of Chartres, would not be enough to provoke Urban into conflict with the king of France? If so, it was a fatal miscalculation on Philip's part, but an understandable one.¹⁷⁰

With Urban and then Paschal demanding the dissolution of his marriage to Bertrada, Philip held out for many years before giving in, and several reasons likely lay behind this. Firstly, there was the support which Philip could count on in his own lands. It was shown in the previous section how the French episcopate was generally willing to let Philip's marriage stand, or at least not punish him for it. But it was not just support from prelates which Philip could count on. When the papal legates John and Benedict held their council at Poitiers in 1100, early in Paschal II's pontificate, and reiterated the excommunication against Philip, this apparently provoked resistance from the host of the council, William IX, duke of Aquitaine.¹⁷¹ Several sources provide accounts of what occurred, and although details vary, it seems clear that William felt compelled to make a show of opposition to the excommunication, which led to some degree of violence against those ecclesiastics who were willing to pronounce it.¹⁷² Notably, not all the attendees felt comfortable with the sentence, and among those who left in fear or protest we can probably count Ralph II of Tours, who seems to have been present.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ On Philip being surprised by the reaction, see: Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 37.

¹⁷¹ On the council, see above, p. 222. For discussion of what follows, see: Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 67-71; Jean-Hervé Foulon, 'Une conscience profane à l'aube du XII^e siècle? Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine (1086-1126)', in: *Guerriers et moines: conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval (IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, ed. Michel Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), pp. 503-35, at pp. 516-26; Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 265-70; Monod, *Essai*, pp. 16-23; Richard, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 338-42.

¹⁷² *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, ed. Verdon, pp. 172-3; Geoffrey Grossus, *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, ed. as: 'Vita beati Bernardi fundatoris congregationis de Tironio in Gallia auctore Gaufrido Grosso', in: PL, vol. 172 (Paris, 1854), cols 1363-446, at col. 1396; English trans. by Ruth Harwood Cline (Washington, DC, 2009), pp. 54-5; 'Gesta in concilio Pictavensi', ed. and partial French trans. in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 108-9 (edn only), vol. 16 (Paris, 1878), pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicle*, ed. Pertz, p. 493; French trans. in: *RHF*, vol. 16, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv. On the *Life of Bernard*, see also: Kathleen Thompson, *The Monks of Tiron: A Monastic Community and Religious Reform in the Twelfth Century* (2014; pbk edn Cambridge, 2017), esp. pp. 1-61, 100.

¹⁷³ Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 68-71. For those who were present, see: 'Notitiæ tres de jure cœmeterii controverso inter Ausciensem ecclesiam S. Mariæ et monachos S. Orientii', in: *RHF*, vol. 14, pp. 321-4, at pp. 321-2.

Ivo was apparently also there, though surprisingly we hear nothing from him on the violence, perhaps indicating that he too, despite his feelings about the marriage, decided to leave before tensions rose to boiling point.¹⁷⁴

We cannot be sure how far William's sentiments are reflective of those of the wider lay aristocracy, but it is probably fair to say that, just as many of the prelates did not want to flirt with too much personal danger or upheaval through opposition to Philip's marriage, so too did many of the lords and princes of France seek to avoid this. That is not to say that all accepted the change lightly. We have already argued that Fulk of Anjou did not simply acquiesce to Bertrada's loss. Furthermore, in repudiating Bertha, Philip would have angered her kin, particularly Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders.¹⁷⁵ Philip, however, perhaps calculated that Robert's ability to react was limited, and indeed the count died in 1093, which may have helped to cool tensions somewhat.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, when Lambert of Arras journeyed to Rome to gain confirmation of his bishopric, we are told that 'he was delayed at Troyes due to the danger and fear caused by the hatred between Philip, king of France, and Robert, count of Flanders'; by this time Robert the Frisian's son, Robert II, was count, and this comment may indicate that enmity between the king and Flanders on account of the repudiation was still present at this point.¹⁷⁷ Robert II soon went on crusade, which may have ameliorated the situation.¹⁷⁸

However, although Philip risked existing political relations through his marriage to Bertrada, he also forged valuable new connections, as has been outlined recently by Matthew Gabriele.¹⁷⁹ The argument put forward by Gabriele suggests that the marriage can be better understood when framed within a desire on Philip's part to shift his concentration towards the south-west, a manoeuvre in which the widespread connections of the Montfort family could be very valuable. The possible link between the initial circumstances of the marriage

¹⁷⁴ 'Notitiæ tres de jure cœmeterii', ed. RHF, at pp. 321-2; cf. Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, nos. 84, 95, 100.

¹⁷⁵ On Bertha's family, see above, pp. 217-18.

¹⁷⁶ On the Flemish reaction to Bertha's repudiation, see: DUBY, *The Knight*, p. 17; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 46; Gabriele, 'Not So Strange', p. 505; Große, 'Philipp', p. 120; Verlinden, *Robert*, pp. 78-9; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, p. 146. On Robert's death, see: Verlinden, *Robert*, p. 166.

¹⁷⁷ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 130-1: 'apud Trecas cum periculo et timore sit demoratus pro odio Philippi, regis Francorum, et Roberti, comitis Flandriæ'; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 46; Verlinden, *Robert*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁸ M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade', in: *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 79-100.

¹⁷⁹ Gabriele, 'Not so strange', passim.

and Fulk IV's designs on Maine was already mentioned above.¹⁸⁰ Gabriele also suggested that Bertrada's dower lands in Touraine may have helped her to facilitate links between Philip and Marmoutier, and Philip's patronage of Saint-Magloire at Paris may also be linked to Montfort interests there.¹⁸¹

There was a dynastic element to all this as well. Louis was Philip's only living son. There is evidence to suggest that Philip and Bertha may have had at least one other son, but if so he/they likely died young.¹⁸² Naturally, as Duby recognised, Philip would have been concerned over the security of the royal succession.¹⁸³ It was unclear what would happen if Louis predeceased his father. Constance, Philip and Bertha's only daughter, had been married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and together they would have a strong claim.¹⁸⁴ But given France had never had a queen regnant, Philip's brother, Hugh, would also be a candidate.¹⁸⁵ More worryingly still, the ambitious King William II of England may have held designs on the French throne, as Suger claims.¹⁸⁶ In short, the potential for instability upon Philip's death was high until he had another son. Thus, given he and Bertha had lost several children, and she was now of advancing age, Philip may have concluded that a new marriage was a dynastic imperative.

Bertrada, as noted above, had two sons with Philip, which in theory would provide for the succession. However, the contested nature of the marriage meant that the legitimacy of these children was in question too. Suger, writing years later with the benefit of hindsight, asserted that they had no right at all to the throne, but this was surely not the view of everyone at the time, and later in his work, writing about Louis' reign, Suger claims that a Montfort faction planned to install one of Bertrada's sons should anything happen to the king.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, at Philip's court, there seems to have been factional competition between

¹⁸⁰ See above, p. 231. For the wider politics of Maine at this time, see, for example: Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 380-8; 390-2; 402-6.

¹⁸¹ Gabriele, 'Not so strange', pp. 507-9. For the dower lands, see: Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 1, no. 113 (p. 234), no. 153 (pp. 317-18), 155 (pp. 319-21); Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 74-5; Marion F. Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987-1237', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968), 1-48, at pp. 22, 42. See also above, pp. 172-3.

¹⁸² Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p. 47 and n. 10 (on p. 243); Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 72-3.

¹⁸³ Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 16-18; cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 231.

¹⁸⁴ See below, p. 254.

¹⁸⁵ On Hugh, see above, p. 9, and below, pp. 252-3.

¹⁸⁶ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 10-13; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 27; Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 378; Duby, *The Knight*, p. 17; Gillingham, *William II*, p. 58; Mason, *William II*, pp. 78-9, 197; J. O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 1-35, at pp. 26-7.

¹⁸⁷ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, pp. 10-11, 122-5; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 27, 81-2. See: Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 94-6.

those who rallied behind Bertrada – and so consequently the legitimacy of her marriage to Philip and the rights of their children – and those tied to Louis.¹⁸⁸ Philip had a difficult balancing act to play. He stuck by Bertrada, backed her brother William as bishop of Paris, and arranged advantageous marriages for their children.¹⁸⁹ However, he also asserted Louis' position as prince-designate, gave valuable court positions to Louis' allies, the Garlandes, and allowed Louis to exercise important military and political functions.¹⁹⁰

The factional tensions present at the French court are reflected in the work of Orderic Vitalis.¹⁹¹ He claims that, when Louis travelled to the court of King Henry I of England, Bertrada took the opportunity, without Philip's knowledge, to send a letter to Henry, complete with the royal seal, asking the English king to imprison Louis for the rest of his days. Henry refused and Louis returned home, angry with Philip and filled with murderous intentions towards Bertrada – something Suger would never have admitted! Bertrada herself looked to dispense with Louis, to the extent that a poison plot made him very ill. Orderic says explicitly that: 'She longed passionately for his destruction, and tried many times with the help of various accomplices to ensure that, released from the man she had so deeply wronged, she might control the government and find it easier to install her sons, Philip and Florus, on the throne if Louis were to die'.¹⁹² Only through Philip's own intervention, and Louis' gracious forgiveness, was this feud dampened. Orderic's editor, Marjorie Chibnall, suggested that this account 'reads like epic invention', and indeed there may be significant embellishment on Orderic's part, but nevertheless, as Chibnall recognised, it corroborates that there were very real tensions around the succession.¹⁹³ Despite this, from Philip's perspective, his sons with Bertrada gave him the dynastic security he needed, and the maintenance of their legitimacy likely influenced his decision to prolong the marriage controversy for so many years. However, he never showed any serious sign of disinheriting Louis, who remained his primary heir.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Luchoire, *Louis VI*, pp. xxiv-xxv; but cf. Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 54-60.

¹⁸⁹ On William, see above, pp. 142-3. On the marriages, see above, p. 223, and below, pp. 253-4.

¹⁹⁰ For Louis as prince-designate, see: Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 31-77. On the court positions, see above, pp. 55, 149-50.

¹⁹¹ For what follows here, see: Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 50-5. Cf. Symeon of Durham, 'Historia Regum', ed. Thomas Arnold, in: *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols (London, 1882-5), vol. 2, pp. 1-283, at p. 232.

¹⁹² Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 54-5: 'Quapropter exitium illi magnopere peroptauerat, et multis conatibus per plurimos iniquitatis complices procurauerat, ut et ipsa de timore eius quem nimis offenderat liberate in principatu gloriaretur, et filios suos Philippum et Florum si ille moreretur, in regni solio securior intronizare moliretur'.

¹⁹³ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, pp. 50-1, n. 2, and see also pp. 54-5, n. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Bournazel, *Louis*, pp. 42-3, 48-51; Bradbury, *The Capetians*, p. 131. Also, see below, pp. 257-9.

Whether or not a sexual relationship between Philip and Bertrada continued after the Council of Paris, we know that contact between them did not completely cease, for they are found together at Angers in 1106, confirming acts in favour of Saint-Nicolas.¹⁹⁵ Significantly, Fulk IV's animosity towards Philip from the early years of the marriage controversy seems to have subsided by this point, and if Orderic is to be believed, it may have been Bertrada herself who helped to bring about a reconciliation between Philip and her former husband.¹⁹⁶ This development was no doubt a great relief to Philip, and may have helped to facilitate an eventual solution to the marriage question.

Assessment

The controversy which arose over Philip's marriage to Bertrada of Montfort centred on two essential points. Firstly, there was the issue that Philip's first wife, Bertha of Holland, was still alive until sometime in 1094, and while Philip may have felt justified in repudiating her, others were less sure. Secondly, Bertrada herself was already married, but the legitimacy of this marriage, to Fulk IV of Anjou, was questionable. After Bertha's death, it was this second issue which seems to have become the key point on which the whole controversy revolved, even though other factors such as allegations of consanguinity and a desire for Philip to perform due penance likely also played a role. Indeed, for as long as Bertrada's marriage to Fulk was regarded as legitimate and ongoing, her marriage to Philip was in doubt. For his part, the French king, though he made some efforts to appease his opponents, would not give up his wife, so the situation reached an impasse. It took until 1104, when Philip finally agreed to separate from Bertrada, and took an oath to this effect in front of French bishops at Paris, that the affair could be resolved. Whether he kept his word is unknowable, but crucially, in the climate of better relations between king and pope in those years, his sincerity, once the vow had been professed, was not seriously challenged.

Fulk IV likely mounted his opposition to the marriage very quickly, if not right from the start. Indignation at Bertha's repudiation probably also emerged from Flanders. Among the French prelates, although for the most part any grumblings were likely muted, there was the key exception of Ivo of Chartres, who was clearly very uneasy about the matter. These opposing voices surely helped to bring the matter to Urban's attention, and consequently to

¹⁹⁵ See above, p. 223.

¹⁹⁶ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 260-3.

provoke the censure of Hugh of Die. When it became clear to Hugh that the majority of the French prelates would not risk challenging the marriage, he took the step of excommunicating Philip himself, thus setting in motion a chain of events which only Urban could have stopped. Instead, the pope sided with Hugh and made the rejection of Bertrada a precondition of a full and reconciled relationship with Philip. This policy was continued under Paschal.

Philip had genuine political and dynastic reasons for pursuing his marriage to Bertrada. We cannot say for sure whether he loved her, but if he did then this could only have added to his desire to keep her. Many French prelates, too, had solid reasons for limiting their opposition, and as Duby cautioned, we must not fall into the trap of placing those churchmen who supported the marriage and those who did not on two sides of some obvious moral dividing line.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, Philip and those who supported him may have felt morally justified in their position, especially after Bertha's death and in light of the ambiguity of Bertrada's marriage to Fulk. Before Bertha's death, they may have had other arguments in their favour of which we are only dimly aware. The fact that even someone like Hugh of Die waited until late 1094 to sanction Philip perhaps suggests that there was thought to be at least some merit to whatever argument the king used to justify repudiating his first wife.

What does this controversy say about Philip's attitude towards religious authority and reform? It is important to state that Philip did not marry Bertrada as an act of hostility towards the papacy or reforming endeavour. He would have had no desire to see the affair balloon as it did, and neither did Urban II want this development. The decade or so during which this matter was live saw it become the key glaring issue which prevented a more normalised relationship between king and pope, but as we have seen it did not sever all contact or cooperation between them. Philip's eventual decision to end his marriage to Bertrada can be seen, on the one hand, as a recognition that the religious authority of the reformist papacy was strong enough to force him to back down or face damnation. On the other hand, it can be acknowledged that Philip had successfully held his ground for a number of years with probably little impact to his own rule. He gained heirs to secure the succession and by 1104 was in a strong enough position to back down, aware that a restored relationship with the pope was to his advantage. Thus, as Becker says, neither king nor pope should be thought of

¹⁹⁷ Duby, *The Knight*, pp. 15-16.

as the winner of this battle.¹⁹⁸ The relationship between secular and spiritual authority in France had been severely tested, and both sides could be satisfied with the outcome.

Philip and Crusade

In November 1095, at a council held at Clermont, Pope Urban II preached a military campaign to the Holy Land, encouraging the Christians of western Europe to take up arms and journey east to take back Jerusalem from Muslim rule.¹⁹⁹ This became the catalyst for the First Crusade (1095-1099), which saw thousands of armed warriors, many from French lands, make the long journey east, where they captured such cities as Nicaea, Antioch and finally, in 1099, Jerusalem.²⁰⁰ This event had a major impact on the inhabitants of western Europe and spawned numerous accounts of the expedition.²⁰¹ Many more crusades would occur, including to other regions, in the years which followed.²⁰²

No kings took part in the First Crusade, which was led instead by various secular rulers. Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, provided spiritual leadership.²⁰³ It was not until the Second Crusade that reigning European monarchs – among them Philip’s grandson, Louis VII – participated in a crusade to the east.²⁰⁴ Given that the First Crusade was preached in France,

¹⁹⁸ Becker, *Studien*, p. 114.

¹⁹⁹ *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. 1: *Decreta Claromontensia*, ed. Robert Somerville (Amsterdam, 1972); Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (2004; edn London, 2005), pp. 31-9; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (1987), 4th edn with Susanna A. Throop (London, 2023), pp. 44-52; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 224-33.

²⁰⁰ Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, passim

²⁰¹ For example: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and English trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007); Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014); English trans. by Susan B. Edgington, with an introduction by Steven J. Biddlecombe, as: *“History of the Jerusalemites”: A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, (Woodbridge, 2020); Fulcher of Chartres (Fulcheri Carnotensis), *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and English trans. by Rosalind Hill, as: *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London, 1962); Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks | Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, as: *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes* (Turnhout, 1996); English trans. by Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997); Peter Tudebode (Petrus Tudebodus), *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, rev. Jean Richard (Paris, 1977); English trans. by John Hugh Hill and Laura L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA, 1974); Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill with French trans. (of introduction and notes) by Philippe Wolff, as: *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers* (Paris, 1969); English trans. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, PA, 1968); Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013); English trans. by Carol Sweetenham, as: *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade* (2005; pbk edn Aldershot, 2006).

²⁰² For an overview of the first c. 100 years of the crusades, see: Riley-Smith and Throop, *The Crusades*, pp. 1-180.

²⁰³ On Adhemar, see above, p. 83.

²⁰⁴ On Louis VII and crusade, see for example: Laurence W. Marvin, ‘King Louis VII as General on the Second Crusade: A Failure of Command, Control and Communication’, in: Michael L. Bardot and Laurence W. Marvin (eds), *Louis VII and His World* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 29-49; John G. Rowe, ‘The Origins of the Second Crusade: Pope

and so many of the crusaders were French, one may wonder why Philip himself did not participate. There are, in fact, many reasons for this, as will be seen, but it is clear that Philip's lack of participation should not be counted against him when weighing his attitude towards reform.

Fliche viewed Philip's excommunication – on account of his marriage to Bertrada – as explanation enough for his lack of participation in the First Crusade.²⁰⁵ However, prior to the Council of Clermont, as we have seen, Philip's excommunication had only been pronounced by Hugh of Die.²⁰⁶ Urban had yet to confirm it, so if the pope had hoped to encourage Philip's personal involvement in the crusade expedition, we might expect that he would at least demur on this pronouncement, allowing the king time to consider making amends by adding his name to the roster of crusaders and abandoning Bertrada to journey east with them. The marriage affair had already dragged on for several years, so what damage would a few more weeks or months do? The nuclear option of excommunication was unlikely to inspire the king to bind himself to the papal plan. Nevertheless, Urban confirmed Hugh's judgement, which suggests that he saw the two issues as separate.

One might contend that an opposite logic was in fact Urban's intention, namely that by excommunicating Philip he hoped to prompt the king into a quick abandonment of his marriage so that he could then be recruited for the crusade, perhaps as part of his penance. Such a suggestion seems speculative at best. Becker and Fliche argued that Urban did want Philip to join the crusade effort, but Bull believed otherwise.²⁰⁷ Besides, when Philip and Urban met, in a reconciliatory mood, at Nîmes a few months after Clermont, this provided an opportunity for Philip to commit to the crusade if he had wanted to; the excommunication was – temporarily, as it turned out – lifted so there was no longer any impediment.²⁰⁸ But still there is no sign that Philip planned to go, or that Urban encouraged him to. It seems likely that both king and pope acknowledged that the former's participation in the First Crusade was unrealistic.

Eugenius III, Bernard of Clairvaux and Louis VII of France', in: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 79-89.

²⁰⁵ Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 512. See also: Barthélemy, 'Église', pp. 240-1.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 221.

²⁰⁷ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 91-2, 109-10; Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne*, p. 278; Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), 25-46, at pp. 26-7. Cf. also Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, pp. 56-7.

²⁰⁸ See above, p. 222.

Why was this so? One reason was surely the unpredictability of the enterprise. It is easy with hindsight to criticise Philip – or indeed any other non-participant – for not taking part in what was ultimately a successful campaign, but there was no guarantee in 1095 that this was how events would turn out.²⁰⁹ In fact, we might imagine that, though the idea of journeying east to re-take holy sites for Christianity clearly aroused a feverish affirmative reaction among many in western Europe, there must have been a significant number who thought such a distant, ambitious and unprecedented undertaking to be bordering on reckless. This may be true for the average layperson; it was even more so for a king. Philip's political position was not secure enough to justify a lengthy absence far away from his realm.²¹⁰

Of particular concern, as Becker observes, would have been the situation in the north.²¹¹ Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, was one of the leaders of the crusade, but in order to go he mortgaged his duchy to his brother, King William II of England, who thus gained a major strategic advantage on the borders of Philip's lands.²¹² If Philip departed on crusade, a regency government would have to be left to tackle this threat, as well as anything else that might arise. Given that Robert II, count of Flanders, Stephen-Henry of Blois, and Philip's brother Hugh, count of Vermandois, did join the crusade, and Philip's relationship with Fulk IV of Anjou was strained by the marriage controversy, it is unclear who would have been sought to lead any regency administration or whether they would have had enough backing to exercise power effectively in Philip's absence. Louis was still only in his mid-teens and had not yet proven his own military leadership.²¹³ Powerful though the Montfort interest was, it is very doubtful that they would have had enough support without Philip to allow Bertrada or a member of her kin to lead the government. Perhaps some may have looked to Philip's son-in-law, Hugh, count of Troyes, and the kinship networks he could deploy, or maybe the king would have reached out to his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, or even to William IX of Aquitaine. Some leadership could have been provided by senior French prelates, but support from major lay magnates would still be crucial, as had been the case with Philip's own

²⁰⁹ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 41-2.

²¹⁰ Bruguère, 'Canon Law', p. 473; Naus, *Constructing Kinship*, pp. 32, 41-2.

²¹¹ Becker, *Studien*, pp. 91-2.

²¹² Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 162-3; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 361-7; Mason, *William II*, pp. 165-7.

²¹³ Louis' youth is noted by: Luigi Russo, 'Il viaggio di Boemondo d'Altavilla in Francia (1106): un riesame', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 163 (2005), 3-42, via JSTOR [website], <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26231377>>, (accessed 17 July 2024), at p. 21.

minority.²¹⁴ Overall, Philip's absence on crusade would make probable a dangerous power vacuum, and there was no obvious answer as to who could fill it.

There were, therefore, very good reasons why Philip himself did not go on crusade, and there is good cause to doubt whether such a prospect was ever seriously considered by either him or Urban. However, just because he did not personally participate, this does not mean that Philip was unresponsive to the advent of crusading. The work of James Naus, in particular, has been transformative in our understanding of how the Capetians interacted with the early crusading movement.²¹⁵ It has been pointed out that Philip was involved in the preparations for the crusade. Guibert of Nogent, who completed his *Deeds of God through the Franks* early in Louis VI's reign, claims that Philip and Hugh hosted a number of magnates at Paris in February 1096 in connection with the crusade, which suggests that Philip, despite his grievances with Urban, lent his support to the organisation of this new enterprise.²¹⁶

Philip's brother, Hugh, count of Vermandois, was one of the leading figures on the crusade.²¹⁷ Guibert praises Hugh's high birth and conduct, and even claims that 'Certain leaders [of the crusade] attached themselves to him, thinking that they would make him king if it happened that, after the Gentiles were driven out, the occupation of the land came about as a result of battle'.²¹⁸ Anna Komnene, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, claimed in her work, the *Alexiad*, that Hugh carried to the east a papal standard granted to him by Urban.²¹⁹ This banner may have been given firstly to Philip at Nîmes, and Naus has seen it as indicative of 'strong evidence of Philip's interest in the crusade' as well as 'the monarch's acceptance of the papal reform movement [...] and the King's firm awareness of how the crusade was fundamentally a papal endeavour'.²²⁰ The crusade alone cannot signify Philip's acceptance of papal reform – indeed this thesis has emphasised how multifaceted the issue of reform was – but Naus is right to highlight that, in aiding the preparations for the crusade,

²¹⁴ On Philip's minority, see above, p. 10.

²¹⁵ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*; James L. Naus, 'The French Royal Court and the Memory of the First Crusade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 55 (2011), 49-78. See also: Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy'.

²¹⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, ed. Huygens, p. 133, and see pp. 51-6 for the date; English trans. by Levine, p. 54; Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, pp. 56-7; Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', p. 34; Luchaire, *Les premiers*, p. 234; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 42, 48-9 and n. 119 (on p. 56); Naus, 'The French Royal Court', p. 56; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (1997; pbk edn Cambridge, 1998), pp. 88-90, 108-9.

²¹⁷ See esp. Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', pp. 30-43.

²¹⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, ed. Huygens, p. 131: 'Huic quidam procerum innitebantur et, si quid bellorum iure, evictis gentilibus, eos obtinere contingeret, ipsum sibi regem preficere meditabantur', and see also pp. 135, 155, 227-9, 243, 328; English trans. by Levine, pp. 53-4, and see also pp. 55-6, 66, 104-5, 112, 155.

²¹⁹ Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, English trans. by E. R. A. Sewter (1969), rev. Peter Frankopan (London, 2009), p. 280; cf. Robert the Monk, *Historia*, pp. 14, 62; English trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 91, 155.

²²⁰ Naus, 'French Royal Court', p. 58. See also: Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', pp. 38, 40, 46, n. 107.

Philip was recognising the papal direction of this campaign, thus showing himself, in this matter at least, Urban's dutiful and obedient servant.

Hugh was Philip's foremost representative on the First Crusade, but his record on the expedition was, as Bull phrases it, 'notable but unspectacular'.²²¹ He is consistently mentioned by the narrative accounts, with his role occasionally highlighted in some, but crucially, he did not stay with the army until the end. For reasons which remain somewhat unclear, he deserted the crusade and returned to France.²²² That the crusaders then went on to capture Jerusalem put Hugh, as well as others like Stephen-Henry, count of Blois, in a difficult predicament, for they had invested heavily in the crusade but lost out on the prestige of being present at its culminating moment of victory, being sullied instead with the ignominy of desertion.²²³ Philip, concerned about the potential effect of this on his own reputation, may have prompted Hugh to return to the east in 1101, where he ultimately died after being wounded in battle.²²⁴

Hugh's return may be seen as indicative of a concern on Philip's part to attach his dynasty to the prestige of crusading.²²⁵ Other figures with links to the royal court also journeyed east, including several who had served as royal officers, with some also returning in 1101, again perhaps prompted by Philip.²²⁶ William of Montfort, bishop of Paris, was among the participants in the later expedition; like Hugh, he died before he could return to France.²²⁷ It has been argued that it was at least partly in recognition of the crusading reputation of two members of the Montlhéry family that Philip arranged marriages for his children into this house.²²⁸ As seen already, Philip's eldest son by Bertrada, Philip of Mantes, was married to

²²¹ Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', pp. 34-42; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 42-3.

²²² Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, ed. Edgington, pp. 340-3; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia*, ed. Biddlecombe, pp. 84-5, 86, n. f; English trans. by Edgington, pp. 124, 168; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 258, 429; *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, p. 72; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, ed. Huygens, pp. 227-9, 243; English trans. by Levine, pp. 104-5, 112; Robert the Monk, *Historia*, ed. Kempf and Bull, p. 79; English trans. by Carol Sweetenham, pp. 174-5; William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, as: Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 2 vols (Turnhout: 1986), vol. 1, pp. 343, 465; English trans. by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, as: William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2 vols (1941; repr. New York, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 298, 430.

²²³ Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy', pp. 34-42; Naus, 'The French Royal Court', pp. 57-60, 71-4, 76; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 32-3, 43-4. On Stephen-Henry, see above, p. 20.

²²⁴ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, p. 44. On Hugh's death, see: Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, ed. Huygens, pp. 312-13; English trans. by Levine, p. 147; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, p. 433; William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, ed. Huygens, vol. 1, pp. 465-7; English trans. by Babcock and Krey, vol. 1, pp. 430-3.

²²⁵ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 28-56.

²²⁶ Civel, *La fleur*, p. 404; Naus, 'The French Royal Court', pp. 60-4.

²²⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, ed. Huygens, p. 313; English trans. by Levine, p. 147; *GC*, vol. 7, col. 54. See above, p. 62.

²²⁸ Naus, 'The French Royal Court', pp. 60-3; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 35-6, 44. Cf. also: Jean Flori, *Bohémond d'Antioche: Chevalier d'aventure* (Paris, 2007), pp. 139-42, 267-8.

Elisabeth, daughter of Guy Trousseau, lord of Montlhéry.²²⁹ Similarly, Louis was betrothed to Lucienne, daughter of Elisabeth's great uncle, the royal seneschal Guy the Red, lord of Rochefort, who Suger notes 'had returned from the expedition to Jerusalem renowned and rich'.²³⁰ Admittedly, this match was later annulled in 1107, and both marriages also had an eye towards placating this powerful family and prompting harmony between Bertrada's children and Louis. Nevertheless, the crusading links may have been a factor.

Furthermore, these marriages were not even the most dazzling examples of Philip seeking to wed his children to notable crusaders. In 1106, Bohemond, a Norman from southern Italy who had been one of the key leaders of the First Crusade and who had acquired through it the principality of Antioch, journeyed to France to recruit reinforcements for a campaign against the Byzantine emperor.²³¹ During this trip, he journeyed into the royal lands and secured the hand of Philip's eldest daughter, Constance.²³² Her previous marriage to Hugh, count of Troyes, had been annulled on account of consanguinity, with the support of Ivo of Chartres and Philip.²³³ Bohemond and Philip also arranged that the king's daughter by Bertrada, Cecilia, would marry Bohemond's nephew, Tancred, another crusade leader.²³⁴ Bearing in mind that Florus was not wed during Philip's lifetime, it is striking that Philip wed no less than four of his children to crusaders or their close kin, and two of them to men who were based thousands of miles away.²³⁵ As Naus and others have argued, these alliances were surely framed around the prestige of linking the Capetians to this first generation of crusaders and to the new Christian principalities in the east.²³⁶

²²⁹ See above, p. 223.

²³⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 146-7; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 38-41: 'ab itinere Jherosolimitano famose copioseque redisset'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 41; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 34, 142; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 65-7; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 51-2, 54; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 32 (pp. 19-20); Naus, 'The French Royal Court', pp. 61-2.

²³¹ Flori, *Bohémond*, pp. 253-73; Russo, 'Il viaggio', passim.

²³² Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall vol. 3, pp. 182-3, vol. 4, pp. 264-5, vol. 6, pp. 68-73; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 44-51; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 43-6; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 221 and no. 63 (p. 475); Flori, *Bohémond*, pp. 266-9; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 28-30, 33-6, 38; Russo, 'Il viaggio', pp. 17-23, 31, 40.

²³³ Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 158; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, p. 70; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 86-8; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 59, 68-9; 77-8; 93, 221; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 30 (pp. 18-19).

²³⁴ Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. Sewter and Frankopan, p. 352; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 692-3; William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, ed. Huygens, vol. 1, p. 495; English trans. by Babcock and Krey, vol. 1, pp. 460-1; Fliche, *Le règne*, p. 90; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, p. 35.

²³⁵ On Florus's life, see: Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 51-2, 156 and n. 2; Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 73.

²³⁶ Naus, 'The French Royal Court', pp. 65-7; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, esp. pp. 33-5. See also: Flori, *Bohémond*, pp. 266-9; Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (2012; repr. Ithaca, NY, and London, 2017), pp. 38-9; Russo, 'Il viaggio', pp. 21-2; Schwarz, 'Der Investiturstreit', p. 126.

Philip's interest in campaigns between Christians and Muslims, and with the politics of the wider Mediterranean, was probably not initiated by the crusade. We have seen above how he may have sought a marriage alliance with the Norman count of Sicily several years prior, with Sicily itself having only recently been captured from Muslim rule.²³⁷ Although Fliche was sceptical of the account, the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens* reports, under the year 1087, that: 'On the order of King Philip, in the month of May, many thousands of the French travelled to Spain to aid the Christian king Alfonso' against a Muslim force.²³⁸ Certainly other northern French magnates were involved in Iberia around this time, such as Ebolus II, count of Roucy.²³⁹ In 1109, an ambassador from another Iberian ruler, Raymond-Berengar III, count of Barcelona, sought out aid from Louis.²⁴⁰ Thus, maybe such embassies to the royal court were not uncommon, and maybe Capetian involvement in the campaigns of the Iberian Peninsula during Philip's reign was greater than the source material allows us to assert. Much like with the First Crusade, Philip's own involvement was strictly limited, but this does not rule out the king providing support or encouragement in other ways.

Overall, although Philip himself did not participate in the First Crusade, there were good reasons why this was the case. Furthermore, Philip seems to have been involved in the preparations of northern French magnates who did go on the expedition, and his family was represented in the person of his younger brother, Hugh of Vermandois.²⁴¹ Although Hugh's crusading record was overshadowed by his desertion, Philip may have encouraged him to return to the east to make amends in 1101. Philip also arranged marriages for a number of his children with figures who were either direct participants in the First Crusade or family members of participants. All of this may have tapped into interests which already linked him to warfare between Christians and Muslims in Iberia and the Mediterranean. In sum, Philip was a measured but active supporter of the nascent crusade movement, tied as it was to the reformist initiatives of the papacy.

²³⁷ See above, pp. 218-19.

²³⁸ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 134-7: 'Precepto regis Philippi in mense maio multa milia Francorum perrexerunt in Hispaniam in adiutorium Anfuldi regis christiani'. Cf. Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 327-9.

²³⁹ Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, 'Pope Gregory VII and Count Eblous II of Roucy's Proto-Crusade in Iberia c. 1073', *Medieval History Journal*, 21 (2018), 117-40, via SAGE Journals [website], <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0971945817750508>>, (accessed 9 May 2023). See generally: Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1949), pp. 125-65.

²⁴⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 148-9; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, p. 204; Luchoire, *Louis VI*, no. 73 (p. 40).

²⁴¹ On family memory and the crusades generally, see for example: Paul, *To Follow*.

The End of the Reign: Philip's Later Life, Death and Burial

The Twilight of Philip's Reign

As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, the dominant historiographical narrative concerning Philip sees the latter years of his reign as a time when his personal grip on power either, at best, significantly loosened or, at worst, disintegrated completely.²⁴² Philip's marriage with Bertrada of Montfort is seen as the root cause of this shift, and one could be forgiven for gaining the impression that the Capetian monarchy was only saved through the happy circumstance that Philip's descent into depravity coincided with his son Louis' attainment of majority. This was certainly the image which Suger wanted to project.²⁴³

Whatever justifications Philip may have had for his marriage to Bertrada, it undoubtedly did have an effect on his reputation, because the very controversy that it generated opened him up to criticism. Had he maintained his marriage to Bertha, or never married Bertrada at all, the final years of the reign may well have proceeded in much the same way. Philip still would not have gone on crusade; he and the papacy still would have practiced a mixture of conflict and cooperation over ecclesiastical matters such as elections; Louis still would have been his heir and grown to take a greater share in government ahead of his own succession. As Gabriele says, 'there was no rupture in the social structure of Francia' on account of the marriage.²⁴⁴ The effect of the controversy was to create tensions, though not unworkable ones, between Philip, Ivo and the popes, and to provide an exemplar of Philip's supposed immorality and, for those who wished to stress it, a fortunate contrast to Louis. The marriage was therefore a turning point in the reign, but it was only so because it provided a clear and specific stick with which to beat Philip's reputation over many years, not because it marked the culminating moment of a collapse of royal morals or the disintegration of Philip's personal authority and power in the later part of his life.

As for the suggestion that Louis saved the kingdom as his father fell into the grip of lust and licentiousness, this too proves to be an insupportable claim. Far from removing himself from the business of government, Philip continued to be as involved as ever after his second marriage. We have seen plentiful evidence of this in all of the above chapters, from Philip's patronage, his involvement with ecclesiastical elections, or his interview with the pope at Saint-Denis in 1107. That Louis was also involved in some of these things does not mean that

²⁴² See above, pp. 9-15.

²⁴³ See above, pp. 8-9, 38-9.

²⁴⁴ Gabriele, 'Not so strange', p. 501.

he was acting in Philip's stead. As Bournazel has argued, even though Louis was granted a significant role during his father's reign, it clearly was still Philip who was the senior partner.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, as noted above, there is no reason to think that Philip ever considered replacing Louis as his primary heir, despite the repudiation of Bertha and his fathering of new heirs with Bertrada.²⁴⁶

In fact, the final years of Philip's reign saw him manage his difficult family politics remarkably well. Despite the factional divides around him, the king steered a course which placated both sides and prevented familial conflict. Such conflict elsewhere, for example among the ruling families of Anjou and Normandy, would have warned Philip of the dangers of tensions boiling over with serious and deadly consequences.²⁴⁷ The marriage of Philip's son, Philip, to Elisabeth of Montlhéry, which saw Louis concurrently grant Mantes to his half-brother, surely at the king's request, is a prime example of how the latter managed the tensions within his family.²⁴⁸

That is not to say that things were always harmonious. When Louis was knighted in May 1098, this was done by Guy, count of Ponthieu, perhaps because Louis' relationship with his father was poor at this time.²⁴⁹ However, Orderic's account, mentioned above, of Louis' journey to London to meet with Henry I, despite being dominated by the scheming between Louis and Bertrada, does note that the former went 'with his father's permission'.²⁵⁰ This was Philip trusting Louis with key royal diplomacy, allowing him to treat with France's new and dangerous neighbour to the north. Although Orderic chastised Philip for failing to check Bertrada's intrigues, he also credited him with bringing about a resolution between her and Louis.²⁵¹ Indeed, despite the high potential for it, it seems that familial conflict was, on the whole, avoided during the later years of Philip's reign, and this is testament to his continued governmental influence.

The influence of Bertrada, and also of Louis' half-siblings, perhaps declined after the Council of Paris in 1104 anyway. However, the arrangement of the marriage between Cecilia

²⁴⁵ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 53-4 and n. 4, 60-2.

²⁴⁶ See above, p. 246.

²⁴⁷ See above, pp. 18, 20-1.

²⁴⁸ See above, p. 223.

²⁴⁹ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 2, appendix 1, no. 1 (pp. 445-6), vol. 3, p. 199; Barthélemy, *La France*, pp. 226-7; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 39-43; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 79-80; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. xx-xxii, and no. 7 (p. 6); Kathleen Thompson, 'The Perspective from Ponthieu: Count Guy and His Norman Neighbour', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 44 (2021; publ. 2022), 19-34, at pp. 32-3.

²⁵⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 50-1: 'permissu patris'.

²⁵¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. 260-3.

and Tancred indicates that Bertrada's children were still very much in Philip's thoughts.²⁵² The sense of urgency with which Louis was crowned in the summer of 1108, just days after his father's death, speaks of a concern that his succession would not go unchallenged.²⁵³ Admittedly, this was the first time since 987 that the royal succession had not been predetermined, as Hugh Capet, Robert II and Henry I had all had their heirs consecrated during their own lifetimes.²⁵⁴ Why Philip did not follow this precedent is something of a mystery, but hostility towards Louis was probably not the reason. Prior to Philip's death, Louis had, for many years, been recognised as king-designate (*rex designatus*), firmly marking him out as heir, though it may be that Philip shied away from having him consecrated in order to keep power more firmly in his own hands and avoid aggrandising Louis' position too much, fearful that this could weigh too heavily on the difficult balance of familial and wider politics.²⁵⁵

In the end, any pretensions Bertrada and her kin may have had were outmanoeuvred without too much difficulty. Within a few years of his father's death, Louis seized back Mantes from his half-brother Philip.²⁵⁶ The latter and Florus had very limited power or influence on royal affairs from then on and their effect on subsequent events was so slight that we know only snippets of the rest of their lives.²⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Philip of Mantes – whose only known appearance as a subscriber to Louis' *acta* is in 1132/3 – was still potentially Louis' heir for many years until the latter finally fathered a son of his own in 1116, which may have become a source of increasing anxiety for people like Ivo, who pointedly urged Louis to marry.²⁵⁸ As for Louis' step-mother Bertrada, her influence inevitably suffered a blow, especially after her

²⁵² See above, p. 254.

²⁵³ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 3, pp. 203-4; Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 80-9; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 61-4; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 52-4.

²⁵⁴ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens: recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, ann. 1987-8 (Paris, 1989), 7-56, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 2 [pagination retained], at p. 52; Andrew W. Lewis, 'Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France', *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), 906-27, via JSTOR [website], <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1867651>>, (accessed 1 July 2024).

²⁵⁵ On Louis as king-designate, see above, p. 11.

²⁵⁶ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 122-9; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 81-3; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 107-9; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 53-4; Luchaire, no. 76 (p. 41); Rhein, 'La seigneurie', pp. 42-3.

²⁵⁷ Lewis, *Royal Succession*, pp. 50-4, 156 and nn. 2, 5 (on p. 292).

²⁵⁸ 'Annales de Saint-Denis', ed. Berger, p. 276; Ivo of Chartres, *Letters*, ed. Giordanengo, no. 239; Louis VI, *Acta*, vol. 2, no. 337 (pp. 211-12), vol. 3, p. 208; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 108, 136; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, p. 156 and n. 2 (on p. 292); Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. 106 (no. 214).

son lost Mantes; she eventually entered the community of Fontevraud.²⁵⁹ Notably, Louis did cooperate with her in setting up Hautes-Bruyère, a priory of this house.²⁶⁰ Ultimately, however, it is hardly surprising that the family dynamics shifted after Philip's death in 1108. During his life, Philip had legitimate reasons for the policy he pursued, and these reasons were not rooted simply in a ruinous feeling of lust for Bertrada, as some older historiography would have it, but in political and dynastic security.²⁶¹ In fixing these priorities, he was as much a king in these final years as he had been previously.

Burial at Fleury

Only one matter remains to be discussed, namely the king's death itself. Philip's funeral arrangements stand out because he was one of only two Capetian kings not to be buried at the abbey of Saint-Denis (the other exception was Philip's grandson, Louis VII, who was buried in 1180 at the Cistercian abbey of Barbeaux).²⁶² Instead, Philip was buried at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury). Why was this the case, and what does it say about Philip's religious attitudes?

Suger tells us that it was said that Philip had wished to be buried away from Saint-Denis because 'He felt that he had been less benevolent than his predecessors toward that church, and that no one would consider his tomb important among so many noble kings'.²⁶³ Orderic provides a similar explanation, though couches it in the form of a deathbed declaration by Philip in which he decides against burial at Saint-Denis: 'because I am aware that I am a miserable sinner, I cannot presume to be buried beside the body of the great martyr [Denis]'.²⁶⁴ According to Orderic, Philip feared that his sins would bring down upon him the same fate as Charles Martel. As Chibnall recognised, this would seem to be a reference to a story that, a century or so after Charles's death, Eucher, bishop of Orléans, had a vision in which he saw the former king burning in Hell as punishment for his sins. Prompted by this to

²⁵⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 732-3; Dietrich Lohrmann, 'Ludwig VI.: 1108-1137', in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters: Von Odo bis Karl VIII. 888-1498*, ed. Joachim Ehlers, Heribert Müller and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich, 1996), pp. 127-38, at pp. 132-3; Qureshi, 'Crusade', pp. 404-5; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, p. 155.

²⁶⁰ Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, vol. 1, no. 75 (pp. 168-9); Bournazel, *Louis VI*, p. 109; Woll, *Die Königinnen*, pp. 155, 159.

²⁶¹ See above, pp. 9-15, 244-7.

²⁶² Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, with Philip I and Louis VII discussed at pp. 75-6, 87-8.

²⁶³ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-5; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 62: 'se absentari deliberaverat, eo quod minus bene erga ecclesiam se habuerat et quia inter tot nobiles reges non magni duceretur ejus sepultura'.

²⁶⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5: 'quia me nimium esse peccatorum sentio, secus tanti martiris corpus sepeliri non audeo'.

investigate Charles's final resting place at Saint-Denis, he and the abbot, Fulrad, opened it up and witnessed a dragon burst out, leaving behind a charred tomb as evidence of Martel's fate.²⁶⁵

Suger in particular would have felt a need to explain why Philip decided to break precedent and seek burial elsewhere. It is not as though all French kings had been buried at Saint-Denis; the Merovingians and Carolingians had used a variety of different burial churches.²⁶⁶ However, Philip's three immediate Capetian predecessors – Hugh Capet, Robert II, and Henry I – were all buried there, as were several other Capetian ancestors.²⁶⁷ The logical expectation would be for Philip to follow suit, and it must have come as a surprise to the monks of Saint-Denis when this did not happen, though how much advance notice they had of it is, as will be emphasised below, unclear. Große has noted the similarity between Suger's explanation of Philip's choice of burial place and that given by a later writer, the monk Haymo of Saint-Denis, when explaining the absence of Henry I, Philip's father, at the exposure of the relics of Saint-Denis in 1053, a major event of great significance to the abbey.²⁶⁸ According to Haymo, who was writing in the late twelfth century, Henry's absence was due to his sense of unworthiness on account of his sins.²⁶⁹ If Haymo knew Suger's text, then this excuse may well have been lifted straight from it. The reasoning stemmed from a belief that any potential slight towards Saint-Denis by a king had to be explained.

Philip's relationship with Saint-Denis was examined in Chapter 3 above, where it was argued that he showed himself supportive of the abbey, and that his relationship with its community was no worse or more distant than under Henry I, who *had* been buried there.²⁷⁰ His relationship with Fleury, as we have seen, was also positive, but it does not stand out as remarkable, and there is nothing in his conduct prior to his deathbed to strongly suggest that he was planning to be buried there.²⁷¹ It was nonetheless a worthy royal mausoleum on the basis of its ties to the monarchy and its prestige as an institution.

²⁶⁵ Discussed in: Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5, n. 1; Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 82-3, 86-8; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 70-1; Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 80.

²⁶⁶ Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*

²⁶⁷ Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 74-5.

²⁶⁸ Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 19-24.

²⁶⁹ 'Translatio S. Dionysii Areopagite', ed. R. Koepke, in: *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 11, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1854), pp. 343-75, at pp. 349, 374.

²⁷⁰ On Philip and Saint-Denis, see above, pp. 168-71. On Henry's burial, see also Große, *Saint-Denis*, pp. 56-7.

²⁷¹ On Philip and Fleury, see above, pp. 171-4.

Philip may have had other reasons for choosing Fleury. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the area around Orléans held historic importance for the Capetians, especially so under the reign of King Robert II, and acted as a gateway to the lands outside of direct royal influence to the south.²⁷² While the territorial acquisitions made by Philip in the earlier part of his reign had all been in the north, towards the end of the reign he made the significant acquisition of the viscounty of Bourges when the incumbent viscount, Odo Arpin, mortgaged his lands to Philip to fund going on the First Crusade.²⁷³ This brought Capetian influence further south, and it may be that Philip's burial at Fleury can be interpreted as a signal that the Capetians were turning in this direction.²⁷⁴ With the growth of Anglo-Norman power, especially after Henry I's victory over Robert Curthose at the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106, extending French royal influence southward may well have seemed a sensible endeavour and counterbalance.²⁷⁵

It is also worth noting that, whatever the special relationship between Saint-Denis and the Capetians, its patron saint was not the only one who could demand significant royal attention at this time. It has been observed that Philip also had a close relationship with Reims, as is indicated by a 1090 act of his for Saint-Remi which refers to the city being the site of coronation – as affirmed in the previous year by a privilege of Pope Urban II – and highlights Saint Remigius's patronal role over the kingdom.²⁷⁶ However, burial here would probably have been unsuitable in 1108, when the archbishopric was in dispute.²⁷⁷ Saint Benedict, the patron saint of Fleury, could also have caught Philip's attentions. Orderic believed so, having Philip declare in his deathbed speech, 'I love St. Benedict', before referencing his monastic Rule and his willingness to receive sinners.²⁷⁸ There is no reason to insist on Philip ever having said

²⁷² See above, p. 63.

²⁷³ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La prise en charge du Berry par le roi Philippe I^{er} et les antécédents de cette politique de Hugues le Grand à Robert le Pieux', in: *Media in Francia...*, *Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire* (Maulévrier: Hérault-Editions, 1989), pp. 31-60, repr. in: Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Gower House, Hampshire, UK, 1991), no. 9 [pagination retained]; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 138-52; Christopher K. Gardner, 'The Capetian Presence in Berry as a Consequence of the First Crusade', in: *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 71-81; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 208-14.

²⁷⁴ Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 75-6; cf. Sohn, *Von der Residenz*, p. 59.

²⁷⁵ See above, p. 18.

²⁷⁶ *Codex Lamberti*, ed. Giordanengo, pp. 208-13; Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, no. 120 (pp. 304-6); Bur, *La formation*, pp. 206-8; Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 335-6; Große, *Saint Denis*, p. 128; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, pp. 21-2. Also, see above, p. 66.

²⁷⁷ See above, pp. 156-8. Cf. Bournazel, *Louis VI*, p. 87.

²⁷⁸ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5: 'Sanctum Benedictum diligo'.

anything quite so clear as this.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it was plausible to Orderic that a king such as Philip, whom he believed guilty of great sin, would see in association with Saint Benedict an appropriate means to express concern for his immortal soul. Philip did not need to believe himself a great sinner to have such a pious concern, but if he wished to show himself contrite for any wrongs in his life, he may well have come to the conclusion that Benedict's house was the best place for him to find his eternal rest.²⁸⁰

The reference to Benedict's monastic rule is interesting too, for although Orderic does not mention it himself, two other Anglo-Norman writers – William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon – both suggest that Philip became a monk at Fleury prior to his death.²⁸¹ It is not unthinkable that, as he lay dying, Philip may have decided to take up the monastic habit, though if he did it is surprising that it finds no mention elsewhere. There were precedents for lay rulers converting, such as Simon of Crépy.²⁸² Philip's cousin, Hugh, duke of Burgundy, also resigned his charge to become a monk at Cluny, and Alfonso VI, king of León-Castile, may have tried to do the same.²⁸³ Hugh's conversion drew condemnation from Pope Gregory VII, who wrote to Abbot Hugh, exasperated that 'You have taken or received the duke into the quiet of Cluny – and you have brought it about that a hundred thousand Christians lack a guardian!'²⁸⁴ This did not, it seems, deter the abbot from writing, many years later, to Philip, suggesting that he become a monk at Cluny too.²⁸⁵ Philip's engagement with the Cluniacs, especially concerning Saint-Martin-des-Champs, was noted in the previous chapter, but following through on this monastic conversion would have been a seismic decision for him, one which he would have been unlikely to risk except on his deathbed. Overall, there is no clear evidence

²⁷⁹ Cf. generally: H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Death-bed Testaments', in: *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, vol. 4, *Diplomatische Fälschungen* (Hannover, 1988), pp. 701-24.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, pp. 134-5.

²⁸¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenway, pp. 480-1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Mynors et al., vol. 1, pp. 732-3.

²⁸² See above, p. 19.

²⁸³ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, pp. 423-4 (6.17); English trans. by Cowdrey, pp. 298-9; Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle*, ed. Robinson, p. 507; trans. Robinson, p. 316; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'St Hugh and Gregory VII', in: *Le Gouvernement d'Hugues de Semur à Cluny*, ed. B. Maurice (Cluny, 1988), pp. 173-90, repr. in: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 9 [pagination retained], at pp. 180-1; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Cluny and Rome', *Revue Mabillon*, NS 5 (Turnhout, 1994) 258-65, repr. in: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. 10 [pagination retained], at p. 262; Cowdrey, 'Count Simon', pp. 260-2; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 418, 673-6; Cowdrey, 'The Cluniacs', pp. 144-7.

²⁸⁴ Gregory VII, *Register*, ed. Caspar, vol. 2, p. 423: 'Tulisti vel recepisti ducem in Cluniacensem quietem et fecisti, ut centum milia christianorum careant custode'; English trans. by Cowdrey, p. 299.

²⁸⁵ Hugh of Cluny, *Letters*, ed. Cowdrey, no. 7 (pp. 153-5) (= 'Chartes originales antérieures à 1121', ed. Giraud et al., no. 1952).

that Philip became a monk at either Cluny or Fleury. Fliche suggests that it never happened, and this is probably the safer assumption.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Abbot Hugh's letter attests to Philip's affection for Cluny, and the claims of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon back up Orderic's suggestion that Philip had a special attachment to Fleury and Saint Benedict.

Behind all this, it is fair to ask whether Philip's decision to be buried at Fleury was, in fact, *his* decision. Suger tells us that Philip died at Melun, south of Paris on the Seine, with Louis by his side.²⁸⁷ After this, the body was taken to Fleury, 'for King Philip had expressed a strong desire to be buried there'.²⁸⁸ Orderic echoes this, saying that Philip 'was buried according to his wish in the monastery of St. Benedict at Fleury, between the choir and the altar'.²⁸⁹ Similarly, the *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens* says that Philip 'ordered that his body be brought and buried in the monastery of Saint-Benoît'.²⁹⁰ Philip died on 29 or 30 July.²⁹¹ The body, according to Suger, rested one night at Notre-Dame at Melun in the company of the bishops of Paris, Senlis and Orléans as well as Adam, abbot of Saint-Denis, before it was moved on to Fleury and buried, with Louis being crowned king shortly thereafter, not far away at Orléans, by Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, with Ivo of Chartres as well as the bishops of Paris, Meaux, Orléans, Nevers and Auxerre present.²⁹² The coronation happened on 3 August, so the pace was rapid.²⁹³ Given what we know about the concern expressed by figures such as Ivo over the instability that might arise upon Philip's death and the potential threat of the claim of Louis' half-brother, might it just be possible that it was decided to shift Philip's burial to Fleury as a way of avoiding having to return to Paris – closer, it should be noted, to the centres of Montfort power – and thereby rush through the succession in a more distant part of the kingdom as a way of avoiding the chance for debate and contention to delay matters?²⁹⁴ Philip may even have suggested this himself just before he died.

²⁸⁶ Fliche, *Le règne*, pp. 75-6.

²⁸⁷ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 82-3; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 61.

²⁸⁸ Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 84-5: 'quoniam ibidem se devoverat'; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, p. 62.

²⁸⁹ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 6, pp. 154-5: 'in cenobio sancti Benedicti apud Floriacum sicut ipse optauerat inter chorum et altare sepultus est'.

²⁹⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 152-3: 'precipiens suum corpus ferri et tumulari in monasterio Sancti Benedicti'. Also: *Morigny Chronicle*, trans. Cusimano (ed. Mirot), pp. 30-1.

²⁹¹ Philip I, *Acta*, ed. Prou, pp. XXIV-XXXVIII.

²⁹² Suger, *Deeds of Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 80-9; English trans. by Cusimano and Moorhead, pp. 61-4.

²⁹³ See also: *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, ed. Bautier and Gilles, pp. 152-3; Louis VI, *Acta*, ed. Dufour, pp. 203-4.

²⁹⁴ Cf. the comments in: Bournazel, *Louis VI*, pp. 94-6; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, pp. 13-14.

It is impossible to know whether such considerations figured in the choice of Philip's burial location, but the important point to take from all this for the purposes of this thesis is that, if Philip did intend to be buried at Fleury, this should not be taken as a negative reflection on his reign or his religious attitudes. Fleury was an esteemed house with strong links to the Capetians, in a key position to the south of the expanding royal domain, which offered Philip the chance to immortally associate himself directly with the illustrious Saint Benedict. The Merovingians and Carolingians had been buried in multiple different places, so why should he not do the same? Even writers critical of the king like Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon, suggest in their accounts of his death that Philip had a prominent concern for his soul, and Suger can be read in this way too. The monks of Saint-Denis probably did feel slighted by Philip's rejection, but he is unlikely to have intended it this way.²⁹⁵ He was a sinner, but everyone was, and despite what Suger says there is no good reason to think his conduct was seen to make him unworthy of Saint-Denis. Philip's burial at Fleury is best seen as an indication of his own personal religious expression and devotion, perhaps not without an eye to political motives, but then this was only proper of a king.

Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated key moments from the later years of Philip's reign, a time which saw him excommunicated by Pope Urban II over his marriage to Bertrada of Montfort, respond to the advent of crusading as a new expression of the reformist papacy's initiative, and make preparations for the succession to the French throne and his own eternal rest. All of these developments have, in the past, frequently been used as evidence of Philip's irreverence, impiety or ineptitude, but the pages above have illustrated how, during this period, Philip's personal drive to rule was as strong as ever, and everything he did – be it maintaining his controversial marriage to Bertrada, showing a measured response to the crusade call at Clermont, or managing the expectations of his children – was done with a keen political sense which meant that controversy could not always be avoided, but could usually be controlled. Indeed, his actions were not always fully aligned with the reformist elements within the Church, but he was far from acting with disregard to these forces. He continued to engage with the popes over the course of his marriage controversy and helped facilitate royal

²⁹⁵ On Saint-Denis' response, see: Robert Barroux, 'L'anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII^e siècle. Charte inédite de l'abbé Adam', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1942-3; publ. 1945), 131-51, esp. p. 145; Große, *Saint Denis*, pp. 131-6.

presence on the First Crusade, later aligning himself further, through the marriages of his children, with those who had participated. He negotiated the factionalised court which his second marriage had created with great skill, paving the way for Louis' succession, and his own choice of burial was likely a deeply personal decision. None of this sounds like the Philip found in most traditional historiography. Rather, it showcases him as a king with a real talent for rulership, and an attitude towards ecclesiastical matters which, out of necessity, sailed a course between reform and tradition, ensuring that cooperation and compromise were the order of the day, to the benefit of both himself and the realm of which he was custodian and leader.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to re-evaluate the religious attitudes of King Philip I of France. Often derided in past historiography as a cynical, irreverent, lascivious man who for most of his reign was disinclined to action unless it could either satiate his desires or line his pockets, the discussion above has, it is hoped, provided a much more nuanced characterisation of this monarch. Living in an age of conflict and change in the Church, he was forced to come to terms with the evolving currents of reform, including those spearheaded by the ambitious popes of his day, especially Gregory VII, Urban II and Paschal II. Indeed, it was impossible for him to ignore ecclesiastical reform on account of its potential to impact his relationship with the prelates of his realm, a relationship which was crucial to the still quite fragile power which he wielded as king in a kingdom where his authority was by no means felt consistently in all regions. Although some would have it that Philip was opposed to reform because of the threat it posed, what this thesis has argued is that, on the contrary, he constantly re-evaluated his position as his reign progressed. The changes which occurred over this period were not the result of Philip being content to let matters run their course, nor of him being forced to back down. Rather, he adapted and picked his battles, steering a course which shielded his own position whilst allowing the forces of change to drip feed their way into the relationship of the Capetians with the Church in France.

The first chapter considered the ways in which this relationship was framed through the makeup of Philip's court and entourage and the relative importance of the bishoprics. It was shown how, despite the uneven nature of our evidence on the court, and the inconsistency of Philip's influence over various dioceses, his sway remained intact despite the emergence, especially towards the end of the reign, of prelates whose reformist inclinations might otherwise have posed a threat to the royal interest. In other words, the ties between Philip and his prelates protected him from ceding too much ground, for the latter fulfilled both ecclesiastical and political roles, and could not afford to completely break with the king. Thus, when the popes and their legates came to increasingly challenge the structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in France, especially from the pontificate of Gregory VII, Philip was able to mitigate any damage done with the knowledge that the prelates of his realm retained a respect for him which often meant that they were unwilling to cross him. The new legatine influence succeeded in shaking the system, but it did not break it, and its eventual recession

at the end of the reign showed just how effective Philip and his prelates had been in preventing figures like Hugh of Die from completely overturning the status quo.

The second chapter examined Philip's approach to ecclesiastical elections, which were bound up with some of the thorniest of the reform issues such as simony and lay investiture. Philip's attitude to electoral practice changed over the course of his reign. It would be naïve to suggest that allegations of his misconduct were all fabrication, but equally it is fair to say that they have often been overemphasised. Furthermore, Philip's definition of misconduct would have differed from that of Ivo of Chartres, whose definition in turn would have differed from that of, for example, Urban II. Yet again, it cannot be stressed enough that the debate here was not two-sided, but multifaceted. Philip was astute enough to back down when pressure over elections became too strong, and to abandon troublesome prelates like Manasses I of Reims when their standpoint became more of a liability than an aid. But more often than not, Philip secured suitable candidates in the elections where he could play a role. Ivo of Chartres himself was probably one such candidate. Together he and Philip worked effectively to mutual benefit over several elections, though here too Philip knew when to take a step back, as happened over the election of John II at Orléans.

Overall, Philip avoided major electoral controversies. In the latter part of the reign, the king's willingness to enter into a protracted and prominent dispute over Beauvais can be attributed in large part to a desire to send a message to Paschal II in the context of the royal marriage issue, whilst the discord a few years later at Reims would be resolved fairly quickly, although after Philip's death. Ivo's solution to the investiture question had paved the way for an accommodation which allowed Philip to cede some ground to the reformers whilst not giving up his own hold over elections. This was only possible because Philip judged when the moment was ripe for compromise. Notably, this happened in the final years of the reign when, so Suger and some historiography would have it, he was no longer in a fit state or frame of mind to govern, which surely cannot have been the case.

In Chapter 3, Philip's patronage was interrogated and it was shown how he spread it carefully across both older, more established institutions and newer foundations. He supported houses through beneficence with gifts or confirmations and through his support of their rights and privileges, for example those of Saint-Denis early in the reign. This in itself is not overly surprising, but it bears emphasising given the irreverence often attributed to Philip. What is more noteworthy is that he played a key role in the expansion of Cluniac influence in

the north of France. The acquisition of the lands of Simon of Crépy in the second half of the 1070s may have been particularly important here. In Paris itself, Philip opened up the heart of his realm to reformist Cluniac influence through the installation of Cluniac monks at Saint-Martin-des-Champs in 1079. Furthermore, he was not neglectful of other reform-minded houses, such as Marmoutier. He spread his patronage widely but in a way which allowed him to show that he was not blind to the ecclesiastical changes occurring. There was no need for him to bring the Cluniacs into Paris, for example, but that he *chose* to says a great deal about his attitudes, and belies the idea that he was simply anti-reformist. His patronage shows him to be a careful and considered supporter of the houses under his care. Important as this was for the strength of his realm and kingship, it also testifies to the nuance of his relationship with the Church.

The same chapter also highlighted Philip's reticence to commit on the matter of clerical chastity, another major theme of the papal reform programme. The dearth of evidence linking Philip to this issue is probably reflective both of his own politic disengagement and the papacy's recognition that the king of France was perhaps not the best medium through which to pursue their goal in this case. It is not evidence of Philip's lack of interest. Likewise, he did not allow himself to get embroiled too much in the question of the primacy of Lyon, which flared up particularly during Hugh of Die's tenure as archbishop. Philip's sympathies surely lay with his archbishops over Hugh, but he kept his voice in the background. He could watch and reap the benefits of Urban II's creation of the diocese of Arras in the 1090s, which strengthened Capetian influence in the north-east. When, a short time later, Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury went into exile, Philip tried to lure him to the French court, aware that this would send a message both to his political rival, the king of England, and to the pope. These are not the actions of an incompetent, lazy monarch, but a calculating, shrewd politician pursuing a complex and shifting agenda.

Chapter Four began by tackling that most famous incident of Philip's reign, the controversy generated over his repudiation of Bertha of Holland to marry Bertrada of Montfort. This was the biggest risk Philip took during his reign. His love for Bertrada was probably very real, but it was not pure emotion which led him to follow the course he did. As we have seen, there were sound political reasons for the decision, including the need to secure the succession. Philip was probably surprised by the reaction which the marriage generated, and did not plan to become excommunicate. But again, he was willing to risk this, and despite

the prolonged antagonism and frustration over the course of the affair, he continued to engage both with his opponents within France, especially Ivo, and with the popes. When Bertrada had given him spare heirs and Louis' own position seemed more secure, Philip was willing to compromise. Whether he actually separated from Bertrada after 1104 is unclear, but either way he had achieved his core aims.

The last fifteen or so years of Philip's reign, dominated for so long by the marriage controversy, have damned him in the eyes of so many commentators, both contemporary and modern. He has been criticised for his failure to participate in the First Crusade, but to do so would have been foolhardy in the extreme, especially in light of the precarity of his domestic situation. In fact, as historians now recognise, he did show interest in crusading, before and then especially after the capture of Jerusalem, as exemplified most spectacularly by his willingness to marry his two daughters, Constance and Cecilia, to crusaders. His attitude, once again, was moderated by sound political judgement. In these last years of the reign, he skilfully prevented his marriage to Bertrada from imperilling Louis' succession. He planned carefully for his own demise, and when it occurred in 1108, he was buried at Fleury, a place probably of his own choosing, not as a slight to Saint-Denis or as a necessitated reaction to his own sinfulness, but as an expression of his own spiritual priorities and preference.

This thesis has, therefore, cast Philip in a quite different light to that in which he has so often been seen in the past. Some key conclusions can be drawn. First, Philip was not anti-reformist. His attitude to reform was that he was willing to engage with it, indeed benefit from it, to the extent that it did not excessively diminish his own position. This process was not completely within his own control, especially with the popes and their legates making their presence felt so strongly, but Philip was generally able to judge the appropriate level of opposition he should offer. Doubtless he regretted a certain loss of control, but oftentimes he found that his own interests could be made to tally with reformist concerns. Testifying to this are, for example, his support of communities like the Cluniacs and Marmoutier, his installation of prelates such as Ivo of Chartres, William of Montfort, and Galo, and his support of Anselm. Philip had no desire to pursue a German-style split with the papacy, even though at times it may have been tempting. He recognised that papal reform faced the barrier of the loyalty of his own prelates, tied as they were to the monarchy. These prelates helped to push back against the extreme expressions of reform, leading to breakthroughs like Ivo's compromise position on investiture.

Secondly, it has been made clear in this thesis that the later years of Philip's reign, particularly the Bertrada affair, have unfairly overshadowed our image of him. It is certainly true that our evidence is much fuller for this part of the reign, due in large part to Ivo's surviving letters. But a re-examination of these years shows that Philip was far from indolent and inactive; these were the years when he secured and managed his succession, regulated numerous episcopal elections (often in collaboration with Ivo), maintained his patronage and his interest in reforming troublesome religious houses (Saint-Magloire and Saint-Éloi), responded to the advent of crusade, and made his peace with the papacy, culminating in Paschal's direct meeting with him in 1107. That Louis became more visible in these years is not a sign that he took over from an inept father; this is Suger's propaganda talking, but it has all too often been followed. Rather, Louis was Philip's designated heir and it was only natural that he should take a greater role as his own succession neared, especially in military matters as Philip's own health and mobility declined.

Our third and final key conclusion, which leads on naturally from the previous two, is that Philip was an able and politically astute king regarding his approach to religious matters. Although he adapted as the reign progressed, he also possessed a clear overall plan which he consistently executed throughout his reign, namely to prevent his own grip over the Church from being irreparably damaged whilst allowing for change where necessary or beneficial. His flexibility has too often been mistaken for a lack of engagement. On the contrary, he showed great interest in reform in various of its guises. If he sinned in the eyes of some through failing to countenance certain strands of it, this was, in his eyes, an unavoidable consequence of preserving his realm. Philip's willing interaction with reform and reformist ideas seems to have become clearer as the reign progressed, but earlier moments like the transfer of Saint-Martin-des-Champs to Cluny warn against us placing too much stress on this. However, it is probably true that as the years passed, Philip understood more and more what kind of reform he felt able to support. This dichotomy between reform he opposed and reform he condoned or encouraged is not the mark of a confused, weak man. It is the mark of a sage, sensible king.

To conclude, this thesis has challenged the traditional characterisation of Philip I of France as a weak king who was opposed to ecclesiastical reform and whose reign deteriorated to the extent that he virtually abdicated to his son Louis in his final years. By examining Philip's relationship with the Church from various angles, it has been showed that instead, Philip was an engaged ruler who moulded his ecclesiastical attitudes around the needs of his realm,

producing an approach whereby he was able to support reform at times, whilst recognising the necessity to oppose it at others. He remained active for his entire reign; indeed, many of his greatest displays of religious engagement and support for reform occurred in the final decade and a half of his life. Future research would benefit from testing how far this engagement also translated to other aspects of his life, such as his military undertakings and relations with his lay vassals. With Louis VI now receiving greater attention, appreciation of Philip's reign would also benefit from renewed scholarship on his immediate Capetian ancestors, on whom much work remains to be done. The full publication of their *acta* would be a major step forward in this. For the moment, however, this thesis has shown that Philip's long reign was one of intense and complex engagement with ecclesiastical reform, driven by a king who was discerning, cautious and flexible, skilfully guiding his realm through a time of great change and challenge.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Genealogical Tables

Note that the following tables are not exhaustive, showing only those branches and family members which are most relevant to the subject of this thesis.

FIGURE 1
THE CAPETIAN ROYAL FAMILY

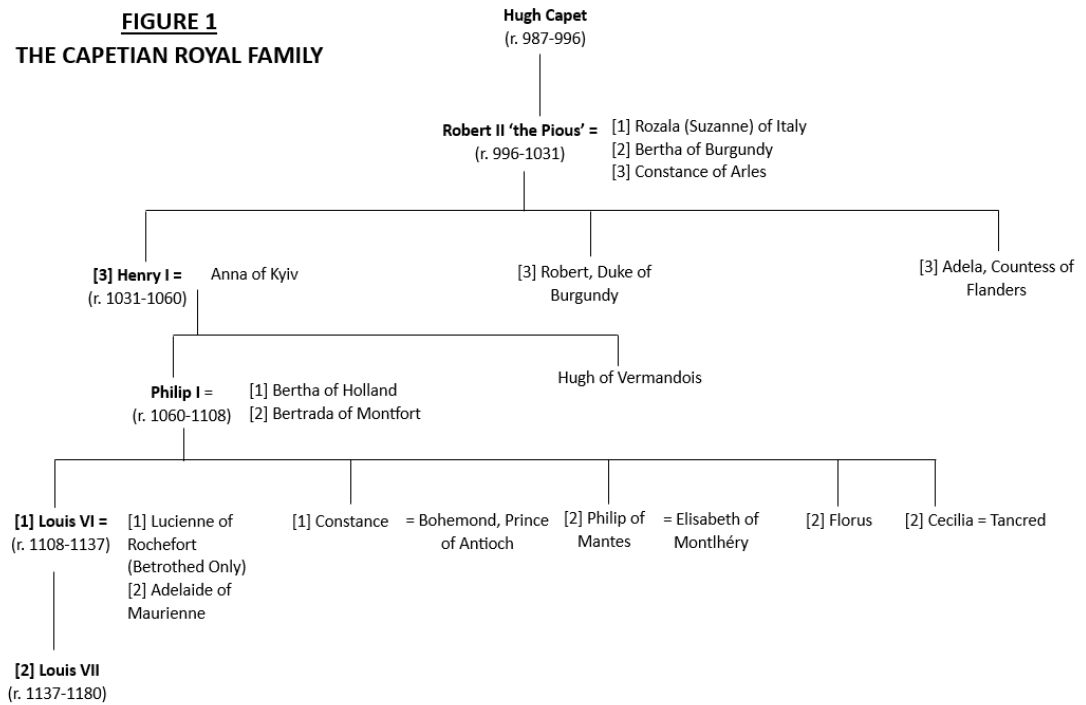
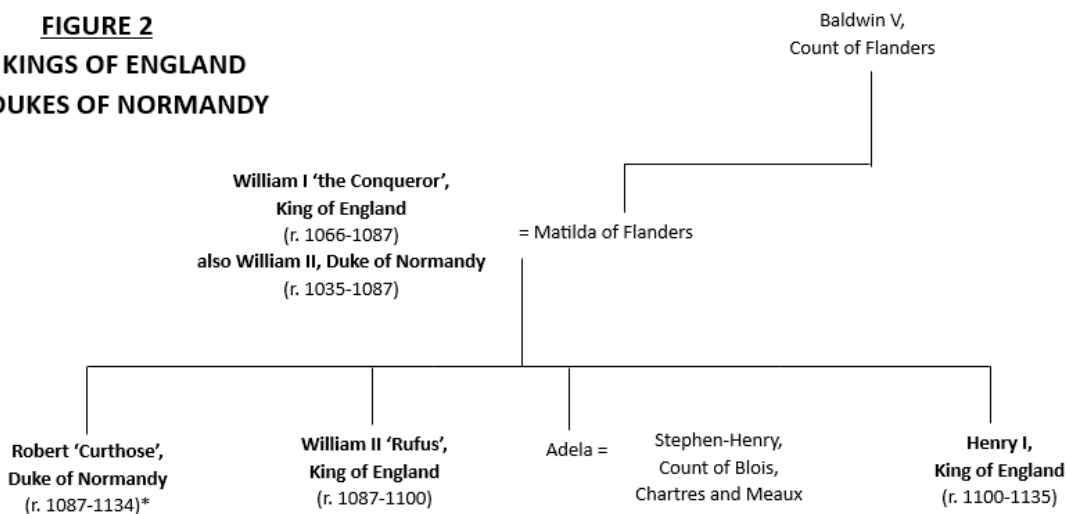


FIGURE 2
THE KINGS OF ENGLAND
AND DUKES OF NORMANDY



* Note that whilst Robert was away on the First Crusade, the duchy was mortgaged to his brother, William Rufus. After the Battle of Tinchebray (1106), Robert remained as duke, but as a captive of his brother, Henry I, he no longer governed the duchy.

FIGURE 3
THE COUNTS OF FLANDERS
AND THE FAMILY OF BERTHA
OF HOLLAND

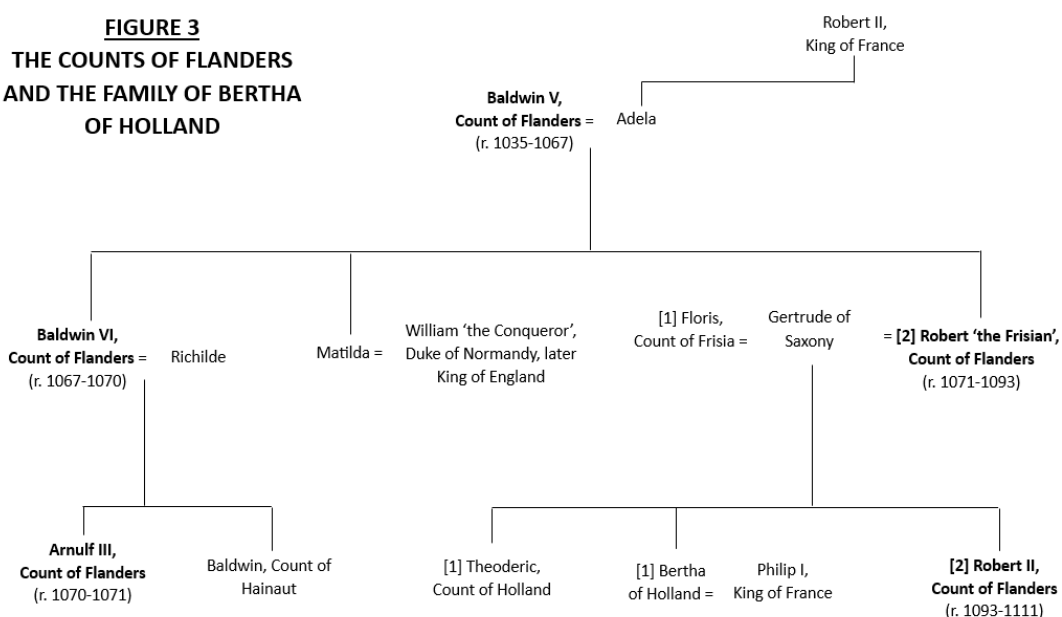
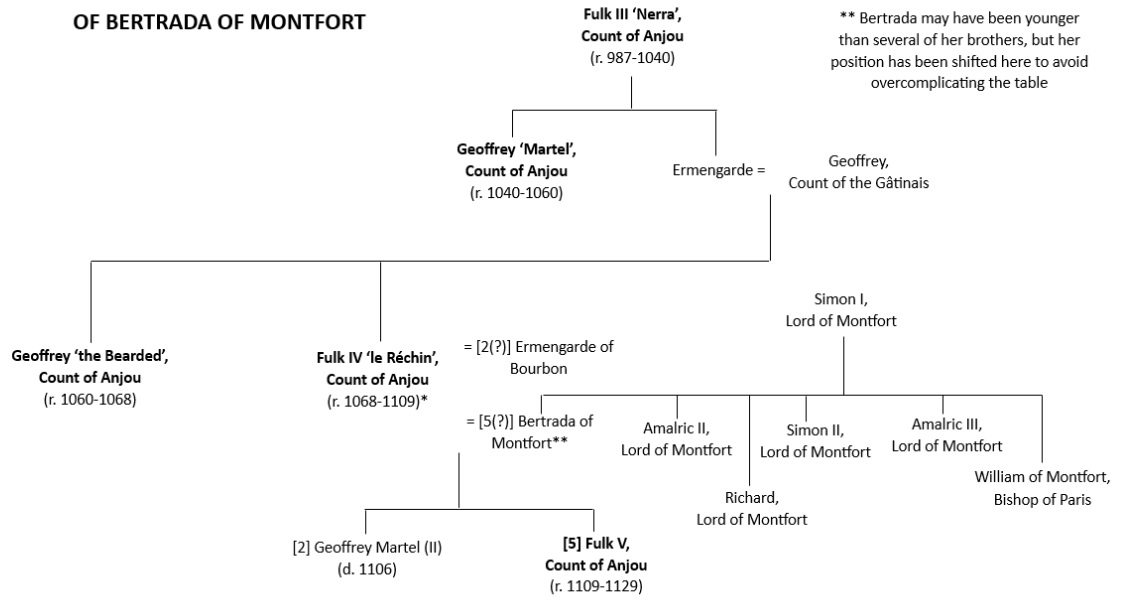


FIGURE 4
THE COUNTS OF ANJOU AND THE FAMILY
OF BERTRADA OF MONTFORT



* Note that it is not completely certain how many times Fulk IV married

** Bertrada may have been younger than several of her brothers, but her position has been shifted here to avoid overcomplicating the table

Appendix 2: Maps

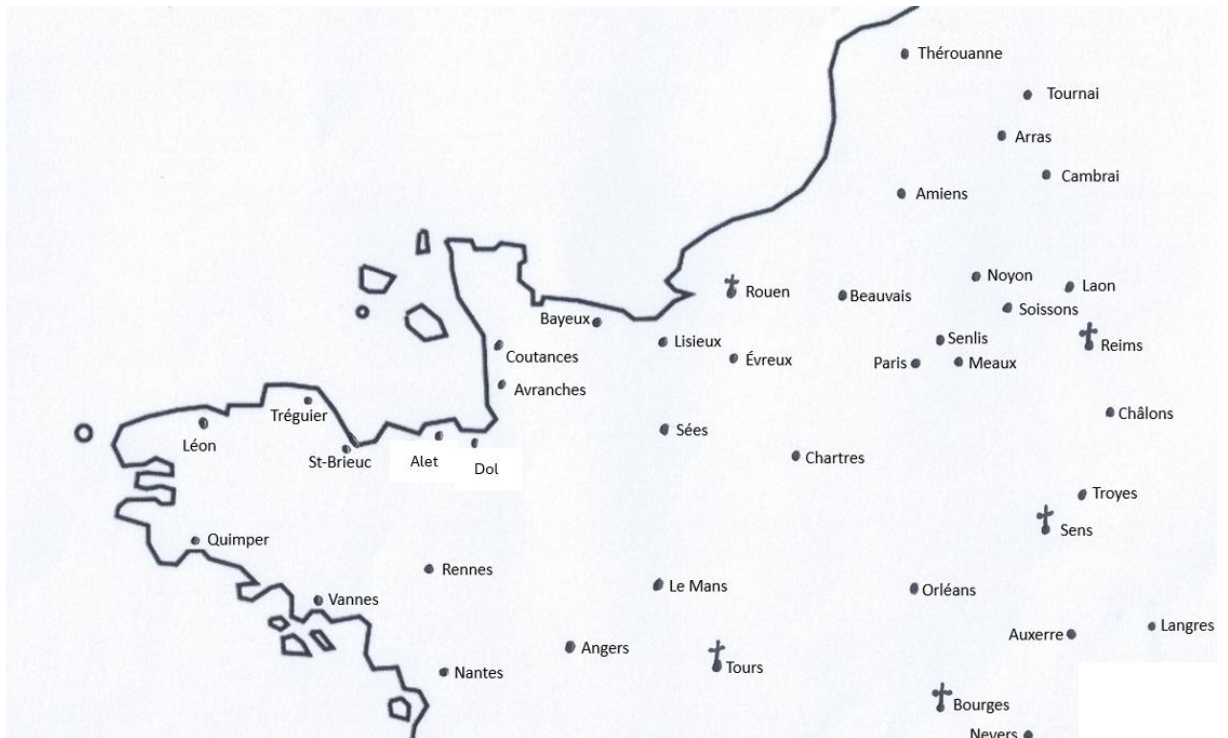
The first map below illustrates the archiepiscopal cities for those dioceses which were most important to Philip (compare Appendix 3). The second map focuses on the archiepiscopal and episcopal seats of northern France, with archiepiscopal seats distinguished by a cross.

This outline for the maps has been adapted from an image provided by Clker-Free-Vector-Images on the website Pixabay, <<https://pixabay.com/vectors/france-map-geography-europe-border-23502/>>, (accessed 5 October 2023). The image is freely available under the terms of the Pixabay Content License.

For other useful maps of France, see especially:

- Guyotjeannin, Olivier, *Atlas de l'histoire de France: La France médiévale IX^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2005), esp. pp. 18-23.
- Hallam, Elizabeth M., *Capetian France 987-1328* (1980), 3rd edn with Charles West (London and New York, 2020), maps 1.1 (p. 3), 1.4 (p. 6).
- Longnon, Auguste, *Atlas historique de la France depuis César jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1884-9). Maps from this work can be consulted online at: Gallica (BnF) [website], <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k91172147?rk=21459;2>>, (accessed 4 February 2025).





Note that Arras did not become a bishopric until 1093, until that date being part of the diocese of Cambrai, the seat of which lay in the Empire. Also, for much of Philip's reign, the see of Dol claimed archiepiscopal status over the western dioceses of the archbishopric of Tours. On both matters, see above, pp. 78, 81-2, 205-7.

Appendix 3: Archbishops and their Suffragans

Below are listed the archdiocesan sees with which Philip was most closely involved, with their suffragan bishoprics.

Archbishopric of Bordeaux

- **Bordeaux**
- Agen
- Angoulême
- Périgueux
- Poitiers
- Saintes

Archbishopric of Bourges

- **Bourges**
- Albi
- Cahors
- Clermont
- Le Puy
- Limoges
- Mende
- Rodez

Archbishopric of Lyon

- **Lyon**
- Autun
- Chalon-sur-Saône
- Langres
- Mâcon

Archbishopric of Reims

- **Reims**
- Amiens
- Arras*
- Beauvais
- Cambrai
- Châlons-sur-Marne
- Laon
- Noyon-Tournai
- Senlis
- Soissons
- Thérouanne

Archbishopric of Rouen

- **Rouen**
- Avranches
- Coutances
- Bayeux
- Évreux
- Lisieux
- Sées

Archbishopric of Sens

- **Sens**
- Auxerre
- Chartres
- Meaux
- Nevers
- Orléans
- Paris
- Troyes

Archbishopric of Tours

- **Tours**
- Alet**
- Angers
- Dol**
- Le Mans
- Nantes
- Rennes
- Quimper**
- Saint-Brieuc**
- Léon**
- Tréguier**
- Vannes**

* Until 1093, Arras was part of the diocese of Cambrai.

** For a long time, these dioceses were claimed by Dol as a separate archbishopric to that of Tours.

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