ADELE OF CHAMPAGNE: POLITICS, GOVERNMENT, AND PATRONAGE IN CAPETIAN FRANCE, 1180-1206

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Maria Carriere

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Sean L. Field, Ph.D., Advisor
Anne Clark, Ph.D., Chairperson
Charles Briggs, Ph.D.
Cynthia J. Forehand, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate College

Abstract

Adele of Champagne (r. 1160-1180) was the third wife of King Louis VII of France (r. 1137-1180) and the mother of Philip II (r. 1180-1223), descended from the powerful Champagne family in the kingdom of France. Between 1180 and her death in 1206, Adele navigated the transition of power between her husband and her son, was appointed to the role of guardian of the kingdom during her son's absence on the Third Crusade, and administered her dower lands during her widowhood, bestowing her patronage on the religious institutions and individuals she favored. Her activities in this period underscore the importance of recognizing the queen in her position as mother of the king and through her networks of natal family in twelfth-century France.

Beginning with a study of Adele's actions during the transition between the reign of her husband Louis VII and her son Philip II in 1180, this thesis analyzes how Adele led her family's faction to counter a threat to their position in the new king's government. Next, it analyzes Adele's appointment as guardian of the kingdom alongside her brother, Archbishop William, in 1190 during Philip's absence on the Third Crusade, the first to officially give a woman the duty of the care of the kingdom in France, analyzing the specific actions and limitations put upon Adele as she navigated her unprecedented role. Finally, this thesis explores Adele's activities as a patron during her widowhood to illustrate how she used her private actions as a tool, both to connect to the political events of her day and to shape the religious landscape of medieval France. In sum, this thesis situates Adele's ability to leverage her power and authority through her natal family, her motherhood, and her material donations, contributing to the historiographies of Capetian queenship, women's patronage, and power and authority.

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Introduction

Adele of Champagne was born around 1145 to Thibaut II of Champagne and Matilda of Carinthia.[1] Her family held powerful religious and political positions: her brother William became archbishop of Reims, and her brothers Thibaut, Henry, and Stephen were counts of Blois, Champagne, and Sancerre respectively. On November 13, 1160, Adele married King Louis VII of France as his third wife after Eleanor of Aquitaine (r. 1137-1152) and Constance of Castile (r.1154-1160). She was chosen for her familial connections, and the wedding was part of a larger alliance between the royal family and the house of Champagne alongside the marriages of Adele's brothers Henry and Thibaut to Marie and Alice, the daughters of Louis VII by his first wife, Eleanor. This triple matrimonial alliance cemented the Capetian monarchy's connection with the Champagne family during Louis VII's reign. Five years later, when Adele gave birth to Philip II "Augustus" on August 21, 1165, Adele and her family's influence was strengthened further. The long-awaited birth was celebrated with great pomp and excitement, and Philip was given the nickname *Dieudonné*, or "God-given."

Between the birth of Philip in 1165 and her death in 1206, Adele occupied a significant role in several aspects of her son's reign. In 1180, a factional struggle for political control in the court of young King Philip broke out when, shortly before the death

[1] Jean Dufour estimates her birth at around 1142/1145 and as the youngest of her siblings, but there is no definitive birth date for Adele. Jean Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne, troisième femme de Louis VII, une reine méconnue," *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge: Actes du cinquième colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (24-27 Novembre 1999) Volume I* (Montpellier: Les Cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A, 2001), 35.

of Louis VII, fourteen-year-old Philip was crowned king.[2] Philip, under the influence of the Flemish faction led by Count Philip of Flanders, distanced himself from his mother's family. Following Count Philip's urging, he chose a bride from Hainaut, Isabelle, on April 28, 1180. In response, Adele fortified her dower lands and appeared to be preparing for a conflict. As a countermeasure, Philip had her dower lands seized. Adele used her networks of kinship and sought help from Henry II of England to end the influence of the count of Flanders. Instead of fighting alongside Adele, however, Henry made peace with Philip at Gisors in June 1180. In return, Adele and Philip were encouraged to make amends, and Philip returned Adele's lands to her.

Ten years later, in 1190, Philip appointed Adele and her brother William joint custodians of the kingdom during his absence on the Third Crusade. However, their administrative roles were explicitly limited in Philip's ordinance-testament of 1190. Despite these limitations, Adele positioned herself as a leader of the government of the period. She wrote at least one surviving letter to the pope, issued judgements, and witnessed acts alongside her brother. She was the first woman to be explicitly named to a position in government during the absence of a king in France.

After Philip returned from crusade, Adele left Paris to retire on her dower lands. Yet, far from fading into obscurity, Adele was active in the administration of her lands and as a patron of religious institutions. Her life and relationships during this period reflect the

[2] Philip was crowned on November 1, 1179. Louis VII died September 19, 1180. See John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 3; 17.

ways in which Adele exercised power through patronage and relationship networks. Though she left French monarchical politics, she remained influential in her retirement.

Adele, as both a queen and a noblewoman, expressed power and overt political authority during her life. An analysis of Adele actions from 1180 to her death in 1206 demonstrates the importance of recognizing the queen in her position as mother of the king and through her networks of natal family in twelfth-century France, and situates Adele's ability to leverage her power and authority through her natal family, her motherhood, and her material donations.

Global Queenship, Capetian Queenship, and Adele of Champagne

Women's political power and authority has often been conceptualized by historians through their families. McNamara and Wemple's landmark thesis, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500-1100," placed the family at the center of medieval women's ability to access and express both direct and indirect types of power.[3] Recent histories and historiographies have likewise noted that the centrality of the family in monarchical political systems gave women authority as mothers, wives, and daughters. These studies often analyzed the themes of maternal ambition, maternal authority, and maternal influence as means through which women claimed power.[4] More recent studies

[3] Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500-1100," *Feminist Studies* 1, 3/4 Special Double Issue: *Women's History* (Winter-Spring, 1973), 126-141.

[4] See Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe: Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500,* trans. Angela Krieger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner, eds., *Royal Mothers and their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); John Carmi Parsons, "Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship," *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993),

on global queenship have likewise consistently centered women's power through motherhood.[5] The queen's power has been interpreted as an outgrowth of her monarchical position as mother, wife, and daughter.

Alongside analyses of women's power through their family as mothers, wives, and daughters, historians have analyzed regency as a path to power and authority in the monarchical structure. In essence, as Theresa Earenfight has noted, a regency was often the place where women ruled on their own.[6] Regency as authority has been analyzed across Europe: John Carmi Parsons's edited volume *Medieval Queenship* (1993) included chapters analyzing regencies in Hungary, France, Leon, and Navarre,[7] and more recently, Elena Woodacre's edited volume *Companion to Global Queenship* examined co-rulership, in which both consort and regent queens ruled alongside their husbands and sons, in Kyivan Rus, Wales, India and China.[8] In all cases, the prerogatives of ruling families allowed women access to power as rulers in the absence of ruling husbands or minor sons.

1-12. Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal: Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 124-154.

[5] See Heather Tanner, ed., *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100–1400: Moving Beyond the Exceptionalist Debate* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Elena Woodacre, ed., *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Elena Woodacre, ed., *A Companion to Global Queenship* (Croydon: ARC Humanities Press, 2018).

[6] Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 6.

[7] See Janos M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.)," 13-24; Roger Collins, "Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth-Century Leon and Navarre," 79-92; and André Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship*, 93-116.

[8] Woodacre, ed., *A Companion to Global Queenship*, 5. See also: Hang Lin, "Nomadic Mothers as Rulers in China: Female Regents of the Khitan Laio (907-1125)," in Woodacre and Fleiner, eds., *Royal Mothers and their Ruling Children*, 105-126.

As with broader studies on queenship, the historiography of Capetian queenship has centered around questions of women's power through access to the throne. In her landmark thesis, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," Marion Facinger was the first to look at women's power in a specifically Capetian context. Facinger's methodology set the standard for decades of research on Capetian queens: she used royal charters as the most reliable gauge of the queen's participation in the business of governing, and thus the most indicative of women's power. Moreover, she saw the relationship between husband and wife as representative of power in the Capetian household.[9] This methodology led Facinger to place Adelaide of Maurienne (wife of Louis VI, r. 1115-1137) at the apogee of courtly power, and Facinger argued that the queen's power diminished as the abstract and bureaucratic power of the crown expanded.[10]

In the years since Facinger's thesis, her methodology and periodization have been rethought. Kathleen Nolan's edited volume *Capetian Women* (2003) most directly complicates the periodization, methodology, and assertions in Facinger's essay. Miriam Shadis's essay "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument" directly posited an alternative for Marion Facinger's royal charter-centric analysis through alternative sources of power such as the manipulation of material culture and ritual, emphasizing the importance of "unofficial" avenues of power including patronage, marriage contracts, heirs, sources of income through dowry lands, and the

[9] Marion Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History: Volume V,* ed. William M. Bowsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 4.

[10] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 27.

queen's relationship with her natal family.[11] Many of the authors within *Capetian Women* analyzed historical evidence beyond the charters emphasized in Facinger's essay as evidence for women's power: William Chester Jordan analyzed spiritual influence as a vector of power, Anne Rudolph Stanton, Kathleen Nolan, and Kathleen S. Schowalter examined the use of patronage as power, and Aline G. Hornaday sought to replace Isabelle of Hainaut's passive historical role with one that analyzes her choices as indicative of her claims to power.[12] Likewise, in *Queens in Stone and Silver*, Kathleen Nolan analyzed tombs and seals commissioned by and for queens, arguing that these representations of queenship were expressions of their power through patronage and visual symbolism.[13] Most recently, Tracy Chapman Hamilton combined visual patronage and archival documents to contextualize patronage and influence in the court of Marie of Brabant.[14] In these more recent works, women's authority has been rethought to include more subtle instances of power, and new sources of evidence have been included to demonstrate the range of ways in which noblewomen used patronage to shift their cultural landscape.

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[11] Mariam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 149-150.

[12] See William Chester Jordan, "Isabelle of France and Religious Devotion at the Court of Louis IX," 209-224; Anne Rudloff Stanton, "Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-58," 225-252; Aline G. Hornaday, "A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut," 77-98; Kathleen S. Schowalter, "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West," 99-136; and Kathleen Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship," 45-76, in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan.

[13] Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2009).

[14] Tracy Chapman Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie of Brabant (1260-1321)* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2019).

Facinger did not analyze regency as a source of Capetian women's power, but studies of regency have provided a wealth of new methodological and historiographic questions about women's power. André Poulet's article "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation" argued that regencies reflected the emergence of the conceptualization of the queen as the king's legal replacement, and posited an alternative periodization of women's power: beginning instead with Anne of Kiev (r. 1050- c. 1075-1079), formalized with Adele of Champagne (r. 1060-1180, d. 1206), at its apogee with Blanche of Castile (r. 1223-1226, d. 1252), and becoming customary after women's official exclusion from the throne in 1316.[15] The power of regency in practice was explored more fully in later analyses, particularly Lindy Grant's biography of Blanche of Castile. Using Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski's ideas of authority and power, Grant argues that Blanche's regency allowed her to exert political authority by raising armies, sitting in judgement, and using powers traditionally interpreted as "feminine" such as diplomacy, cultural and religious patronage, gesture, and ritual.[16] Grant argues that Blanche's life challenged gendered readings of power as "feminine," as Blanche was effectively invested with both power and authority as regent, co-ruler, and queen.

Due in part to the influence of Facinger, however, studies on Capetian queens have tended to follow two historiographic trends: analyzing queens with extensive political authority, such as Adelaide of Maurienne, whom Facinger saw wielding the most power,

[15] André Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," *Medieval Queenship*, ed. Parsons, 93-116. Poulet argues that women were only granted official powers of regency because of this exclusion, as they were no longer potential usurpers of the crown.

[16] Lindy Grant, *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). See also: Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument."

or Blanche of Castile, who fell outside the periodization of Facinger's analysis but has recently come to light as a Capetian queen who exercised power through her two regencies and influence over her son Louis IX.[17] Additionally, historians have focused on those without explicit political authority, particularly queens Facinger suggested were powerless; namely, Philip II's wives Isabelle of Hainaut and Ingeborg of Denmark. Historians have examined the forms of power these women possessed despite lacking overt political authority. Isabelle's public demonstrations and Ingeborg's construction of legitimate queenship through the Ingebourg Psalter have demonstrated the ways these women claimed and expressed power despite being alienated from political authority.[18] However, this approach has overshadowed several Capetian queens with less reason to be rehabilitated or who commanded less extensive political power.

Despite the relative wealth of analyses focused on twelfth and thirteenth-century French aristocrats, studies on Adele and her place within the historiography of women's power have been few and far between. Recent essay collections about Louis VII and Philip II make almost no mention of Adele.[19] Further, there is no full-length biography of Adele.

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[17] See Lois L. Huneycutt, "The Creation of a Crone: The Historical Reputation of Adelaide of Maurienne," 27-44; Kathleen Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship," 45-76; Miriam Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," 137-162; Afrodesia E. McCannon, "Two Capetian Queens as the Foreground for an Aristocrat's Anxiety in the *Vie de saint Louis*," 163-176; and Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Queenship and Kinship in the French Bible Moralisée: The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ONM 2554," 177-208, in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan; Grant, *Blanche of Castile.*

[18] See Aline G. Hornaday, "A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut," 77-98; Kathleen S. Schowalter, "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West," 99-136, in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan.

[19] Michael L. Bardot and Lawrence W. Marvin, eds., *Louis VII and His World* (Boston: Brill, 2018); *Autour de Philippe Auguste* ed. Martin Aurell and Yves Sassier (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017).

The most comprehensive work on her life is Jean Dufour's essay, "Adèle de Champagne, Troisième Femme de Louis VII, Une Reine Méconnue," which covers portions of Adele's dower, her regency, and her acts.[20] But this essay remains the only dedicated study of Adele's queenship. Beyond Dufour's work, Adele mainly features in the biographies of other Capetian nobles in her circle, including Marie of France, Blanche of Castile, Philip Augustus, and Henry the Liberal.[21] In these biographies, she makes brief appearances in the lives of her contemporaries, and historians John Baldwin, Lindy Grant, and Theodore Evergates have made some arguments about her life. However, the most substantive arguments about Adele come from the historiographies of queens and Capetian women in general. Marion Facigner's thesis was the first to make substantial claims about Adele's importance, role, and personality in the Capetian line. Facinger called her a "capable and energetic queen" but thought it was "impossible to find the personal Adele behind the official queen."[22] Still, Facinger dismissed Adele with other queens in the life of Philip Augustus, "lost behind his dominating power."[23] In the years since Facinger's thesis, Adele's life has been only minimally rethought. Nolan's 2003 survey *Capetian Queenship* contains only occasional references to Adele, and the most recent survey of French queens,

[20] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne, Troisième Femme de Louis VII, Une Reine Méconnue."

[21] See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*; Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Theodore Evergates, *Marie of France: Countess of Champagne 1145-1198* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Grant, *Blanche of Castile*.

[22] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 8-9.

[23] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 8-9. "In any case, neither she nor her brother were a match for Philip Augustus who effectively and quickly established himself as master."

Sophie Brouquet's *Capétiennes - Les reines de France au Moyen Âge,* likewise sheds no new light on Adele.[24]

Several intriguing aspects of Adele's career deserve closer scrutiny. Her conflict with her son in 1180, especially, has been given little scholarly attention. Historians have summarized the events without examining their significance, paying little attention to Adele's claims to power and authority.[25] Though Facinger acknowledged the significance of a woman attempting to use military force to usurp power, she placed the incident as a step in the waning queens' power during the reign of Philip Augustus, because, she argued, it transformed Adele into a figurehead dowager queen with no real participation in government.[26] Significantly, historians have not drawn any connection between Adele's 1180 rebellion and Philip II's restrictive ordinance-testament of 1190, nor have they taken Adele's perspective to analyze this conflict.

Adele's appointment to "custodian of the kingdom" in 1190, despite its significance as the first official appointment of a woman to a position in government, has received relatively little study by historians. Her regency features briefly in historiographies of Capetian queens and in the biographies of her relatives. Notably, in Facinger's essay, it is described only as a "carefully regulated regency" that left her little room to express power

[24] *Capetian Women,* ed. Kathleen Nolan; Sophie Brouquet, *Capétiennes - Les reines de France au Moyen Âge (Xe-XIVe siècle)* (Paris: Ellipses, 2020).

[25] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 36; Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 16-17.

[26] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 44.

on her own.[27] Poulet's essay, "Capetian Women and the Regency," dedicates only a short paragraph to its significance, writing that Adele ruled at the start of the dowager's "official" recognition as the king's replacement, and noting the ordinance-testament of 1190 was the first to provide a model for a regency in France.[28] Descriptions in the biographies of her contemporaries provide more insight, as each relates her custodianship to her interpersonal relationships. However, many of these biographies do not analyze Adele's appointment to government in the broader historiographical context of female authority and power.[29] Indeed, Baldwin, while thoroughly analyzing the administrative and political aspects of Philip II's ordinance-testament of 1190, dedicates little space to the actions taken by the personnel of government over the course of Philip's absence. He focuses mainly on Philip II's ordinance-testament of 1190 and its impacts on the government and administration of Philip II's realm.[30] In general, biographies of Adele's contemporaries skirt the significance of Adele's appointment to the 1190 government, instead focusing on the surrounding administrative and interpersonal contexts.

[27] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38.

[28] Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency," 108. Citing Facinger, Earenfight likewise gives Adele little agency and claims that Philip chose Adele as his regent "because she was there." Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 153.

[29] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 38-39. In his biography of Adele, Dufour only describes the ordinance/testament of 1190, its instructions, and its limitation on Adele and her brother.

[30] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 69. "Adele pleaded that no decision be taken about the question of Dol's metropolitan status until the king's return"; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 103. "One charter from the queen and archbishop and ten from the Parisian bourgeois are all that survive from the regents' operation during the eighteen months of the king's absence."; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 101-125. Likewise, Theodore Evergates briefly mentions Adele's regency in *Henry the Liberal*, but does not analyze its impacts or significance. Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 76.

A comprehensive assessment of Adele's actions during her widowhood and her patronage has also been missing from the historiography. Facinger and Baldwin saw Adele's retirement as a non-event, devoting little space to Adele's actions and patronage in retirement.[31] Kathleen Nolan's *Queens in Stone and Silver* analyzes Adele's commission of a tomb for her husband at the Cistercian monastery of Barbeaux, arguing that it was her vision which produced the elaborate tomb.[32] However, Theodore Evergates, Lindy Grant, and Kathleen Nolan have suggested opportunities for further research, such as her active role as a patron.[33] Still, a substantive analysis of the various aspects of Adele's life--as dowager, mother, queen, and widow--has yet to come to fruition.

Primary Sources

This thesis will examine chronicles and documents that include important references to Adele's life, particularly documents relating to the 1180 conflict between Adele and her son, her time as custodian of the kingdom, and her later retirement and patronage. One of the most important primary sources for this thesis will be Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, which illuminates the context and chronology of Adele's life, including the administration of the government in 1190-91, Adele's conflict with her son in 1180, and her retirement and burial. Rigord's *Gesta* is found in two medieval manuscripts.

[31] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38, 42; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 104. "The queen mother Adele went into retirement after the king's return."

[32] Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 101.

[33] Evergates, *Marie of France*, 20, 82; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 218, 232. Grant cites Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, *Corpus de sceaux français du Moyen Âge, III: les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France* (Paris : Service interministériel des Archives de France, 2011), 31-2 and Dufour, "De l'anneau sigillaire au sceau: évolution du rôle des reines de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle," in *Corpus de sceaux français du Moyen Âge, III*, 11-25.

Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 88, however, is incomplete and does not include Philip II's 1190 testament. More important for this study, therefore, is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5925 (P),[34] which has been digitized on Gallica, the BnF digital library. The manuscript contains several chronicles of French kings, and Rigord's *Gesta* is found on fols. 248r-286r.[35] Rigord's *Gesta* has been edited five times since 1596. The first edition was published in 1596 by Petrus Pithou.[36] A subsequent edition was published in 1645 by André Duchesne and François Duchesne.[37] Two nineteenth-century editions exist: The edition by Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*,[38] from which Francois Guizot produced an 1825

[34] Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, ed. and trans.,"Introduction," in *Histoire de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2006), 20.

[35] BnF ms. lat. 5925 (P) became available online February 27, 2019. The manuscript contains several works on the kings of France, including Aimoin de Fleury's *Historia Francorum* (ff. 1-123), Einhard's *Vita Karoli* (ff. 123a-132b), a Pseudo-Turpin *Gesta Caroli Magni in Hispania* (ff. 132b-149v), the *Gesta Ludovici Pii imperatoris accedit appendix eorum quae sub imperio filiorum ejus et Regum successorum gesta sunt usque ad mortem Philippi I* (ff. 149v-199va), Abbot Suger's V*ita Ludovici VI* (ff. 199v-f. 232a), *Gesta Ludovici VII, regis Francorum* (ff. 232a- 248b), *Gesta Ludovici VIII, Francorum regis* (ff. 302a-305a), William of Nangis's *Gesta Ludovici IX regis Francorum* (ff. 305a-350vb), William of Nangis's *Gesta Philippi III regis Francie*, (ff. 350vb-371vb), and *Provinciale Ecclesiae Romanae* (ff. 372a-374vc).

[36] Petrus Pithou, ed., *Historiae Francorum ab anno Christi DCCC ad ann. M. CC. IXXXV Historiae Francorum ab anno Christi DCCC ad ann. MCCLXXXV scriptores veteres XI: in quibus Glaber, Helgaudus, Sugerius Abbas, M. Rigordus, Guillermus Brito, Guillermus de Nangris et anonymi alii*… (Frankfurt, 1596), 158-207.

[37] André Duchesne and François Duchesne, eds., "Gesta Philippi Augusti francorum Regis Ludovici Junioris Filii, descripta a magistro Rigordo, seu Rigoto ipsivs regis chronographo. Ab Anno I. inunctionis eiusdem, usque ad XXVIII. Regni annum," in *Historiae Francorum scriptores a Philippo Augusto Rege usque ad R. Philippo IV. Acti Pulchri, opera et studio filii post patrem Francisci Duchesne, in sperema Parisiensium curia, et sacro consistorio patroni, necnon Geographi, & Historiographi Regii*, t. V (Paris, 1649), 1-49.

[38] Martin Bouquet, ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 17 (Poitiers: Imprimerie de H. Ocdin Frères, 1878), 1-62.

French translation,[39] and Henri-François Delaborde's 1885 edition in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*.[40] More recently, Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin produced a 2006 Latin edition with a facing French translation.[41] Various excerpts from the text have recently been published in English translation. Paul Hyams produced an English translation of the first section of Rigord's work from Delaborde's French translation,[42] and likewise William North produced an English version of the ordinance-testament of 1190.[43] To date, no full English translation has been published.[44]

Chapter one of this thesis will analyze various chronicles from France, Hainaut, England, and Wales to incorporate several perspectives on the conflict between Philip and Adele in 1180. French sources for the 1180 conflict include Rigord's *Gesta*, Robert of Auxerre's *Chronologia*, and the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* by an anonymous author. The *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* is available in a 1979

[39] Fr. Guizot, ed., "Vie de Philippe Auguste," *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1825), 1-179.

[40] Henri-François Delaborde, ed., *Œuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, Volume II* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882).

[41] Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 110-403.

[42] Paul R. Hyams, trans., "Rigord and his 'Deeds of Phillip Augustus," Crusades and Chroniclers, Cornell University, accessed online May 15, 2021, http://prh3.arts.cornell.edu/408/texts/Rigord1.html.

[43] W. L. North, trans., "Deeds of Philip Augustus," ed. H. Françoise Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1882), 98-105, accessed online May 15, 2021, https://thehaskinssociety.wildapricot.org/resources/Documents/Translated%20Sources/Primary%20Sources/Rigord%20on%20Philip%20Augustus'%20Preparations%20for%20Crusade.pdf.

[44] A full translation by Larry F. Field, edited by Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean Field, is in preparation for Cornell University Press.

French translation by Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles.[45] Oswald Holder-Egger provided an 1882 edition of Robert of Auxerre's *Chronologia*.[46] Sources from England and Wales include Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, Gerard of Wales's *De Principis instructione*, Gervase of Canterbury's *Chronica,* and Ralph of Diceto's *Ymagines Historiarum*. Roger of Howden's *Chronica* exists in a 1868 Latin edition by William Stubbs,[47] and *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi* exists in an 1867 Latin edition by William Stubbs.[48] Gerald of Wales's *De Principis instructione* is available in an 1891 Latin edition by George F. Warner and in a 2018 Latin edition and English translation by Robert Bartlett.[49] Part one of Ralph of Diceto's *Ymagines Historiarum* exists in an 1876 Latin edition edited by William Stubbs and part two exists in an 1896 edition by the same editor.[50] Gervase of Canterbury's works are available in a 1880 edition by William

[45] Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, ed., and trans., *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius* (Paris: CNRS, 1979).

[46] Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, volume 26, ed. Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1882), 219-287.

[47] William Stubbs, ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedane*, Vol. II (London: Longman, 1868-71).

[48] William Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi and Gesta Regis Ricardi*, Vol. I (London: Her Majesty's Sationery Office, 1867). This text was originally thought to be by Benedict of Peterborough but has since been shown to be Roger of Howden's work.

[49] Robert Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); George F. Warner, ed.,"De Principis instructione liber," *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, vol. 8, Rolls Series* (Longdon: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891).

[50] William Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto, Dean of London,* Vol. I (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1876); William Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto, Dean of London,* Vol. II (London: Her Majesty's Sationery Office, 1896).

Stubbs.[51] Finally, Gislebert of Mons's *Chronicon Hanoniense* is available in a 1904 Latin reproduction and in a 2005 English translation by Laura Napran.[52]

The 1190 government and Adele's role as custodian of the kingdom will be analyzed using narrative as well as administrative sources. Rigord's transcription of the ordinance-testament of 1190 in chapter seventy-seven his *Gesta* will provide the major source for the administrative imperatives given to Adele and her brother during Philip's absence. In addition to this administrative document, the activities of the personnel of government are known primarily from collections of Philip's registers: specifically, Edgard Boutaric, *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, Henri-François Delaborde, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste,* and John W. Baldwin, *Les registres de Philippe Auguste*.[53] Further, at least one letter from Adele to Pope Celestine III from this period survives, dated to 1191.[54]

Finally, Adele's later activities are known primarily from her patronage of religious institutions and individuals. At least one letter from Adele's retirement survives: a 1204 letter from Pope Innocent III granting her permission to be buried in the monastery of Pontigny.[55] Her patronage of the holy woman Alpais is most fully described with relevant

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[51] Willliam Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* (London: Longman & Co., 1880).

[52] Leon Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons* (Brussels: Kiessling Library, 1904); Laura Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut* (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2005).

[53] See Edgard Boutaric, ed., *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, Volume I (Paris: Henri Plon, 1807); H.-F. Delaborde, Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, J. Boussard, and M. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste,* 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916); John W. Baldwin, Françoise Gaspari, Michel Nortier, Élisabeth Lalou, and Robert-Henri Bautier, eds., *Les registres de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992).

[54] Victor Palmé, ed., "Epistolae Stephani Tornacensis, 16," in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* Vol. 19 (Poitiers: Imprimerie de H. Ocdin Frères, 1880), 291.

[55] J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus,* Vol. 217, 4 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1889), 108-109, no. 75.

documents in P. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*.[56] Her patronage of the religious institutions of Corbeil, Jard Abbey, Saint-Nicolas d'Hermières Abbey, and Chalou-Saint-Aignan are found in E. Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, Jean Comoy, *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun (1171-1794)*, Charles-Louis Hugo, ed., *Sacri et canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis annales, in duas partes divisi,* and Auguste Moutié, *Recueil de chartes et pièces relatives au prieuré N.D. des Moulineaux,* respectively.[57]

Thesis Structure and Parameters

Chapter one of this thesis will begin with an analysis of the transition between the reigns of Adele's husband, Louis VII and her son, Philip II. Typically seen as a minor incident in the early reign of Philip Augustus, this thesis will reframe the event as a key moment of conflict. Adele called upon her networks of kinship and loyalties to counter the threat posed by Count Philip of Flanders, whose outsized role in the young king's government presented a threat to Adele and her family. The events of 1180 will thus be analyzed from Adele's perspective to reveal how she led her family's faction to counter a risk to their position in the new king's government.

[56] P. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais* (Marly-le-Roy: 1893).
[57] E. Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris* (Rambouillet: Imprimerie A. Douchin, 1882); Jean Comoy, ed., *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun (1171-1794)* (Auxerre: Imprimerie Modern, 1935); Charles-Louis Hugo, ed., *Sacri et canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis annales, in duas partes divisi,* Volume 1 (Nancy: Joan. Bapt. Cusson, & Abelem-Dionysium Cusson, 1757); Auguste Moutié, *Recueil de chartes et pièces relatives au prieuré N.D. des Moulineaux, de l'ordre de Grandmont, et à la châtellenie de Poigny (arrondissement de Rambouillet et ancien diocèse de Chartes), tirées des archives du domaine de Rambouillet* (Paris: F. Didot frères, 1846).

Chapter two of this thesis will analyze Adele and her brother William's appointment to government in 1190 during Philip's absence on the Third Crusade. It will first analyze the ordinance-testament of 1190 for the administrative directives given to Adele and her brother by Philip. As the first document to put the directives of Capetian government into writing, this thesis will analyze the context of its creation as well as its significance and impact on French administration and future female regency. This thesis will identify actions taken by Adele during Philip's absence and will examine instances in which Adele acted and claimed special authority through her maternal relationship with the absent king. It will analyze the significance of Adele's participation in medieval French politics and administration and the broader importance of the ordinance-testament as the first written directive of government and the first to assign a woman an official position in France.

Finally, this thesis will examine Adele's patronage and her actions in her later retirement, an understudied part of her life. Adele expressed political desires through her patronage. Her relationship with the holy woman Alpais and her commission of her husband's tomb at Barbeaux took place in the context of the politics of 1180, and her large donations to religious institutions shaped the religious landscape of medieval France and reveal her religious proclivities. This thesis will thus connect Adele's later patronage to the historiography of women's power through burial, relationships, and donations.

This thesis aims to provide new perspectives on an understudied queen. In doing so, it intends to illuminate the changing vocation of queenship, the formalization and reinterpretation of regency, and the cultural impacts of women on twelfth-century France

through their patronage. Key periods in Adele's life highlight how she leveraged her power and authority through her natal family, her motherhood, and her material donations.

Chapter One: Adele and the Conflict of 1180

After twenty years of marriage, a position secured by the birth of her son Philip, and strong marital and familial connections to the dying king Louis VII, Adele's security seems to have been suddenly upended. Beginning first at the coronation of her young son on November 1, 1179, a struggle for control of young King Philip ensued between the Flemish and Champagne parties, even before King Louis VII's death on 19 September 1180.[58] Philip, with the help of the Flemish faction, diminished the control of his mother and the Champagne party by choosing a bride from Hainaut, Isabelle, on April 28, 1180. In response, Adele fled the court and sought refuge with her brother Thibaut in Blois. She fortified her dower lands and appeared to be preparing for a conflict. As a countermeasure, Philip had her dower lands seized. Adele then sought help from Henry II of England, who made his way to France. Instead of fighting alongside Adele and the Champagne party, however, Henry chose to make peace with Philip at Gisors in June 1180. The conflict was over quickly, and Adele and her family were welcomed back into Philip's favor.

This narrative, retold by scholars of Philip II and his contemporaries, obscures many of Adele's motivations and perspectives in these events. Her decisions and loyalties are not as immediately obvious as scholars have previously assumed. As she reacted to the threat of the loss of her position and income, she demonstrated a commitment to upholding her standing and that of her natal family in the new king's government. This commitment was strong enough that she sought the help of an old Capetian enemy, the English king

[58] See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 3; 17.

Henry II, to ensure that her position, and her family's, would not be threatened. Further, Adele was willing to take this measure while Louis VII was still alive, though paralyzed and near death. Adele acted alone to fortify her dower lands, which were traditionally not available to her until her husband's death.

Viewing the conflict of 1180 from Adele's perspective exposes a complex set of alliances and motivations that demonstrate her authority. The events of 1180 highlight Adele's ability to draw upon her own set of resources, networks, and kinship associations that allowed her to secure an independent and stable position in the early years of her son's reign. This episode thus illuminates Adele's role in the political events of this period, revealing Adele's desire to keep her and her family's status intact.

Historiography: 1180 from a Capetian Perspective

The 1180 conflict has not been given extensive scholarly attention. In general, scholars have dismissed it as a minor episode in Philip II's early reign. Jean Dufour's essay on Adele gives a brief summation of the key points of the conflict: Philip's coronation and his marriage with Isabelle de Hainaut, Adele's fortification of her lands in response, her flight to her brother Thibaut V of Blois, and her attempt to secure aid from Henry II of England, concluding with peace at Gisors on June 28, 1180.[59] Marion Facinger, in her essay on Capetian queens, does not give the episode much weight in the arc of Capetian queenship and power. She suggests that it was Philip who led the attack against his mother,

[59] Jean Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne, troisième femme de Louis VII, une reine méconnue," 36.

rather than the other way around, and ultimately implies that this incident transformed Adele into a figurehead dowager queen, marking the beginning of the decline of the role of the queen in the future.[60] Though Facinger acknowledges the significance of a queen attempting to maintain the power of the throne using military force, she places Adele at the beginning of the waning power of queens during the reign of Philip Augustus.[61]

Adele's actions have also been analyzed in studies focused on Philip Augustus, highlighting the conflict as a key moment early in Philip's reign. Jean Flori and Bruno Galland offer brief narratives of the event in their biographies. Flori argues that it was Philip of Flanders's position that provoked her to seek refuge with her brother Thibaut.[62] Galland's narrative provides brief explanations for each party's motivations in the conflict.[63] John Baldwin's description of the events is the most comprehensive of the biographers of Philip II, as he explains Adele's response to her son's challenge to Champagnois authority and the motives for actors such as Henry II.[64] Still, his interpretation leaves room for more thorough analysis of Adele's role.

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[60] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38. "It was an abortive attempt subdued principally by Philip II's energetic attack upon his mother in which he was aided by Philip of Flanders. With Philip II's assumption of the crown in 1180, the transformation, long in process, of the queen's office was accelerated. He continued to employ his mother on occasion as an ancillary to the throne--to hear a few lawsuits, to share control of a carefully regulated regency in 1190--but the major portion of Adele's twenty-six years of widowhood were spent in quiet care of her dower holdings in retirement from court activities."

[61] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship," 44.

[62] Jean Flori, *Philippe Auguste: La naissance de l'état monarchique* (Paris: Editions Tallandier, 2007), 26.

[63] Bruno Galland, *Philippe Auguste: Le bâtisseur du royaume* (Paris: Belin, 2014), 34-39. Galland provides some incorrect dates in his analysis, stating, for example, that the meeting at Gisors took place on June 28, 1179.

[64] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 16-17. "Adele's response to these strong measures was to call for help from the king of England, who quickly arrived in Normandy. Henry, whose many years of experience had taught him to exploit such situations to his advantage, surprised everyone by offering his

Finally, the conflict of 1180 has been mentioned in biographies of other Capetian women. In her analysis of Isabelle of Hainaut in *Capetian Women*, Aline Hornaday interprets the events of 1180 from the perspective of Isabelle, which positions her mother-in-law as an antagonistic force that Isabelle struggled against.[65] Hornaday's work offers an intriguing perspective on these events, but again limits the view from Adele's perspective. In her biography of Blanche of Castile, Lindy Grant likewise briefly alludes to the events of 1180, but provides little detail.[66] Theodore Evergates, writing from the perspective of the Champagne party, provides a clearer motivation for Adele's actions, suggesting that Philip may have wished to prevent Adele from assuming a position in government that she may have anticipated due to Philip's age, only fifteen.[67] While these brief anecdotes situate the event in the context of her contemporaries' lives, no work has analyzed the events from Adele's perspective.

Historiographical interpretations of the conflict of 1180 generally include three assumptions that this chapter will challenge. First, this chapter contests the assertion first put forward by Facinger that Philip was the leader of his faction, leading to the

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young sovereign a genuine peace at Gisors in June 1180, founded on the terms of Nonancourt three years earlier. Philip Augustus, in turn, agreed to receive back into favor his mother, her brothers, Thibaut and Etienne, and other members of the Champagne party. Adele, who was promised the restoration of her dowry lands after her husband's death, was granted a daily pension in the interim."

[65] Hornaday, "A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut," 82. Additionally, Hornaday brings up an anecdote that relates to these events, Conon of Bethune's mention of Adele mocking his Picard speech. This anecdote has been used to describe Adele's haughtiness toward her daughter-in-law.

[66] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 38. "But Philip Augustus had no intention of remaining beholden to either Philip of Flanders or his maternal family of the counts of Champagne. Within a couple of years, he had emancipated himself from both, and set the counts of Flanders and Champagne at war with each other. His mother, Adela of Champagne, fled the court."

[67] Evergates, *Marie of France*, 32.

subordination of his mother, which in turn marked the beginning of a decline in the queen's power. Understanding Adele's actions complicates the view that Philip alone was able to subdue his mother and soundly defeat her. Second, this chapter challenges the standard timeline of the events of 1180 that claims that the conflict took place simply as a retaliation against Philip's marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut. The evidence, on the contrary, suggests that Adele was maneuvering against her son and the Count of Flanders even before the marriage took place. Finally, this chapter complicates the traditional framing of the event from the perspective of King Philip. Viewing the events from Adele's point of view reveals her success as she maneuvered through this important conflict early in Philip's reign.

Contemporary Sources

There are several important contemporary documents written in 1180 that refer to the conflict between Philip and the Champagne party. Two are letters from Philip: one to his uncle Henry, count of Champagne, and one to the bourgeois of an unnamed city in his kingdom. These letters, dated from between the king's coronation on November 1, 1179 and the Treaty of Gisors on June 28, 1180, provide contemporary insight into the motivations and perspectives of King Philip. Another important text is the Treaty of Gisors itself, which marked the end point of the conflict and set the terms for the renewed relationship between Henry II and Philip Augustus. Finally, there is a letter from King Henry II to Ranulf of Glanville that more clearly describes the conclusion of the conflict between Philip, his Champagne relatives, and Count Philip of Flanders, as well as reveals some of Henry II's potential motivations as a mediator. These contemporary documents

mark the starting point of analysis into the causes, motivations, and conclusion of the conflict of 1180.

The first important document is a letter from Philip to his uncle Henry, count of Champagne, urging Henry to return from Jerusalem to France.[68] This letter, however, only survives in later, undated manuscripts and can only be broadly dated to between Philip's coronation on November 1, 1179, when Philip started to use the title *rex Francorum*, and June 28, 1180, when the conflict between Philip and his relatives ended with the Treaty of Gisors.[69] Henry of Champagne left for Jerusalem in May of 1179 in response to Pope Alexander III's call to crusade in January 1176.[70] The fact that Philip appealed to his aging uncle nearly three thousand miles away in Jerusalem for help in the conflict seems surprising. Even if Philip felt an affinity for his maternal uncle because of a relationship developed in the 1170s when Henry visited Paris,[71] Philip's engagement to Isabelle of Hainaut had broken a contract between Hainaut and Champagne that promised Henry's

[68] Michel Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome VI: Lettres mises sous le nom de Philippe Auguste dans les recueils de formulaires d'école* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2005), 47, no. 21. The letter does not survive in a contemporaneous document, but instead survives in four later manuscripts: Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, ms. 2239, fol. 86r; BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 757, fol 86r, BnF, ms. lat. 1093, fol 63v, 2nd col.; Bibliothèque de Donaueschingen, ms. 910, fol. 26; Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, ms. 521, fol. 171v, 1st column. The Latin in Nortier's edition is based on BnF, ms. lat. 1093 with some text from BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 757. The letter had been previously published in A. Cartellieri, ed., *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller. Lateinische Stilubüngen des XII Jahrhunderts aus der orleanischen Schule* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universtäts-Buchandlung, 1898), 34-35, no. 149-150. Cartellieri's edition was based solely on Bibliothèque de Donaueschingen, ms. 910, fol. 26. Nortier's new 2005 edition establishes a clearer reading of the Latin and suggests alternative readings based on the comparison of manuscripts. Nortier, however, does not print Henry of Champagne's response.

[69] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21.

[70] Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 150; 160.

[71] This is suggested by Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 162.

son Henry II of Champagne to Isabelle.[72] Even so, the letter is probably trustworthy. It survives in multiple manuscripts, is addressed to "H" count of Champagne, and references events that could only have taken place in 1180. For those reasons, the letter can be safely assumed to be written from Philip to his uncle Henry, count of Champagne, in the year 1180.[73] It reads as follows:

> Philip King of France to his uncle H. count of Champagne, having departed to Jerusalem, that he should quickly return to give him counsel against his enemies. It seems to happen often enough that corruption comes from those who ought to present themselves as uncorrupted.[74] I was expecting counsel from my uncles, and from my mother the favor of fidelity; but I would prefer to lie than to tell the truth that my mother is turned into a stepmother and those who were uncles are made stepfathers.[75] They have fortified their

[72] Napran, trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut*, 60. Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 124. Additionally, some copies of the letter have the initial of the recipient as "R" rather than "H". Historians have generally concluded that this is a scribal error. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21; Cartellieri, ed., *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller*, 34, no. 149.

[73] Both Nortier and Cartellieri conclude that the letter was written in 1180 by Philip. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. Cartellieri, ed., *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller*, 34, no. 149.

[74] Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. "Ph. Rex Francie patruo suo H. comiti Campanie, Ierosolimam profecto, ut cito redeat, contra hostes suos inpensurus ei consilium. Satis crebro videtur accidere, quod ab illis fermentum egreditur qui deberent se azimos exhibere." A portion of this preambulatory phrase is also found in the Annals of Burton, recounting a supposed crucifixion of a boy named Hugh by the Jews at Lincoln in 1255. The manuscript, London, British Library MS. Cotton, Vespas E. ii, was copied in the fourteenth century, though the *annales* were likely written in the thirteenth century. This, perhaps, may suggest that the letter was from later than 1180. However, it also may be a reference to a more obscure standard phrase. Other letters written by Philip during 1180 use the same word used here, *fermentum*, to describe the anger of Philip's Champagne party relatives, and may suggest that the two letters were written around the same time by the same scribe, the phrase being characteristic of Philip's scribe. See Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici. Vol. I: Annales de Margan, Annales de Theokesberia, Annales de Burton* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), 346.

[75] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. "Expectabam consilium a meis patruis et a matre mea favorem fidei; sed quod mallem mentiri quam verum dicere: Mater mea conversa est in novercam et sunt facti qui erant avunculi vitritantes." Other manuscripts have final word as *vitricantes*. Nortier follows the scribe of BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 757, which has 'vitricantes,' derived from *'vitricus'* or "step-father," which would complete the analogy begun in the previous phrase. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. Ward notes that this word is a hapax. Emily Joan Ward, "Child

> fortifications in order to drive me into exile, and they have bound many with an oath that they would no longer submit to me but to them. Therefore, having particular faith in you, I inform you urgently that you should come quickly to the region of France to give me counsel and assistance.[76]

Three points made in this letter are especially telling about the situation in 1180. First, Philip's terms for his mother and his uncles, "*noverca*" and "*vitritantes,*" speak to his upended expectations. Adele's failure to be loyal, as Philip says he anticipated her to be, made her a "*noverca*," outside of his biological family unit. The same suggestion is made for Philip's uncles: their lack of counsel subverted their expected role as uncles of the new king. Second is the description of the actions of the Champagne party. The king accuses his family of doing two things: fortifying their castles "in order to drive me to exile," and convincing many to swear to abandon their loyalty to the new king of France. Taken together, these actions suggest that the Champagne party was preparing for conflict and were willing to take steps to prepare their munitions and gather allies. Tellingly, the letter includes no reference to Henry II's involvement, and thus may have been written before he arrived in France around Easter, April 13, 1180.[77] Finally, the letter omits any suggestion of the Champagne party's motivations. Philip ascribes their actions to evildoing but does

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Kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany, c.1050 – c.1250" (PhD Diss., Cambridge University, 2017), 155.

[76] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. "Municiones muniverant ad meum exilium et quam plures astrinxerant sacramento, quod non mihi sed eis ulterius obedirent. Habens ergo precipuam in vobis fiduciam attente vos commoneo, quod ad partes Francie veniatis celerius, inpensurus mihi consilium et iuvamen."

[77] Henry's arrival is attested in Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 24; Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," Volume II, 5; Stubbs, ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedane*, 197.

not explain what provoked such a response in his relatives. The letter is brief but suggests that Philip believed hostilities would erupt, enough that he reached out to his uncle far away in Jerusalem.

In Henry's response, he suggests that he can hardly believe the news, but that he ultimately trusts what Philip is telling him. He agrees, though perhaps reluctantly, to return to France, "although it was previously pleasing in our soul to provide military service for God."[78] Henry's letter repeats Philip's sentiment that expectations for the relatives of the king have been broken. According to Henry, mothers and uncles should be loyal and attentive to their young progeny.[79] However, Henry's later actions suggest he was in no hurry to return to France. Indeed, rather than sailing directly home, Henry first attempted to travel to Constantinople.[80] On the way there, he was captured by the Saracens, and had to be ransomed by Emperor Manuel Komnenos. He did not arrive in France until Christmas 1180, and did not reach Troyes until May 1181, where, in poor health, he died on May 16, 1181.[81] The reasons for Henry's lack of urgency are not known. Perhaps he had more

[78] Cartellieri, ed., *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller,* 34, no. 150. Cartellieri notes the manuscript was written down between the years 1284-1290 by an official from the archbishopric of Salzburg. "Parum habet in letis fidei qui se prestat in tristibus infidelem. Ad nos cestre venerunt littere quas attenta percurrimus disquisicione. Sed si forte nobis hec alius intimaret, quod asserunt, intimanti fidem aponere non vellemus. Satis enim credimus et credit oprtuit quod materna consilia nil mali in filium cogitarent et nepotem iuvarent avunculi, non illius incomodis inminentes. Maturato de reditu nos monetis et cum prius hec nobis essent in animo gratam Deo miliciam exercere, voluntati nostre morem disponimus, ut per nostrum adventum in Franciam insperata discordia terminetur."

[79] Cartellieri, ed., *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller,* 34, no. 150. "Satis enim credimus et credit oprtuit quod materna consilia nil mali in filium cogitarent et nepotem iuvarent avunculi, non illius incomodis inminentes."

[80] Evergates, *Henry the Liberal,* 162. Evergates suggests that Henry may have stopped in Constantinople to attend the marriage of his niece, and Philip's sister, Agnes to Alexius II Komnenos.

[81] Evergates, *Henry the Liberal,* 163.

pressing reasons to head for Constantinople before France, such as the marriage of his niece Agnes to Emperor Alexius II Komnenos.[82] If Henry's intentions were to travel to Constantinople for the marriage of Agnes, this would date the letter to before March 2, 1180. In either case, Henry did not return from overseas to France with any haste to aid his nephew.

The second important contemporary document is a letter from Philip to the bourgeois of an unnamed city, asking them to defend the borders of his kingdom.[83] In this letter, Philip orders the bourgeois to fortify the city with walls and pits to resist a possible attack from the Count of Blois.[84] This letter is interesting for several reasons. It refers to the danger of a potential attack from the "Count of Blois," in this case almost certainly Thibaut V, Adele's brother. Additionally, the letter-writer uses the same metaphor as the one contained in the letter from Philip to his uncle Henry, "*fermentum,"* to describe the

[82] Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 162; Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 149.

[83] This letter survives in six manuscripts: Bibliothèque municipale d'Agen, ms. 4, 160; BnF, ms. lat. 1093, fol. 64r, 2nd column, 4th act; Bibliotheque de Donauschingen, ms. 910, fol. 27v; Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, ms. 521, fol. 182v, 1st column; BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 757, fol. 87v; Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne, ms. 2239, fol. 87v. Nortier suggests the city in question is Orléans because of its tactical location defending attacks from the center-west. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI,* 161-162, no. 135.

[84] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI,* 162, no. 135. "Civitatis munitio confortat [animos] et robur civium, et timere solent munimina non habentes. Seris quam plurimis ovile clauditur ut luporum deseviat incassum rabies, et cum hostis impetui murus opponitur ut robur civium ibi magis se percipit impotentnem. Munimenta parat in pacis tempore vir discretus et providus ut retundi possit facilius hostis agressio si bellorum sibi negocia subnascantur. Sed pacis ocia curant segniciem, et quietis diu temporibus assueti nullo vel modico se claudunt robore, quia semper sufolia suspicantur. Diuturnam pacem habuimus ad nostrum avunculum Blesensem comitem. Sed fermento malicie nuper ingressum est in ejus animum et intrabit si poterit ut plagam ingerat in manu valida nostro regno. Sed vos regni tenetis confinium et timore vobis timendum est ampliori. Monemus ergo et monere precipimus ut castello nostro murorum fortium apponatis munimina cum fossatis, neque deserat vestrum alicui qui bellorum usus desiderat de ornamento."

anger of his family.[85] The similar phrasing may suggest that the two letters were written by the same scribe or were written at about the same time. Finally, it confirms what the first letter to Henry of Champagne does not: that Philip felt an immediate physical and military threat from the Champagne family, as he suggests that Thibaut would "carry out a strike in our kingdom with a strong hand."[86] This letter also confirms that Philip was prepared to respond with military force, as he ordered the bourgeois to carry out preventative actions by building walls and a ditch around their city. Philip evidently felt he needed to prepare for a potential conflict with his mother's family.

The dispute ended with the Treaty of Gisors on June 28, 1180. While the treaty is important to establish the agreement between Philip and Henry II, it does not refer specifically to any events, conflicts, or people involved in the conflict of 1180. Much of its text is lifted directly from the Treaty of Ivry, which it was intended to renew. The Treaty of Ivry had been sealed in September 1177 between Henry II and Louis VII in the aftermath of the revolt of Henry the Young King, whom Louis VII provided with military support.[87] Despite the resolution of the conflict between the Young King Henry and Henry II in 1174, disputes between Henry and Louis lingered concerning control of Berry and Auvergne,

[85] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 162, no. 135. "Sed fermento malicie nuper ingressum est in ejus animum."

[86] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome VI*, 162, no. 135. "intrabit si poterit ut plagam ingerat in manu valida nostro regno."

[87] The Treaty of Ivry is found in Bartlett, ed., *De principis Instructione*; Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 191-4; Stubbs, ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedane*, 144-6; and Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 272-4. A full translation has been made by Robert Bartlett in Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 460, no. 25. The Treaty of Gisors in found in Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 249. An abridged version is found in Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," Volume II, but this version is significant because it contains the date of the document: July 28, 1180. Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7.

areas of great political and economic importance.[88] The agreement resulted in the Treaty of Ivry, a non-aggression pact in the form of an agreement to prepare a joint crusade which bound the men to take the cross to go to Jerusalem.[89] By Philip's coronation in 1179, neither of the two kings had gone on crusade, and the Treaty of Gisors made no attempts to renew the crusading pact. Instead, it repeated many of the non-aggression clauses that Ivry had contained.

The Treaty of Gisors began by asserting Henry II and Philip's desire to be friends: agreeing to defend each other and agreeing not to make claims or demands on each other's land.[90] Like the Treaty of Ivry, this clause contained exemptions for Auvergne, the fief of Chateauroux, and other small fiefs and portions of lands in Berry which were towns of dispute between the French and English kings.[91] Both men elected three bishops and three

[88] W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 144.

[89] Warren, *Henry II*, 145; Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 461; Leopold Delisle, ed., *Recueil des actes de Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie. Tome II: Les Provinces Françaises et les affaires de France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1920), 61, no. 56. "Promisisse et jurasse quod simil ibimus in servitium Christianitatis et crucem suscipiemus ituri Jerosolimam, sicut in scripto de susceptione crucis inter nos facto continetur. Volumus etiam quod omnes sciant quod sicut sumus et amodo volumus esse amici."

[90] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7. "Quod sic sumus et amodo volumus esse amici quod uterque nostrum alteri observabit vitam et membra, et terrenum honorem suum contra omnes homines pro posse suo. Et si quecumque persona alteri nostrum malum facere praesumpserit, ego Henricus juvabo Philippum regem Francie dominum meum contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Et ego Philippus juvabo Henricum regem Angliae contra omnes homines pro posse meo, sicut hominem et fidelem meum, salva fide quam debemus hominibus nostris quamdiu ipsi nobis fidem servabunt. Et nemo nostrum amodo retinebit inimicum alterius in terra sua, ex quo inde requisitus fuerit." When comparing with the Treaty of Ivry, the two texts differ only in the names provided. See Delisle, ed., *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, 61.

[91] Warren, *Henry II*, 146. Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7. "Et ut inter nos tollatur amodo omnis materia discordie, concessimus ad invicem, quod de terris et possesionibus nostris et omnibus aliis rebus quas modo habemus, alter adversus alterum nihil amodo pete, excepto eo de Alvernia unde contentio inter nos est, et excepto feodo de Castro Radulfi, et exceptis feodis minutis et divisis terrarum nostrarum de Berri, si homines nostri aliquid interceperint inter se vel adversus alterum nostrum."

barons to oversee the peace, and the men selected were not changed from the Treaty of Ivry.[92] The kings then vowed that if one of them went on a pilgrimage, the other would guard and maintain his lands and men. Both agreed that merchants would have peace in their land, and finally both swore to uphold the treaty.[93] This promise between the King of England and the King of France to defend each other established a connection that had not yet been made when Philip ascended to the throne, a situation Adele and her brothers had exploited when they called upon Henry to aid them against Philip. [94] Though Henry's decision to renew peace instead of fighting alongside one faction or the other meant that Henry filled the position of a mediator, the clauses contained within the Treaty of Gisors did not directly mention the dispute between Philip and his Champagne relatives, nor does the treaty mention any concessions between the two parties.

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[92] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7. "Ego rex Francorum elegi tres episcopos, Claremontensem, Nivernensem, Trecensem; et tres barones, comitem Teobaldum et comitem Robertum et Petrum de Curtenai, patruos meos: et ego Henricus rex Angliae elegi tres episcopos, Willelmum Cenomannensem, Petrum Petragoricensem, Robertum Namnetensem; et tres barones, Mauricium de Croun, Willelmum Maingot, Petrum de Monte Rabel, ex parte mea, qui inquisita veritate hinc inde, tam per se ipsos, quam per juramenta hominum terrarum illarum, praedicti episcopi in verbo veritatis asserent, et laici jurabunt, quod quicquid cognoverint de jure alterius nostrum esse, hoc inter nos dicent, et nos eorum dicto bona fide stabimus. Si vero omnes illi episcopi quos ego Philippus elegi interesse non poterunt, nihilomnius stabimus dicto illorum duorum qui intererunt. Et si omnes barones ex parte mea nominati non intererunt, pro eo non remanebit quin stemus dicto illorum duorum qui intererunt. Et similiter de illis quod ego Henricus elegi, tam de episcopits quam de baronibus." There is no change to the barons and bishops selected from the Treaty of Ivry, which suggests that the text was lifted from the original treaty without much discussion or negotiation. Especially telling is that one of the barons includes Thibaut. Thus, the man who Philip was most concerned about disturbing the peace in the land during the conflict of 1180 took a position in this agreement.

[93] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7. "Si vero alter nostrum iter peregrinationis arripere voluerit, alter qui remanebit, terram illius qui in peregrinatione erit, et homines, sicut sua propria dominica fideliter custodiet, et manutenebit et defendet contra omnes homines sicut ego Philippus defenderem civitatem meam Parisius si esset obsessa, et sicut ego Henricus defenderem civitatem meam Rothomagum si esset obsessa. Ego autem Philippus volo quod omnes mercatores tam clerici quam laici de terra Henrici regis Angliae, cum omnibus rebus suis, securi sint et pacem habeant per omnes terras meas: et ego Henricus similiter volo."

[94] Though this treaty does not mention it, Roger of Howden relates the agreement made between Adele and Philip for ending the conflict. Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 248.

More informative than the Treaty of Gisors about the events of 1180 is a letter from Henry II to Ranulf of Glanville directly after the treaty and negotiations ended, written from Gisors by Henry II in the presence of his secretary.[95] This letter is important because it presents a clearer picture of Henry II's motivations for going through with the treaty and establishing peace rather than fighting alongside the Champagne party. First, Henry related that he concluded "a firm and honourable peace, for our security and that of our sons with the lord king of France and the count of Flanders, and with other adversaries of ours in those parts, completely according to our will and disposition."[96] Two important points are made in this section. First, Henry gave his reason for establishing peace as, "for our security and that of our sons." Second, Henry mentioned "other adversaries of ours," which almost certainly refers to the Champagne party in this case. However, they were the ones who had appealed to Henry for help earlier in the conflict. Why would Henry refer to the Champagne party, who had just called on him to join them in the dispute, as his adversaries? It is possible that Henry II was referencing the fact that the Champagne party, alongside Philip of Flanders, had been allied against Henry II with Henry the Young King during his rebellion against his father between 1173-1174.[97] Most notably, Thibaut had provided the

[95] The letter only survives in Gerald of Wales' *De Principis instructione*. Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 498, no. 175.

[96] Bartlett, ed. and trans., "2.15. A Letter Declaring the Agreement of King Henry with King Philip," 499. The Latin is printed in the facing text. "Pacem firmam et honorabilem ad securitatem nostram et liberorum nostrorum cum domino rege Francorum et comite Flandrensi atque cum aliis adversariis nostris de partibus illis omnino ad voluntatem et disposicionem nostram fecisse."

[97] Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 139, 164.

bulk of the Young King's forces while he attacked Sées just six years earlier in 1174.[98] It seems these earlier conflicts were at the forefront of Henry's mind as he established peace with Philip.

Henry then noted the makeup of the conflicting parties with the "lady queen of France and the lord archbishop of Reims and the duke of Burgundy and Count Thibaut and the count of Lato and Reginald Merunensem," on one side, and the "lord king of France, the count of Flanders and the count of Hainault" on the other side, with the peace concluded "through our will and disposition," positioning himself as the mediator.[99] Finally, Henry includes another important line to Ranulf of Glanville: "You should also know that our sons and our men likewise are obedient to our will, as all our undertakings proceed favorably."[100] The reference to the obedience of his sons is particularly telling, because it could again reference the rebellions that had taken place earlier in the 1170s and hint at Henry's wariness about engaging with those who had once been against him. Henry may not have been assured that his young son would be loyal to him if hostilities broke out. Perhaps for this reason, Henry chose to renew the Treaty of Ivry and end the dispute between his former enemies and the young king Philip.

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[98] Strickland, *Henry the Young King,* 181.

[99] Bartlett, ed. and trans., "2.15. A Letter Declaring the Agreement of King Henry with King Philip," 499. The Latin is printed in the facing text. "XV, Littere Concordiam Regis Henrici Cum Philippo Rege Protestantes," 498. "Nos dominam reginam Francie, et dominum Remensem archiepiscopum, et ducem Burgundie, et comitem Theobaldum, et comitem de Lato, et Reginaldum Merunensem, pro voluntate et disposicione nostra, ad nostram eorumque omnium honorem et commoditatem, domino regi Francie et comiti Flandresi et comiti Hanuensi feliciter reconciliasse."

[100] Bartlett, ed. and trans., "2.15. A Letter Declaring the Agreement of King Henry with King Philip," 499. The Latin is printed in the facing text. "XV, Littere Concordiam Regis Henrici Cum Philippo Rege Protestantes," 498. "Noueris eciam quod tam filii quam et homines nostri ad voluntatem nostram se habentm operibus nostris universis per graciam procedentibus."

Taken together, these contemporary documents illuminate the various responses to the disruptions in France between Philip's coronation in 1179 and Gisors in 1180. They paint a picture of a young King Philip preparing for open conflict with his mother and his uncles, and a wary Henry II, rebellion in his own family fresh on his mind, cautious about the precarious circumstances in the French kingdom. Finally, these documents tell us a bit about Adele: the conflict with her son was distressing enough that she was willing to call upon Henry II, her family's former enemy, for help while her husband was still living, and her son was still very young. These documents, however, provide no clear timeline or sequence of events. Likewise, they give little insight into the motivations of Adele and the Champagne party because no contemporary evidence survives for their deliberations. Thus, the addition of chronicle sources helps shed light on the sequence of actions as they progressed from Philip's coronation in 1179 to the Treaty at Gisors in June 1180.

Chronicle Sources

Chronicle sources provide the most detailed information for the conflict between the young King Philip and the Champagne party in 1180. While occasionally missing, mistaking, or confusing information, when taken together, the chronicles better illuminate the sequence of events and the motivations of Adele, her allies, and her adversaries. A range of chroniclers from France, Hainaut, and England provide information about the conflict of 1180 and together establish important details.

French sources for the 1180 conflict include Rigord's *Gesta*, Robert of Auxerre's *Chronicon,* and the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* by an anonymous author.

These chronicles, while valuable for insight into general French perceptions and understandings, are vague about the conflict between Philip and the Champagne party. Rigord, the most important French chronicler for Philip Augustus's reign, is especially vague in his entry for 1180.[101] He writes of the "princes of the realm" who "had the audacity to conspire against their king Philip Augustus," but it is not fully clear that he was referring to Adele and the Champagne party at all.[102] We know, for example, that after the conflict was resolved between Philip and his mother's family, Count Philip of Flanders led a revolt against King Philip in 1181, but Rigord's account is vague enough that it is not apparent whether or not he is conflating this conflict with that of 1180.[103] However, it seems most likely, based on Rigord's statement that the events took place the first year of Philip's reign, that he is referencing the conflict between Philip and the Champagne party in this instance. Rigord emphasized Philip's strength and power in defeating the Champagne conspirators, writing that he "led an immense army against them and, in a few days, put them all to flight, pursued them with so much power and force that, by miraculous action of God, he reduced them all to obedience and forced them with all his power to do his entire will."[104] This is

[101] Rigord's chronicle exists in two manuscripts: Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 88 and BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P). Rigord was a physician and chronicler of Philip Augustus. Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin suggest that Rigord wrote the first part of his chronicle, which contains the early part of his reign, around the time of Philip's departure on the Third Crusade. See Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 20, 61.

[102] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 136. "Porro anno primo regni Philippi Augusti et etatis ipsius anno quintodecimo, ortis quibusdam simultatibus, id est fictis odiis, inter principes regni, quidam de principibus ejus, stimulante diabolo ecclesiastice pacis inimico, conspirationem contra dominum suum regem Philippum Augustum facere presumpserunt."

[103] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 137, no. 41.

[104] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 136. "Videns autem hec christianissimus rex Philippus nimio furore succensus infinite multitudinis contra illos duxit exercitum et,

certainly a revision of the events: Rigord omits the key intervention of Henry II and fully attributes Philip's success to Philip and God.

The two other contemporary French chronicle sources, the anonymous *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* and Robert of Auxerre's *Chronicon*, are brief but more specific about the sequence of events and the actors involved. Both chroniclers suggest the cause of the conflict was Philip's marriage with Isabelle of Hainaut. The account in the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*[105] leaves out the bulk of the conflict but notes that the marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut was done "against the will of his mother and of her friends from the region of his mother, and chiefly against the will of lord William of Reims, his uncle, brother of his mother the queen."[106] This account places William, not Adele, at the center of the conflict. However, the chronicle offers no narrative, does not give the reaction of Philip's mother, and offers no explanation for the resolution of the events. Robert of Auxerre's *Chronicon* provides slightly more detail than either Rigord or the *Chronique,* but it is clear his knowledge is still somewhat limited.[107] Robert was a

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paucis revolutis diebus, omnes fugavit et tam potenter et viriliter persecutus est quod, Domino miraculose operante, omnes sibi subpeditavit et ad omnem voluntatem ejus faciendam potentissime coegit."

[105] The *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* exists only in an appendix to MS. Bibl. Nat., Lat. 5002. An anonymous hand, writing between 1183 and 1185, continued the work of another anonymous author who had written up until 1173. This writer includes information from 1137, during the reign of Louis VII, to 1180, at the beginning of Philip Augustus' reign, when it abruptly stopped. Bautier and Gilles note that the writing is mostly in the margins and up to the extreme edge of the sheets of the manuscript. Bautier and Gilles, ed. and trans., *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens,* 313.

[106] Bautier and Gilles, ed. and trans., *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens,* 315-316. "Iste Philippus rex, patre adhuc vivente, Hannotensis comitis filiam accepit uxorem, Elisabet nomine, que Philipi Flandrensis comitis erat neptis; quam Guido Senonensis archiepiscopus ei desponsavit in Remensi provincia in Silvanectensi videlicet civitatem quod contra voluntatem matris ejus et amicorum suorum ex parte matris factum est, et maxime contra voluntatem domini Remensis Willelmi, avunculi ejus, fratris regine matris ejus."

[107] Robert's chronicle exists in Bibliothèque munipale de Auxerre ms 145. According to Carol Neel, Robert completed his chronicle "at the close of the twelfth century." The first part of his chronicle relied heavily on

Premonstratensian canon at Auxerre, and his chronicle was contemporary from about 1180 onwards. Robert, like the author of the *Chronique,* marks Philip's wedding to Isabelle as the immediate cause of the conflict. He notes that it caused Adele to fortify her dower castles against her son, after which Adele "took refuge with her brothers," who then inflamed hostility against the king.[108] Robert does not fully explain what concluded the conflict, stating only that the hostilities were ended through a council.[109] Overall, French sources for 1180 provide little detail about the events, requiring additional sources beyond France for a full, detailed account.

More detailed is the single contemporary chronicle from Hainaut. Gilbert of Mons, as a court chaplain to Baldwin V, notary, and chancellor of Hainaut, had unique and firsthand insight into the perspective of Flanders during the events of 1180. Gilbert recorded his chronicle during the years 1195 and 1196, after the death of his patron Baldwin V, Isabelle of Hainaut's father, in 1195.[110] Gilbert focuses extensively on the marriage between Philip and Isabelle, suggesting that it took place more by the volition of the Count

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the universal history of Sigebert of Gembloux but is his own after 1180. See Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 219. Carol Neel, "Man's Restoration: Robert of Auxerre and the Writing of History in the Early Thirteenth Century," *Traditio* 44 (1988): 253-274.

[108] Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 242. "Anno domini 1180. Filippus nuper unctus in regem Hainocensis comitis filiam, comitis Flandriae neptem, accipit in uxorem; quam Guido Senonensis archiepiscopus unxit apud Sanctum Dionisium in reginam. Quod matri eiusdem regis et matris fratribus valde displicuit, ac proinde castra suae dotis contra filium munire presumpsit. Quo comperto, a filio expulsa ad fratres confugit, ac per hoc eorumdem fratrum contra regem simultas incandescit."

[109] Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 242. "Sed non multo post, diffinito consilio, et illa reducitur, et procerum simultas sopitur."

[110] Napran, "Introduction," in *Chronicle of Hainaut* (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2005), xxviii. Baldwin was the father of Isabelle and the brother-in-law of Philip, Count of Flanders.

of Flanders than Baldwin.[111] Indeed, Gilbert notes Baldwin's concern about the marriage agreement between the count of Hainaut and the count of Champagne, concluded less than a year earlier.[112] He writes that Isabelle's father desired to uphold the agreement he had made with Count Henry, away on crusade at that time. But according to Gilbert, "the wish of the count of Flanders took the lead, and [Baldwin] was brought around to this idea, although he regretted that he offered his daughter to the will of the count of Flanders."[113] On the other hand, however, Gilbert does not mention any conflict between Philip and the Champagne party. Instead, he notes only the marriage arrangements between King Philip and the count of Flanders and describes the marriage agreements and coronation ceremony. He briefly discusses King Philip's interactions with Henry II but does not explain any of the surrounding issues or the specifics of the resolution.[114] The reasons for these omissions are obscure, but Laura Napran has noted Gilbert's tendency to polish Philip's image in his

[111] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. "These words were transacted with Count Philip of Flanders more than with the count of Hainaut." Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 127-131. "Que tamen verba cum Philippo comite Flandrie magis quam cum comite Hanoniensi tractabantur."

[112] Gilbert notes that the contracts of matrimony were drawn up between Henry and Baldwin the Sunday after Ascension in 1179. The contract also betrothed Henry's daughter Marie to Baldwin's son. Exactly a year later, Philip married Isabelle. Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 72.

[113] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. The Latin is published in Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 129-130. "Comes autem Hanoniensis, quamvis filiam suam ad tanti honoris apicem promoveri posse videret, tamen conventiones matrimoniorum quas cum Henrico comite Campanensi firmaverat observare volens, pro juramento suo salvando petitionibus illorum contrarius stabat. Verum comitis Flandrensis voluntate preeunte, ad hoc inductus fuit licet dolens quod filiam suam voluntati comitis Flandrie exposuit." I have used Napran's work for the translation.

[114] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 75. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 131. "Eodem eciam anno Philippus rex Francorum cum rege Anglorum seniore Henrico multas habuit discordias; unde post multa colloquia inter se habita sepius pacificati sunt. Quibus colloquiis comes Hanoniensis cum ipso rege Francorum et cum comite Flandrie ad eorum petitionem in magnis et arduis propriis expensis semper intererat."

work due to the prestige the marriage brought to Hainaut.[115] Still, his narrative provides valuable insight into the Hainaut perspective on the marriage between Philip and Isabelle.

The most complete narrative of the events comes from the English chroniclers, and particularly from Ralph of Diss, Roger of Howden, and Gerald of Wales. One other English chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, includes a short paragraph on the events of 1180.[116] He wrote that it was the wedding of Philip and Isabelle that provoked the Champagne party to arms, and suggests that Isabelle's "low birth" was a factor in the indignation shown by the nobles in France for the marriage.[117] Gervase writes that Philip was upset because Adele refused to assent to the marriage and for that reason seized her dower lands. However, he does not elaborate on what ended the disagreement or the agreement they made.[118] Other English sources, however, provide much more detail about the causes and consequences of the events of 1180.

Gerald of Wales's historical writing in book two of the *De Principis instructione* offers a more complete account of the events of 1180. Gerald was an archdeacon of Brecon,

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[115] Napran, "Introduction," in *Chronicle of Hainaut,* xxvi.

[116] Stubbs argues that no part of Gervase's chronicle was written before 1185 and was probably written closer to 1188. Although Gervase had an independent recollection of the events, there is no indication that he ever left his monastery. According to Stubbs, he was "no part of any of the legations sent to the papal court or to visit the king in France" and thus must not be placed among the first rank of English historians. See Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* xi-xlix.

[117] Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* 294. "Mense Aprili novus rex Franciae Philippus, Lodovici regis filius, desponsavit filiam comitis de Hano; unde suorum avunculorum omniumque fere nobilium Franciae indignationem incurrit, eo scilicet quod, suorum spreto consilio, comiti Flandriae soli credebat, et quod per ipsius consilium uxorem de tam humili progeniae sibi associare voluerit in reginam."

[118] Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* 294. "Auxit quoque indignationem quod matri suae annuere noluerit, ut in sua dispositione haberet castella vel villas suae dotis. His et huiusmodi de causis utriusque partis consentaneis ad arma convolantibus, ad hoc tandem perventum est, ut in solis redditibus matri suae rex novus victualia constitueret; et armati in sua pacifice redierunt."

appointed in 1175, and his work is among the most comprehensive of the English sources.[119] Written in 1191, Gerald's work is detailed but at times incomplete or overtly partisan and even outright incorrect.[120] Gerald was not in royal service to Henry II until 1184, so his account of the events of 1180 cannot be considered as fully trustworthy as other eyewitnesses.[121] Still, he is the only source for some contemporary documents regarding the events of 1180, most notably the letter from Henry to Ranulf of Glanville advising him of the success of Henry's intervention.[122] Gerald's narrative must be taken alongside other chroniclers and one must be aware of his pro-French bias and his disdain for the kings of England.[123]

Gerald relates several incorrect statements about the events of 1180. First, he does not suggest that the wedding to Isabelle was the inciting incident. Instead, he notes that "the first thing [Philip] did after the death of his father was to take up arms against his own uncles and his mother the queen, also his cousin the duke of Burgundy, and the whole clan of Blois."[124] This is mistaken: Louis VII did not die until September 1180, long after the

[119] Gerald's work survives complete in one fourteenth-century manuscript, British library, Cotton MS Julius B XIII, fols. 48-173. See Bartlett, "Introduction," in *De Principis instructione,* xi; xvi.

[120] Bartlett suggests that 1191 is the most plausible date for the start of the composition of Gerald's work and notes it was likely completed at the time of French invasion, 1216-1217. Bartlett, "Introduction," xvi; xxviii.

[121] Bartlett, "Introduction," xxx.

[122] Bartlett, "Introduction," xxxi; Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione,* 499, no. 175.

[123] Bartlett, "Introduction," xxxi.

[124] Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione,* 569. Latin printed in the facing text. "In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandrensium comitis precipue fultus auxilio, puta cuius neptem ex sorore, filiam videlicet comitis de Henou, patre adhuc superstite et id procurante, in uxorem duxerat, proprios auunculos et matrem reginam, ducem quoque Burgundie cognatum suum, totumque genus illud de Bleys."

conflict was resolved. Additionally, Gerald does not establish a clear timeline of the events and includes no dates in his work. He makes some erroneous claims about the Champagne party's attempts to reconcile with King Philip, stating that the Champagne party used Elizabeth of Vermandois's death to convince Phillip to end the conflict with them.[125] This is not possible, because Elizabeth of Vermandois did not die until 1182.[126] Finally, perhaps informed by his partisanship toward the French kings, Gerald attributes the end of the conflict to Philip "mature in mind and deliberation," and aided by "grace from above," when he accepted Henry's help and restored "the seneschalcy to Count Thibaut, and her dower to the queen mother."[127] Gerald's perspective on the events is partisan and in many cases misinformed, and his mistakes in the broad timeline and the circumstances of Henry II's involvement make it difficult to fully trust his insights. However, some of his claims about the role of Count of Flanders are bolstered by the two other English historians, Ralph of Diss and Roger of Howden. When taken together, these sources are critical to understanding the events.

Ralph of Diss is one of the two main administrative chroniclers of the reigns of Henry II and Richard and he has been called the "nearest to an official historian of the

[125] Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione,* 569. "Quod audientes auunculi regis et stirps Blesensis, idonea tam talionis et vindicte occasione captata, ad regem accesserunt, ius suum in Viromannia eidem, extinctis heredibus, apperientes et, ut tantum honorem ad manus eius de iure devolutum, Anglorum regis Henrici fultus auxilio, ab iniusto detentore revocaret suoque dominico et mense regali potenter adiceret, persuadentes."

[126] Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione,* 569, no. 9.

[127] Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione,* 570. "Rex autem, quanquam etate puer, mente maturior et consilio, graciaque precipue desuper adiutus, honoris sui et emolumenti monita non respuens, Anglorum regem tanquam pro patre suscepit eiusque in hoc articulo se consiliis ex toto submisit. Unde et ad eius nutum in primis seneschalliam iterum comiti Theobaldo, et matri sue regine dotalicium suum, integre restituit."

Angevin court."[128] He was appointed dean of St Paul's Cathedral in 1180, corresponding to the date at which Ralph's chronicle begins to be contemporary.[129] Although there is no indication that Ralph ever left England, he moved in royal and courtly circles and regularly had access to important administrative sources including the Treaty of Gisors in his work, and he is generally considered to be a trustworthy and well-informed writer.[130] His work, The *Ymagines Historiorum,* is thus invaluable to our understanding of French and English politics during the period of 1180, and provides one of the key descriptions for conflict between Philip and the Champagne party.[131]

Ralph is one of the few historians to provide dates for the events of 1180, which allows for a much clearer timeline than we have seen previously. Ralph is important for establishing the cause of the events. Like Gerald, he suggests that the beginning was the trouble stirred up by Count Philip after the coronation of Philip Augustus. Ralph writes that after the coronation, Philip, the "boy king" took bad counsel, and provoked concern in the king of England about the proximity of Normandy to the whims of the new king.[132]

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[128] Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 72; John Gillingham, "Royal Newsletters, Forgeries and English Historians: Some Links between Court and History in the Reign of Richard I," in M. Aurell, ed. *La Cour Plantagenet (1154-1204). Actes du colloque tenu à Thours du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999*, Civilisation Médiévale 8 (Poitiers, 2000), 178.

[129] Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 69-71; Stubbs, ed., "Introduction," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* xv.

[130] Stubbs, ed., "Introduction," lviii; Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 67, 71.

[131] Ralph of Diss's work survives in two contemporary manuscripts, Lambeth MS 8 and BL MS Cotton Claudus E. iii. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 70, no. 10. Stubbs suggests that the Lambeth manuscript was begun in 1188 where the Cotton Manuscript was begun in 1190. Stubbs, ed., "Introduction," lxxxviii-c.

[132] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Quoniam sub principe novo, sub rege puero, consilia malignantium fortius invalescunt, ne quid regi Francorum Philippo Franci suggererent in injuriam Normanorum, quorum finitimis semper est suspecta

Ralph attributes the escalation of the conflict to Philip's expulsion of Adele from her dower lands, saying that it was done through the counsel of the "ministers of the king," likely referring to Philip of Flanders.[133] In Ralph's account, the conflict is quickly ended through the arbitration of Henry II.[134]

Ralph is the only source for two key elements: the definitive date of the Treaty of Gisors,[135] and the oath Henry II made Henry the Young King swear in the presence of relics before returning to France to sort out the conflict.[136] Importantly, he also includes an abbreviated version of the Treaty of Gisors at the end of his text, and the wording of his abbreviation suggests that he may have had access to the full treaty or an earlier, shortened version of it.[137] Ralph's work lacks the fullness of detail of Roger of Howden's chronicle,

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potestas et per orbem terrarum gloria praedicabilis, rex Anglorum Henricus occurrrendum in tempore maturiore consilio procuravit."

[133] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, Vol. II, 6. "Inter regem Philippum et matrem suam Alam ortis adinvicem inimicitiis castella quae nomine donationis propter nuptias fuerant reginae collata, de regis mandato regis invaserunt ministri, custodibus castellorum violenter ejectis."

[134] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 6. "Sed postmodum rex et mater ad arbitrium regis Anglorum concordiam inierunt, in colloquio quod habitum est inter ipsos reges prope Gistortium vigilia scilicet apostolorum."

[135] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, Vol. II, 6. "Acta sunt haec iiii^{to} kalendas Julii inter Gisortium et Triam." Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 265.

[136] Strickland, *Henry the Young King,* 265. Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Henricus rex filius regis venit in Angliam kalendis Aprilis, et cum honore maximo receptus a patre, reliquiis praesentibus sacrosanctis, juravit apud Radingam, quod dispositionem paternam in omnibus sequeretur, vel in donatione villarum, vel castellorum, vel beneficiorum quorumlibet, quae praesenti quadam continebantur in carta."

[137] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 6. Delaborde suggests that the abridged version may have been written during the meeting, and the longer and more formal version was completed after the death of Louis VII. However, because the text does not reference Louis VII's death, this is unlikely. Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 8, no. 7. "'Ego Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum et ego Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglorum, ad omnium volumus tam praesentium quam futurorum pervenire noticiam quod foedus et amicitiam fide media et sacramento innovavimus, quam dominus meus rex Francorum et ego Henricus rex Anglorum firmaveramus inter nos

but his sources are clear and he provides insight into the perspective of Henry II and a better timeline for the unfolding events.

Roger of Howden is the other of the two administrative historians, and he provides the most clear and comprehensive insight into the conflict between Philip, Adele, and the Champagne party. Roger was a clerk, ambassador, and justice of the forest, and he served in the retinue of Henry II from 1174 onwards.[138] Roger wrote two chronicles. His first work was the *Gesta Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, which he wrote and updated from 1170 to about 1192.[139] After returning in the fleet of Philip Augustus from the Third Crusade in 1192, Howden revised the *Gesta* and began to compose the *Chronica*.[140] Howden's two chronicles differ slightly in their content regarding 1180 but not to the extent that they suggest significant revision or manipulation. Importantly, unlike other chroniclers, Howden had firsthand knowledge of the events of 1180, which may explain why he had far more information and detail about the event than any other chronicler.[141]

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apud Iveri in praesentia Petri cardinalis et Ricardi Wintoniensis episcopi; et ut inter nos tollatur amodo omnis materia discordiae, concessimus adinvcem, quod de terris et possessionibus, et de omnibus aliis rebus quas habemus modo alter adversus alterum nichil amodo petet, excepto qu de Arvernia, de quo inter nos est contentio, et excepto feodo de Castro Radulfi, et exceptis minutis feodis et divisis terrarum nostrarum de Berri, si homines nostri quid inde interceperint, vel inter se vel adversus alterum nostrum. Si antem super his quae superius excepta sunt per nosmet ipsos convenire non pterimus, ego Philippus rex Francorum elegi tres episcopos et tres barones et ego Henricus elegis tres episcopos et tres barones, qui hoc inter nos dicent, et nos eorum dicto bona fide firmiter stabimus. Haec autem omni suprascripta nos obvservaturos et fide et sacramento promisimus. Acta sunt haec iiii^{to} kalendas Julii inter Gisortium et Triam."

[138] Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 51-53.

[139] It is now widely accepted that Roger of Howden wrote both the *Gesta Henrici Secundi* and the *Chronica*, the former previously attributed to Benedict of Peterborough. For the authorship of the *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, see Dorothy M. Stenton, "Roger of Howden and Benedict," *English Historical Review* 68 (1953): 574-82; Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 53; Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 7.

[140] Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 54. Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 7.

[141] Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 54.

The *Gesta Henrici Secundi* is the most contemporary account we have of the events of 1180 and is the most useful for establishing a clear picture.

Howden's chronicle establishes and confirms the inciting moment for the conflict as well as a firm timeline. Like Ralph of Diss, Howden notes that the conflict began soon after the coronation: Philip of Flanders began to influence the young king, and King Philip began to "exert tyranny" on the French population.[142] Howden's account makes it clear that the conflict began well before King Philip's marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut and provides information important for dating and for establishing the sequence of events following the coronation of Philip. Howden is nearly as vague as the other chroniclers when discussing the resolution of the conflict. He wrote that Adele and her brothers were "like exiles and fugitives" and thus submitted to the mercy of Henry II and accepted a meeting with Philip at Gisors.[143] It was at Gisors that Henry, according to Roger, "softened the soul of the king of France" with both "soft and rough words," and for this reason eventually Philip accepted his maternal family.[144] This explanation for the resolution is perhaps too generous to the influence of Henry II, but aligns with other chroniclers who place Henry II at the center of the negotiations for peace. Finally, Howden provides a

[142] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244**.** "Interim praefatus Philippus, novus rex Franicae, videns quod pater suus paralytico morbe esset percussus, adhaesit consilio Philippi comitis Flandraie, cujus consilio tyrannidem coepit exercere in populo Gallicano."

[143] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "Interim Henricus rex Angliae, ad cujus elementiam regina Franciae et comes Theobaldus et quamplures de nobilioribus regni Franciae, tanquam exules et profugi, ut scriptum est, conflexerant, colloquium cepit apud Gisortium cum novo rege Franciae."

[144] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "In quo colloquio praefatus rex Angliae senior animum novi regis Franciae nunc blandis nunc asperis adeo emollivit, quod contra consilium comitis Flandriae et Roberti Clement, et multorum aliorum, qui inter ipsum et matrem suam et avunculos suos volebant dissidium, omnem malitatiam et indignationem quam in animo adversus eos conceperat, remisit; et eos in debitam familiaritatem recepit."

lengthy description of the agreement between the king and the Champagne party and the king of France and inserts the full text of the Treaty of Gisors.[145] In his picture of the events, Howden offers the most detailed description of the motivations, actions, and the conclusion of the events of 1180.

Taken together, the available chronicle sources generally agree on the broad sequence of events: the influence of Philip of Flanders after King Philip's coronation, the rising tension associated with the wedding to Isabelle of Hainaut, and the resolution of the conflict mediated through Henry II. The English chronicles, however, stand out as the most detailed, specific, and clear, and incorporate the most contemporary documents in their recounting of the events of 1180. Ralph of Diss's and Roger of Howden's accounts are critical to constructing a narrative as the conflict unfolded from Adele's perspective. To create a more detailed picture, and especially to understand Adele's role and perspective during the events, it is necessary to join the available chronicles alongside the contemporary documents and explicate what they reveal of the situation in France in 1180.

A New Narrative: Adele and the Conflict of 1180

Untangling the conflict between Philip and his maternal family in 1180 from multiple chronicle and contemporary sources allows for a more complete understanding of the shifting alliances and the motivations of each of the actors involved. Specifically, Adele's motivations, perspective, and actions at last come into focus.

[145] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246-247.

Part I: Coronation

The first signs of brewing conflict began at Philip's coronation. Many chroniclers noted the activities of the ceremony, held on November 1, 1179, at Reims Cathedral. Count Philip of Flanders carried the royal sword, and probably presided over the royal banquet as well, demonstrating a prominent authority.[146] The Count of Flanders was given the right to carry the ceremonial sword by the titles, as Ralph of Diss claimed, he had received through his father and his wife, namely through the holdings of Flanders and Vermandois.[147] Also noting Philip's titles as Count of Flanders and Vermandois, Gilbert of Mons wrote that he arrived at the ceremony with "arms and many knights."[148] Despite the count's conspicuous presence, no chronicler directly acknowledged that anything was amiss during this ceremony.

Other actors who would play a role in the upcoming conflict were present at the ceremony, including Henry the Young King and Count Baldwin of Hainaut. Henry led the

[146] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 242. "Et Philippus comes Flandriae praeibat ante illum ferens gladium regni, et multi duces et comites et barones praeibant et sequebantur illum, diversi diversis deputati obsequiis, prout res exigebat." Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut*, 73. "Ad hoc coronamentum et regis edictum, cum omnes Francie principes accederent, Philippus Flandrie et Viromandie comes potentissimus, qui in gestamine gladii regalis jus reclamabat." Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, 438. "Philippus itaque rex Francorum in coronatione sua, tam in gladio praeferendo quam in regiis dapibus apponendis Philippum Flandriae comitem privilegiatum habuit ministerialem." Ralph of Diss is the only source that mentions the banquet.

[147] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, 438. "Utentem duplici jure, paterno videlicet et uxorio."

[148] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 129. "Cum armis et militibus multis venit."

procession, carrying the royal crown.[149] Ralph of Diss implies that Henry was invited because of his affinity to King Philip as his *sororius,* and indeed Henry was Philip's brother-in-law by Henry's marriage to Margaret, Philip's half-sister.[150] Henry, then, attended the ceremony both as family of King Philip and as a representative of one of King Philip's more powerful vassals, the King of England Henry II. Additionally, according to Gilbert, Count Baldwin of Hainaut was also in attendance with eight knights at his own expense, even though Philip "did not hold him in homage."[151] Historians have assumed the presence of the count of Hainaut suggested that the marriage to Isabelle was being planned as early as the coronation, but this is not borne out by the evidence. Instead, Baldwin may have been there simply as liegeman to the Count of Flanders.[152] The comments by Gilbert and Ralph about the conspicuous knights brought by the Count of Flanders and the Count of Hainaut may indicate, however, that conflict was already simmering.

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[149] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. "Henricus vero rex Angliae, filius Henrici regis filii Matildis imperatricis, praeibat illum gestans coronam auream in manibus suis, qua ille puer coronandus erat." Both Rigord and Ralph of Diss include an anecdote of Henry the Young King holding up the crown on Philip's head as King Philip was crowned, because he was weighed down by it. See Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, 438. "In qua nimirum illud inventu, est memoriae commendabilius, quod diadema capiti novi regis impositum, ne rex infra minorem adhuc constitutus aetatem gravaretur sub onere, manibus propriis sustentaverit rex Anglorum, reject clamide paratior ad obsequium; illud innuens, quod si tempore procedente Francis necessitas incubuerit, securi debeant ejus implorare subsidium, a quo tale receperint sub ipsa sui regis consecratione suffragium." Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 125.

[150] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, 438. "Henricus rex, Henrici regis Angliae filius et Philippi regis Francorum sororius, regiae consecrationi Remis interfuit, solius affinitatis incitatus et invitatus intuitu."

[151] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 73. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 129. "Ad cujus comitis preces comes Hanoniensis, qui in nullo regi Francorum obligatus erat, quia nec hominio quocunque nex confederatione aliqua vel familiaritate eidem regi tenebatur, cum 80 militibus et armis ad illud coronamentum in propriis expensis venit."

[152] Evergates, *Marie of France,* 31.

Notably absent from the accounts of the coronation are King Louis VII, Adele, and many prominent members of the Champagne party. Louis was unable to attend because of his illness, and Henry, the count of Champagne, was away on a crusade.[153] Still, the absence of Thibaut, Stephen, and Adele was significant, particularly because of their previous prominence in King Louis VII's administration. Their absence is not easily explained. Historians have suggested that they were absent because they resented the elevated role of the Count of Flanders.[154] Even if this were the case, the presence of Champagne was still felt through William, who crowned Philip in his role as the Archbishop of Reims.[155] It was not the coronation alone that provoked Adele and her family to open hostility.

Part II: Rising Tensions

While tensions may have first appeared at the coronation, more visible maneuverings, especially by Adele and her family, occurred afterward. The significant period between Philip's coronation and his marriage to Isabelle has been generally

[153] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 243. "Sed Lodovicus pater suus coronationi illius interesse non potuit." Evergates, *Henry the Liberal,* 150.

[154] See, for example: Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 6; Evergates, *Marie of France*, 32.

[155] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 242. "In ipsa die Omnium Sanctorum Willelmus archiepiscopus Remensis, frater comitis Henrici, Theobaldi, Stephani, et frater praedictae reginae Franciae, praesentam Philippum, filium sororis suae et Ludowici regis Franciae, coronavit, et in regem consecravit Remis, in ecclesia sedis pontificalis; ministrantibus ei in illo officio Willelmo Turonensi archiepiscopo, et Bituricensi archiepiscopo, et Senonensi archiepiscopo, et fere omnibus episcopis regni." Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, 438. "Qui quartumdecimum agens annum, undique concurrentibus et occurentibus tam archiepiscopis, tam episcopis, quam regni principibus quorum desiderandus erat assensus, more regio Remis recipitur pridie kalendis Novembris et ad omnium hominum haereditario jure suo regimini subdendorum solamen, patrocinium ac moderamen, omnium in sollempnitate Sanctorum, ut ab omnibus adversis ipsorum omnium mereatur protectione defendi, consecratus est in regem per manum Guillelmi Remensis archiepiscopi, regis etiam ejusdem avunculi."

overlooked by historians, who typically see the marriage as the start of the conflict. A close analysis of the actions taken in this period shifts the traditional timeline of events and illustrates how Adele began to call upon her network of allies earlier in the conflict than usually assumed.

First, chroniclers note that, after the coronation, Philip took the counsel of Philip of Flanders instead of his Champagne family. While some historians have tended to see a self-assured and passionate young King Philip who desired to emancipate himself from his overbearing mother and her brothers, the chroniclers paint a different picture.[156] Howden and Diss imply that Philip was still just a boy, and in fact both chroniclers describe Philip as a *puer*.[157] Howden writes that Philip "clung to the counsel of Philip count of Flanders,"[158] while Ralph of Diss implies that it was the "evil counsel" around the "boy king" which was the source of the problems.[159] Even Gerald of Wales, whose writings tended to favor the French kings, noted the overwhelming prominence of the Count of Flanders in this period, and, claiming that Count Philip took control of the seneschalcy, he

[156] See, for example: Evergates, *Marie of France*, 31. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship," 38.

[157] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 242, "qua ille puer coronandus erat." Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. I, "Quoniam sub principe novo, sub rege puero, consilia malignantium fortius invalescunt."

[158] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. "Interim praefatus Philippus, novus rex Franicae, videns quod pater suus paralytico morbe esset percussus, adhaesit consilio Philippi comitis Flandraie."

[159] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 4. "Quoniam sub principe novo, sub rege puero, consilia malignantium fortius invalescunt, ne quid regi Francorum Philippo Franci suggererent in injuriam Normanorum, quorum finitimis semper est suspecta potestas et per orbem terrarum gloria praedicabilis, rex Anglorum Henricus occurrrendum in tempore maturiore consilio procuravit. Cujus rei curam ad regis instantiam Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus in se suspiciens, tertio nonas Martii transfretavit, secum habens legationis consortem magistrum Walterum de Constantiis sigillarium regis. Qui venientes Parisius Ludovicum regem presum senio reppererunt aegritudinis decumbentem in lecto."

wrote that Count Philip "acted as more than king, since the king did everything at his command."[160] These narratives challenge the assumption that King Philip was scheming to emancipate himself from an overbearing maternal family. Many of the chroniclers instead imply that the overpowering influence of the Count swayed him to reject his family.

It was in this period of Flemish preponderance after the coronation, months before Philip's marriage to Isabelle, that Adele began to gather support from her family. By Howden's account, a group of French nobility opposed to the Count of Flanders began to form, made up of Adele, her brother Thibaut count of Blois, her brother Stephen count of Sancerre, her brother William the archbishop of Reims, and her nephew, Hugh III duke of Burgundy.[161] This group, all with strong familial connections to Adele, then began to send letters to Henry the Young King, who had lingered in Normandy after the coronation of King Philip.[162] Together, they would further escalate the conflict, asking Young King Henry for help against the Count of Flanders, probably around late February or early March 1180.[163] It must be emphasized that the Champagne party sought help specifically against

[160] It is not certain that the Count of Flanders was granted the full duties of Seneschal. Gerald is the only source for this, and he is unreliable about other aspects of the event. Either way, Philip exerted significant control over the young king. Bartlett, "Introduction," xxxi; Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 568-569. "In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandrensium comitis precipue fultus auxilio, iam seneschallus per se-- immo plus quam rex occupavit, ad cuius quippe nutum a rege cuncta fiebant."

[161] Hugh was the son of Odo II, duke of Burgundy and Adele's sister Marie. Howden describes Adele's faction as, "omnes quos noverat patri suo fuisse familiares." Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. Gerald of Wales is more specific about the people involved, see Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 568. "Proprios auunculos et matrem reginam, ducem quoque Burgundie cognatum suum, totumque genus illud de Bleys."

[162] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. "Qui miserunt frequenter nuncios suos ad Henricum regem Angliae, ut eis auxilium et consilium praestaret… Henricus rex Angliae junior, qui jam per aliquod tempus moram fecerat in Normannia."

[163] Henry did not cross into England to seek the help of his father until March 23, 1180.

the Count of Flanders rather than King Philip, as they asked Henry to provide them aid and counsel against the "deeds which Count Philip plotted against them and all of France."[164] This suggests that they, like the chroniclers, understood Count Philip to be the real threat to their power, not the young King Philip.

This series of events is important for several reasons. First, it shifts the timeline provided by many historians, who have argued that Adele first acted out of anger at Philip's marriage to Isabelle in April 1180.[165] Howden's account makes it clear that, months before the marriage, Adele and her family were maneuvering to counter Count Philip's predominance at the French court. Second, Adele's decision to turn to her natal family while her husband was still living must be emphasized. Adele had not only been married and living apart from her natal family for twenty years, but her decision to independently turn to her brothers before she was widowed is a strong indication that she no longer felt secure in her role as queen. With her husband living but incapacitated, Adele had to make the independent decision to seek help from her brothers. While her brothers had helped and supported the crown during her reign, it does not naturally follow that Adele would take the additional step to join forces with them rather than remain loyal to her son or quietly care for her husband until he died. Adele chose instead to take independent action in her husband's incapacity.

What, then, prompted Adele to begin to take such drastic steps? As some historians

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[164] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. "Contra iniquas machinationes, quas Philippus comes Flandriae in detrimentum ipsorum et totius regni Franciae machinabatur."

[165] See, for example: Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 16; Galland, *Philippe Auguste*, 35-36; Flori, *Philippe Auguste*, 26; Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 32.

have suggested, jealousy about the role of the Count of Flanders could have been a factor.[166] Though there really was no precedent for it, Adele may have expected some role in government during her son's early years. As Theodore Evergates has pointed out, it was a custom in Champagne for women to have "absolute custody" over their children, and further, Adele's older sister, Agnes, countess of Bar-le-Duc (d.1206), acted as guardian for her son, Henry, when she was widowed in 1170.[167] Likewise, although the Capetian queen Anne of Kiev (r. 1050- c. 1075-1079) had not been granted an official regency over her son Philip I (r. 1059-1108), she had participated in the management of the domain until her remarriage in 1061.[168] Adele may have felt that she had been usurped of a role in government by the Count. However, at least in the early stages of the events, it appears that what really drove Adele to join forces with her natal family was the Count of Flanders' concrete actions. Indeed, even if jealousy on the part of Adele and her family may have played a role, contemporary chroniclers did not seem to think so. Both Howden and Ralph of Diss wrote that it was the influence of Philip of Flanders that encouraged King Philip to exert "tyranny," and that was what concerned the opponents of Count Philip and King Philip.[169] The real problem, ostensibly, was concern for the kingdom under Count Philip's

[166] Ward, "Child Kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany," 264.

[167] See Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 74-110 esp. 109; Ward, "Child Kingship in England, Scotland, France, and Germany," 156.

[168] André Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," 93-116, esp. 107.

[169] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 244. "Cujus consilio tyrannidem coepit exercere in populo Gallicano, et omnes quos noverat patri suo fuisse familiares, sprevit et odio habuit." Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 4. "Quoniam sub principe novo, sub rege puero, consilia malignantium fortius invalescunt, ne quid regi Francorum Philippo Franci

influence. Adele may have felt that her position was unstable under Count Philip's influence and so attempted to gain control of the situation herself.

Adele and her family acted first by appealing to Henry the Young King for aid. This decision is not as surprising as it seems. The Champagne party had many previously established connections to the Young King and his court. They had been allied with Henry during his rebellion against his father between 1173-1174 and had provided military support during the conflict.[170] Further, Henry was married to Margaret, Louis VII's only daughter by Constance of Castile. Adele and Margaret may have had a close relationship. Though Margaret had left the French court in 1158, before Adele's marriage to Louis, Adele and Louis had received her in 1172 and 1174.[171] Most remarkably, during Henry II's conflict with Louis VII in 1177, Margaret, heavily pregnant, had fled from her father-in-law Henry II to Louis in Paris when Henry attempted to gain control of her dowry lands in France. In Paris she gave birth to a son, William, on June 19, who died only three days later.[172] Adele likely interacted with her at that time and may have even been present at the birth and death of William. After Margaret was widowed, she and Adele also are known to have spent time together in the mid-1180s.[173] These connections to Margaret may have

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suggererent in injuriam Normanorum, quorum finitimis semper est suspecta potestas et per orbem terrarum gloria praedicabilis, rex Anglorum Henricus occurrrendum in tempore maturiore consilio procuravit."

[170] Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 139, 164.

[171] Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 119-120, 228.

[172] Strickland, *Henry the Young King*, 236-237.

[173] See Evergates, *Marie of France*, 48. Margaret joined Adele and Marie of France, wife of Henry of Champagne, all recently widowed women, in Troyes in 1183 and at Foissy for Christmas in 1184.

made Young King Henry a more palatable ally as they continued to work against the Count of Flanders. Adele's perspective makes the decision to involve the English less confounding.

It may have been around this time that Philip sent letters to Count Henry of Champagne in Jerusalem and to his bourgeois, urging them to prepare for a conflict. The letter to Henry of Champagne provides evidence that Adele and her family were in the process of getting the nobility of France to swear loyalty to them rather than King Philip and were beginning to prepare for an armed conflict.[174] Philip's letter to the bourgeois asks them to fortify a city with walls and pits to resist a possible attack from the Count of Blois, with whom he had been at peace until then.[175] Importantly, neither letter mentions the involvement of either of the kings of England. Likewise, neither letter suggests that open hostilities have erupted, as they had after Philip's marriage to Isabelle in April, or that Adele had begun to fortify her dower lands. Instead, both letters appear to be directing preparations for a conflict that had not yet begun. Thus, it seems likely that the letters date from the period before the involvement of the English Kings as tensions were increasing, or around March 1180.

Henry the Young King did not pick up the conflict immediately. Instead, according to Howden, he first went to England, around the middle of Lent, or around March 23,

[174] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome VI*, 47, no. 21. "Municiones muniverant ad meum exilium et quam plures astrinxerant sacramento, quod non mihi sed eis ulterius obedirent."

[175] Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome VI*, 162, no. 135.

1180,[176] and according to Ralph of Diss on April 1, 1180.[177] This decision is more perplexing. It seems unlikely that the Champagne party would have requested the intervention of Henry II themselves, because while the conflicts between Louis VII and Henry II had been resolved with the Treaty of Ivry, there was long-standing tension between the elder King of England and the Champagne family. To involve Henry II in the conflict would open the Champagne faction to uncertainty about his intentions, whereas Young King Henry was more likely to remain loyal to the Champagne family. Perhaps the decision was Henry the Young King's, who may have been reluctant to engage with his former allies from the old conflict with his father.

While in England, Young Henry told his father what was happening in France. He emphasized, according to Howden, how King Philip treated the Champagne party, his nearest relatives.[178] The events in France and the Champagne family's decision to appeal to Henry the Young King for support seem to have concerned King Henry II. An alliance between his son and his former Champagne enemies might have recalled old tensions from his son's rebellion in 1174. Therefore, according to Ralph of Diss, before returning to France to sort out the conflict, Henry II made the Young King swear in the presence of relics that he would faithfully observe his father's disposition in all matters.[179] This

[176] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Appropinquante media Quadragesmia, Henricus rex Angliae junior, qui jam per aliquod tempus moram fecerat in Normannia, transfretavit in Angliam."

[177] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Henricus rex filius regis venit in Angliam kalendis Aprilis."

[178] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Et indicato ei, qualiter Philippus rex Franciae et Philippus comes Flandriae inique egerant adversus proximos suos."

[179] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Et cum honore maximo receptus a patre, reliquiis praesentibus sacrosanctis, juravit apud Radingam, quod

requirement is telling about Henry II's state of mind: it seems that he may have been concerned that destabilization in France might once again lead the Champagne party and his son to ally against him. Henry II's wariness would reappear later when mediating between the Champagne party and King Philip.

The two kings of England then crossed back to Normandy "before Easter," or before April 13, 1180.[180] Ralph of Diss notes that Henry II celebrated Easter in the town of Maine.[181] As soon as the Kings of England arrived in Normandy, Adele and her brothers, along with other nobles from France, went there to meet with them, and again asked for their support.[182] Henry II accepted their request, but, further demonstrating his wariness with the Champagne party, "took pledges and other securities from them that they would not withdraw from his council."[183] Similar to the oath that Ralph of Diss reported that Henry II made the Young King take in Reading, this oath allowed Henry II to gain control of the situation and his former adversaries who were now appealing to him for help. Henry II then immediately summoned his English and Norman armies, and "having heard this

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dispositionem paternam in omnibus sequeretur, vel in donatione villarum, vel castellorum, vel beneficiorum quorumlibet, quae praesenti quadam continebantur in carta."

[180] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Uterque scilicet pater et filius transfretaverunt in Normanniam ante Pascha."

[181] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Quo facto, rex pater apud Portesmue, rex filius apud Doveram transfretaverunt. Rex autem pater in urbe Cenomannica Pascha proximum celebravit."

[182] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Ad quorum adventum regina Franciae et comes Teobaldus, et multi de regno Franciae, quos praefatus novus rex odio habuit, venerunt in Normanniam, postulantes ab eis subsidium."

[183] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Quod cum rex Henricus Angliae senior audisset, petitioni eorum adquievit, et habito cum suis consilio, cepit ab eis obsides et alias securitates, quod ab ipsius consilio non recederent."

Philip king of France similarly summoned his army."[184]

At about the same time as the two kings of England were travelling to Normandy to address the situation, Count Philip of Flanders was preparing King Philip's marriage to Isabelle. The English sources do not report on the Count's actions, but Gilbert of Mons, the chancellor to the Count of Hainaut, notes that, around the end of Lent, or between 6 and 12 April 1180, Count Philip and Count Raoul of Clermont travelled to Hainaut to spend time with Baldwin, the Count of Hainaut and father of Isabelle, in order to convince him to permit his daughter to marry King Philip. According to Gilbert, they stayed there for three days.[185] The trip was necessary because Baldwin was wary about reneging on the contract he made with Henry, count of Champagne and brother of Adele, to marry his daughter Isabelle to Henry's son.[186] It seems that the meeting was successful, because Gilbert reported that the Count of Hainaut was "brought around to this idea," and Isabelle

[184] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Et statim summonere fecit exercitum suum Anglae et Normanniae et caeterarum terrarum suarum; quo audito Philippus rex Franciae similter exercitum suum summonvit."

[185] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 129-130. "Que tamen verba cum Philippo comite Flandrie magis quam cum comite Hanoniensi tractabantur, unde ad hoc verba producta fuerunt quod ipse comes Flandrie et Radulphus comes Clarimontis et alii quidam precipui regis Francorum familiares et consiliarii comitem Hanoniensem et ejus uxorem Margharetam Montibus requisierunt termino quadragesimali, ibique per tres dies manserunt." These three days could be a reference to the Triduum, or the three days between the end of Lent and Easter Sunday, in which case the meeting took place from April 10 to April 13, 1180.

[186] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 129-130. "Que tamen verba cum Philippo comite Flandrie magis quam cum comite Hanoniensi tractabantur, unde ad hoc verba producta fuerunt quod ipse comes Flandrie et Radulphus comes Clarimontis et alii quidam precipui regis Francorum familiares et consiliarii comitem Hanoniensem et ejus uxorem Margharetam Montibus requisierunt termino quadragesimali, ibique per tres dies manserunt. Comes autem Hanoniensis, quamvis filiam suam ad tanti honoris apicem promoveri posse videret, tamen conventiones matrimoniorum quas cum Henrico comite Campanensi firmaverat observare volens, pro juramento suo salvando petitionibus illorum contrarius stabat."

was immediately taken into Flanders.[187] The marriage took place shortly after, and from that point on, the hidden movements of each faction were brought out into the open.

Part III: King Philip's Marriage and Second Coronation

It was during the period between the marriage of Philip and Isabelle and their joint coronation that the conflict was at its most visible. Many less knowledgeable chroniclers begin their narration of the conflict with the marriage of Isabelle and Philip.[188] Roger of Howden and Ralph of Diss make it clear that tensions were rising beforehand, but the increase in comments from chroniclers in this period indicate that simmering tensions transformed into open hostility. Adele was a key player in this transition: her decision to fortify her dower lands was a catalyst for the most intense part of the conflict.

It seems that what prompted the sudden change was, first, Philip's marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut. After Isabelle was taken into Flanders from Hainaut, King Philip joined Count Philip and Isabelle. The wedding did not take place in France, because it was in

[187] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons,* 129-130. "Verum comitis Flandrensis voluntate preeunte, ad hoc inductus fuit licet dolens quod filiam suam voluntati comitis Flandrie exposuit. Quam comes Flandrensis statim illinc secum in Flandriam deduxit."

[188] Bautier and Gilles, ed., and trans., *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 315-316. "Iste Philipus rex, patre adhuc vivente, Hannotensis comitis filiam accepit uxorem, Elisabet nomine, que Philipi Flandrensis comitis erat neptis." Holder-Egger, "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 219. "Filippus nuper unctus in regem Hainocensis comitis filiam, comitis Flandriae neptem, accipit in uxorem"; Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 294. "Mense Aprili novus rex Franciae Philippus, Lodovici regis filius, desponsavit filiam comitis de Hano"; Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 74. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 130. "In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandrensium comitis precipue fultus auxilio, puta cuius neptem ex sorore, filiam videlicet comitis de Henou, patre adhuc superstite et id procurante, in uxorem duxerat, proprios auunculos et matrem reginam, ducem quoque Burgundie cognatum suum, totumque genus illud de Bleys, Flandrensibus infestum olim et exosum, armis impeciit, in primis duci Burgundie Alexandro (recte Hugoni), consanguineo suo, castella plurima, regine Ale, matri sue, dotalicium suum totum et propter nupcias donacionem, comiti Theobaldo Francie tocius seneschalliam aliisque municiones et terras amplas augerendo."

Flanders that, "against the counsel of all his friends of the kingdom of France," Philip married Isabelle.[189] Gilbert provides a more specific time and place, writing that they were married at Bapaume "on the Monday after the eighth day of Easter in the year of the Lord 1180" or April 28, 1180.[190] As Isabelle's dowry, Philip received "the city of Arras, Saint-Omer, Aire and Hesdin, namely the land outside the Fosse." According to Gilbert, the Count of Hainaut was sorry to see the land go.[191]

Immediately after the wedding was the issue of Isabelle's coronation. According to French custom, when the queen was crowned, the king was to be crowned again alongside her.[192] Philip seems to have initially summoned the bishops and nobles of his kingdom to

[189] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Et interim, statim post Pascha, praedictus novus rex Franciae per consilium Philippi comitis Flandriae venit in Flandriam; et contra consilium omnium amicorum suorum de regno Franciae, cepit in conjugem filiam comitis Flandriae. Et comes Flandriae concessit praedicto regi Francia, cum nepte sua, fere totum comitatum suum Flandriae post decessum suum; scilicet totam terram de Vermedais usque ad Los. Desponsata itaque filia comitis de Eainou regi Franciae, comites et barones Franciae indignati sunt."

[190] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 76. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 130. "Philippus autem rex Elizabeth duxit exorem in castro comitis Flandrie Bapalmis feria secunda post octavam pasche anno Domini 1180." Ralph of Diss provides a slightly different account, that the marriage was at Truncum and the nuptial celebrations were at Bapaume. Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Volume II, 5. "Philippus rex Francorum, Margaritam filiam Baldwini comitis Hainaucensium, ex Margarita sorore Philippi Flandrensium comitis, duxit uxorem apud Truncum. Nuptiae celebratae sunt apud Batpaumes."

[191] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut,* 76. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 130. "Dolebat quidem comes Hanoniensis quod pars Flandrie pro matrimonio illo ad regem Francorum post decessum comitis Flandrie devenire debebat; compositum enim fuit, ut Atrebatum civitas et Sanctus Audomarus Ariaque et Hesdinum, videlicet terra extra Fossatum ad regem Francorum deveniret, alie vero comitis Flandrie possessiones omnes ad comitem Hanonie et uxorem ejus Margharetam et eorum heredes devenirent. Compositum fuit equidem quod si filia comitis Hanoniensis Philippo regi nupta absque proprii corporis herede decederet, predicte possessiones ad comitem Hanoniensem et ejus heredes redirent; si eciam Elizabeth proprii corporis heredem haberet, et illum heredem absque proprii corporis herede decedere contingeret, omnia predicta bona non minus ad comitem Hanoniensem et ejus heredes redirent et nequaquam regno adderentur."

[192] Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich, Vol. 1* (Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung, 1899), 67.

the second coronation at Sens on Pentecost, or June 1, 1180.[193] There may have even been another date planned for the Assumption of the Virgin, or August 15, 1180.[194] However, according to Howden, the Count of Flanders suspected that there would be an attempt to stop the coronation. He instead encouraged Philip to plan for the event closer to the wedding and to be crowned at Saint-Denis on Ascension Day, or May 22, 1180.[195] The coronation went forward, and Count Philip and Count Baldwin of Hainaut were present, but no one from the Champagne party was there.[196] Tellingly, almost all chroniclers

[193] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245. "Interim Philippus rex Franciae summonere fecit omnes archiepiscopus et piscopus et principes regni sui, tam clericos quam laicos, quod essent apud Senonem die Pentecostes ad coronationesm ipsius et uxoris suae."

[194] This is confirmed in a letter from Philip to a certain O., count of Poitiers, urging him to come to his coronation at Amiens at the Assumption of the Virgin and to carry the ceremonial sword. Nortier does not directly address the mismatch between the "O." and the known count of Poitiers in 1180, Richard. He writes that letter was sent in 1180 as it refers to Philip's coronation and the Count of Poitiers could be none other than Richard at that time. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome VI*, 52, no. 26. The letter survives in only one manuscript: Bibliothèque municipale de Saint-Omer, ms. 820, fol. 38r, 1st column. "P., Dei gratia rex Francorum, omnibus baronibus in sua terra constitutis, salutem et dilectionem. Cum in instanti festivitate Penth(ecostes) apud Parisius curiam tenere debeamus, coronamque proposuerimus regiam deportare, vos omnes benigniter exoramus quod omnes Parisius unanimiter convenire dignemini, ut in crastino ejusdem festivitatis de quibusdam secretis vobiscum consilium habeamus." There is another letter in which Philip likewise encourages the barons to join him at Pentecost, but this letter is vaguer and cannot be adequately dated. Nortier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome VI*, 103, no. 75. "P., Dei gratia rex Francorum, omnibus suis baronibus, salutem. Vobis mandamus quatinus in octabis Pentecostes ad talem locum personnaliter accedatis, quoniam volumus a vobis et aliis consiliariis nostris super quibusdam articulis consilium inpendatur."

[195] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 245-246. "Interim Philippus rex Franciae summonere fecit omnes archiepiscopus et piscopus et principes regni sui, tam clericos quam laicos, quod essent apud Senonem die Pentecostes ad coronationesm ipsius et uxoris suae. Quod cum Philippus comes Flandriae audisset, times quod casu aliquo neptis suae unctio et coronatio posset impediri, consuluit regi ut anticiparet praefixum terminum suae coronationis; quod ita factum est. Nam praedictus rex Franciae, adquiescens consilio comitis Flandriae, misit pro archiepiscopo Senonensi, et fecit se et uxorem suam coronari in monasterio Sancti Dionysii, in ipsa die Ascensionis Domini, valde mane, orto jam sole."

[196] Napran, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Hainaut*, 77. Vanderkindere, ed., *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, 131. "Quam ipse rex in sequenti die festo ascensionis Domini eodem anno apud Sanctum Dyonisium in Francia inugi et regia corona insigniri qua decuit veneratione fecit. Ubi ipse, ad sue nupte noveque regine honorem, regalem cum ea gestavit coronam, presente Balduino comite Hanoniensi patre ipsius regine, astante eciam ipsius regine avunculo Philippo Flandrie et Viromandie comite et ibidem gladium regalem gestante."

mention the man who presided over the coronation: Guy, the Archbishop of Sens, was chosen to crown Philip and Isabelle. [197] This was a direct rebuff to the Champagne family: this honor traditionally belonged to the archbishop of Reims, or William, Adele's brother. The public snub was obvious enough to draw comment from almost all chroniclers: Adele and her brothers' reaction to this public humiliation is one of the more well-recorded and commented upon moments of the conflict. Howden notes that William was appalled by Philip's decision to have the archbishop of Sens crown his nephew and his new bride, so much so that he sent messengers to "Alexander the high pontiff," asking him for vindication.[198] This ceremonial slight, alongside the more obvious insult of the choice of Isabelle as the wife of Philip, was too much for Adele and her family.

For these reasons, Adele took the most drastic step of all: she began to fortify her dower lands.[199] Most chroniclers, including Ralph of Diss, Robert of Auxerre, and Gervase

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[197] Bautier and Gilles, ed., and trans., *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 315-316. "Quam Guido Senonensis archiepiscopus ei desponsavit in Remensi provincia in Silvanectensi videlicet civitatem"; Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 5. "Guido Senonensis archiepiscopus Margaritam Philippo regi conjugatam unxit in reginam apud Sanctum Dionisium, die scilicet Ascensionis. Astiterunt autem ei suggraganei Mauricius Parisiacensis, Manases Aurelianensis." Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 219. "Quam Guido Senonensis archiepiscopus unxit apud Sanctum Dionisium in reginam."

[198] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "Cum autem Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus, avunculus regis Franciae, audisset praesumptionem praedicti Senonensis archiepiscopi, doluit vehementer, et nuncios suos misit ad Alexandrum summum pontificem, conquerens sibi de vindicta."

[199] Baldwin erroneously states that the lands Adele fortified were her dowry lands, or the lands given to the husband by a woman's family at her marriage, but this cannot be the case. The lands she fortified were almost certainly part of her dower, or the agreement made after the wedding to provide for the wife in the event of the death of the husband. The confusion may lie in the multiple terms used by the various chroniclers to describe these lands. Robert of Auxerre, Howden's *Gesta*, and Gervase of Canterbury refer to them as Adele's *dos*, which can mean either dower or dowry: Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 242. "Castra suae dotis"; Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 247, "dotem suam" and "eiusdem dotis"; Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, 294 "suae dotis". Ralph of Diceto and Gerald of Wales refer to them as Adele's "*donatio propter nuptias*," which refers specifically to the gift of a husband to his wife after marriage, usually to provide for her after his death: Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, "donationis propter nuptias"; Barlett, ed. and trans., *De principis instructione,* "propter nupcias donacionem." Stubbs,

of Canterbury, agree that it was after Philip's marriage that Adele began to fortify her dower lands, and then had them confiscated.[200] Ralph of Diss is the only chronicler to describe more explicitly what happened next. After Adele attempted to fortify her lands, Philip raised an army against her, and she was "violently thrown out" of her dower lands. Philip deprived his mother of the power of his father's seal, presumably so that his mother and her allies could not use it while they were exiled, despite the fact that Louis was still living.[201] Howden likewise hints that after the marriage, the members of the Champagne

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ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedane,* 197. Howden refers to these lands as "dotalium suum*",* and Gerald of Wales, in *De principis instructione*, alternately calls them "dotalicium suum totum" which terms reference only the dower. Most of the words used by chroniclers suggest the land was her dower. In addition to the variety of names used by the chroniclers, we know that these must be Adele's dower lands, because Adele was not known to have received any land as part of her dowry. For Adele's marriage agreement, see Facinger, "A Study in Medieval Queenship," 14. For the Latin terms related to dower and dowry, see Facinger, "A Study in Medieval Queenship," 20-22. According to Baldwin, Adele's dower included Lixy, Chesi, and Voulx, held in pariage with the abbey of Saint-Jean de Sens, and Corbeil, Melun, and Villeneuve-en-Senonais. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 466 no. 37.

[200] There is not a complete consensus about this, however, in the chronicles. Howden, writing about fifteen years after the events, notes that Adele was expelled from her lands before Philip's marriage. Stubbs, ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedane*, 196. "Et matrem suam adeo persequebatur, quod a dominatione expulit; et Willelmum Remensem archiepiscopum, et comitem Theobaldum et comitem Stephanum, avunculos suos, graviter persequebatur." Gerald of Wales's timeline, generally incorrect, also seems to suggest that Adele was fortifying her dower lands before the marriage. I have chosen to place the fortification after the marriage based on the suggestion from multiple chroniclers from both England and France who are generally correct about the sequence of events and who were writing closer to the events. Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 6. "Inter regem Philippum et matrem suam Alam ortis adinvicem inimicitiis castella quae nomine donationis propter nuptias fuerant reginae collata, de regis mandato regis invaserunt ministri, custodibus castellorum violenter ejectis."; Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 219. "Quod matri eiusdem regis et matris fratribus valde displicuit, ac proinde castra suae dotis contra filium munire presumpsit."; Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* 294. "Auxit quoque indignationem quod matri suae annuere noluerit, ut in sua dispositione haberet castella vel villas suae dotis. His et huiusmodi de causis utriusque partis consentaneis ad arma convolantibus, ad hoc tandem perventum est"; Gerald of Wales, *De Principis instructione*, 568-569. "In primis itaque post patris obitum, Philippi Flandrensium comitis precipue fultus auxilio, puta cuius neptem ex sorore, filiam videlicet comitis de Henou, patre adhuc superstite et id procurante, in uxorem duxerat, proprios auunculos et matrem reginam, ducem quoque Burgundie cognatum suum, totumque genus illud de Bleys, Flandrensibus infestum olim et exosum, armis impeciit, in primis duci Burgundie Alexandro (recte Hugoni), consanguineo suo, castella plurima, regine Ale, matri sue, dotalicium suum totum et propter nupcias donacionem, comiti Theobaldo Francie tocius seneschalliam aliisque municiones et terras amplas augerendo."

[201] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 6. "Ludovicus rex Francorum, quia jus suum et potestatem in Philippum regem transtulerat, ne quid in regno

party were like "exiles and fugitives," which suggests that they had been removed from the kingdom.[202] This series of actions was the most direct and hostile of the whole conflict.

It is worth pausing to examine the extreme measures that Adele is reported to have taken. First, the fact that Louis was alive while Adele began to fortify her dower lands brings Adele's decision-making to the forefront of the conflict. In the late twelfth century, royal wives did not have access to these lands until their husbands died.[203] Thus, Adele took the conflict a step further by prematurely behaving as though Louis was already dead and as though she was already a widow in order to access these lands and fortify them. Importantly, no chronicler suggests that it was anyone but Adele who took the step into open, armed conflict, as she did by fortifying her dower lands. Even Thibaut, who often took the role of military leader within his family, is not described as taking any military action. With her decision, Adele emerges as the leader of her family's faction by opening the conflict to more direct warfare. Philip's authority to expel his mother from her lands is less surprising in this context as well: technically, they were still supposed to belong to the crown until Louis died. Adele alone escalated the conflict, shifting it from simmering tension to open hostilities, acting as though she was a widowed woman with independent access to her fortifications. Though the decision was not an immediate success, as the conflict resolved, Adele's maneuvering impacted the outcome of the struggle for herself

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statueret citra filii conscientiam, sigilli sui potestate privatus est. Inter regem Philippum et matrem suam Alam ortis adinvicem inimicitiis castella quae nomine donationis propter nuptias fuerant reginae collata, de regis mandato regis invaserunt ministri, custodibus castellorum violenter ejectis."

[202] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "Tanquam exules et profugi."

[203] Facinger, "A Study in Medieval Queenship," 20.

and for her family.

Part IV: Resolution

After the rising tensions and the open hostilities surrounding Philip and Isabelle's marriage, the reasons for the sudden shift in fortunes at the meeting at Gisors on June 28, 1180 are not directly explained in any of the chronicle sources. Robert of Auxerre and Gervase of Canterbury provided brief solutions, writing simply that Philip welcomed his mother back either through a brief discussion or through his kindness alone.[204] Gerald of Wales claimed an unbelievable, and certainly untrue, theory that the Champagne party tempted Philip back with the lands of Vermandois.[205] Most chroniclers, however, note that the arbitration of Henry II of England was the key to establishing peace between the feuding factions.[206]

It is not clear why Henry II wanted to end the conflict so abruptly, especially since

[204] Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 219. "Sed non multo post, diffinito consilio, et illa reducitur, et procerum simultas sopitur"; Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* 294. "ut in solis redditibus matri suae rex novus victualia constitueret; et armati in sua pacifice redierunt."

[205] Bartlett, ed. and trans., *De Principis instructione*, 568-571. "Comitissa Flandrie, filia scilicet Radulfi comitis de Perrona, per quam comitatui Flandrie Viromanniam viriliter adiecerat et dicionem suam in Franciam procul extenderat, subito casu et inopinato citra heredis solacium in fata decessit. Quod audientes auunculi regis et stirps Blesensis, idonea tam talionis et vindicte occasione captata, ad regem accesserunt, ius suum in Viromannia eidem, extinctis heredibus, apperientes et, ut tantum honorem ad manus eius de iure devolutum, Anglorum regis Henrici fultus auxilio, ab iniusto detentore revocaret suoque dominico et mense regali potenter adiceret, persuadentes. Rex autem, quanquam etate puer, mente maturior et consilio, graciaque precipue desuper adiutus, honoris sui et emolumenti monita non respuens, Anglorum regem tanquam pro patre suscepit eiusque in hoc articulo se consiliis ex toto submisit. Unde et ad eius nutum in primis seneschalliam iterum comiti Theobaldo, et matri sue regine dotalicium suum, integre restituit."

[206] Stubbs, ed., "Ymagines Historiarum," in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto,* Vol. II, 6. "Sed postmodum rex et mater ad arbitrium regis Anglorum concordiam inierunt, in colloquio quod habitum est inter ipsos reges prope Gistortium vigilia scilicet apostolorum."

he had, earlier in the year, raised up an army alongside the Champagne party. The chroniclers leave no direct evidence, but there are hints throughout the conflict. From the beginning, Henry was wary of the Champagne party and even his son Henry the Young King. It may have been Adele's actions, by fortifying her lands, that finally prompted Henry to end the conflict peacefully. Indeed, after Adele was expelled from her dower lands by King Philip, she and the Champagne party may have found that they had run out of options. Howden wrote that Adele and her brothers were "like exiles and fugitives," and thus perhaps the Champagne family had no other recourse but to submit to the mercy of Henry II and accept a meeting with Philip at Gisors.[207] In any case, it was at this meeting that Henry "softened the soul of the king of France" with both "soft and rough words," and eventually Philip received his maternal family back into his good graces.[208]

Howden is the only chronicler to detail the agreements between each party at the conclusion of the conflict. The concessions are critical because they establish how Adele was able retain her position. The agreements were as follows: Henry II received homage from Count Philip of Flanders "out of an abundance of caution," and gave Count Philip 1000 marks of silver in exchange for 500 soldiers 40 days out of the year.[209] Raoul, the

[207] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "Interim Henricus rex Angliae, ad cujus elementiam regina Franciae et comes Theobaldus et quamplures de nobilioribus regni Franciae, tanquam exules et profugi, ut scriptum est, conflexerant, colloquium cepit apud Gisortium cum novo rege Franciae."

[208] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "in quo colloquio praefatus rex Angliae senior animum novi regis Franciae nunc blandis nunc asperis adeo emollivit, quod contra consilium comitis Flandriae et Roberti Clement, et multorum aliorum, qui inter ipsum et matrem suam et avunculos suos volebant dissidium, omnem malitatiam et indignationem quam in animo adversus eos conceperat, remisit; et eos in debitam familiaritatem recepit."

[209] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246-247. "In eodem colloquio Henricus rex Angliae senior, ad abundantiorem cautelam, coram Philippo novo rege Franciae fidelitatem et homagium recepit a Philippo comite Flandirae; et conventiones inter eos factas renovavit: scilicet se singulis annis daturum praedicto comiti Flandriae mille marcas esterlingorum recipiendas ad scaccarium; et ipse comes conventionavit ei quod

count of Clermont who had sided with the Count of Flanders in the conflict, also did homage to King Henry II, and Henry II renewed the Treaty of Ivry with King Philip.[210]

Adele's settlement reveals how she was able to maintain her position despite the brief revolt. She was to receive seven Parisian pounds daily while King Louis was living. After his death, she was to receive all her dower, except for the castles and fortifications that Philip had confiscated during the ordeal.[211] This settlement returned Adele's dower to her while allowing Philip to keep any property by which she might be able to raise an army in the future. It would also provide Adele with an income both during Louis's incapacity and after his death. It is interesting to note that Adele was the only one out of her family to have received anything in this settlement. It suggests that she lost the most materially during the conflict. It also shows that she played a leading role in her family because the resolution of the conflict depended upon her material compensation rather than any of the others from her party. Finally, the peace negotiations demonstrate that Adele and her family enjoyed moderate success in the outcome. Far from a decisive and crushing defeat for Adele and her family, the reported peace deal reveals significant concessions by King

in recompensatione illarum mille marcarum, teneret quingentos milites ad sumotus suos in obsequium domini regis Angliae singulis annis, per spatium quadraginta dierum, quando inde summonitus fuerit. Et si dominus rex post illos quadraginta dies, milites illos diutius retinere voluerit, liceat ei eos retinere ad stipendia sua quamdiu voluerit."

[210] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 247. "In eodem autem colloquio comes de Claromonte fecit homagium domino regi Angliae coram domino suo rege Franciae. Et in eodem colloquio pax et concordia, fide et sacramentis hinc inde confirmata, facta est inter dominum regem Angliae et novum regem Franciae in hunc modum."

[211] Stubbs, ed., *Gesta Henrici Regis Secundi*, 246. "statuens quod praedictae reginae Franciae matri suae, singulis diebus quamdiu Ludovicus rex pater suus viveret, septem libras Parisinorum ad quotidianum victum solveret; et post decessum patris sui total dotem suam, qua rex Francorum Ludovicus eam die desponsationis suae dotavit, in integrum redderet, retentis tantummodo sibi castellis et munitionibus eiusdem dotis."

Philip and the Count of Flanders and a re-established position for Adele and her family. Adele had received back her dower lands, and thus her income, though she was stripped of her ability to raise arms again. Indeed, Adele's maneuvering, particularly her decision to involve the King of England, allowed her to come out of the conflict with most of her status, income, and familial position intact.

Adele's actions are at the center of this early conflict. She played a central role as the apparent leader of her maternal family's faction, and it was her maneuvering that had allowed her and her family to emerge with relative success. She was more than a subordinate figurehead who was quickly disposed of by her strong-willed son, as some historians have suggested. Instead, Adele used her wide-ranging connections to the best of her ability, which allowed the conflict to end with her position secure.

Conclusion

The conflict of 1180 brought Adele to the forefront of the transition of power between the reigns of Louis VII and Philip II. She acted decisively while her husband was still alive, calling upon her networks of nobility to maneuver against the Flemish faction and ultimately against her own son to subdue Count Philip and secure her and her family's position. Adele's maneuvering reveals the resources and networks available to her as she acted, demonstrating that could use her status as a queen, her connections as a Champagne noblewoman, and her position as mother of the king to extract an outcome that kept these positions intact for the future.

Adele made several remarkable decisions throughout the conflict that reveal how

far she was willing to go to determine the outcome for herself and for her family. First, her actions suggest that many of her loyalties, even after twenty years of marriage and a son, were still to her birth family. Though there was an expectation that she would remain loyal to her son, as Philip's letter to Henry of Champagne suggests, the situation Adele was presented with was enough of a threat to the standing of her and her family that she was willing to disregard those expectations.

Most significantly, her decision to fortify her dower lands while Louis VII was still alive marks Adele's most forceful action in the conflict. In this situation, Adele was willing to act as though she was already a widow into order to access her fortifications. Adele, by custom, did not have access to her dower lands until the death of Louis, yet her decision to take control of her lands makes her determination to have a role in the outcome of the conflict even more clear. Adele's seizure of her dower allowed her brief access to military resources that would not have otherwise been available to her. While it was implied that she had the military support of her brother, the Count of Blois, all chroniclers note that it was Adele's decision alone to advance the conflict into an armed rebellion. Although Henry had raised an army back around Easter 1180, there was no indication that there were ever open hostilities until Adele fortified her dower lands. In the absence of action by her allies, Adele took independent action to attempt to shift the trajectory of the conflict in her favor.

Beyond military measures, Adele's actions reveal the vast network of allies she was able to call upon in times of conflict. She called upon her Champagne family, drew upon her connections to her daughter-in-law Margaret, and ultimately sought help from the English kings to bring about a favorable conclusion. Through oaths, alliances, and secret

meetings, she was able to direct these relationships to counter the prerogatives of the Count of Flanders and her son. By involving Henry II, a longstanding Capetian enemy, and taking a further step to swear obedience to him in the conflict, she further revealed that her ultimate loyalty was with her natal family and their concerns. Throughout the conflict, she was willing to go to great lengths to ensure their continued positions and success as well as her own.

Indeed, the events of 1180 are more complex than historians have so far allowed. They do not show a strong-willed and petulant King Philip resisting the overbearing presence of his mother's family, nor do they clearly demonstrate the beginnings of the downfall of the queen's power and authority. Instead, they reveal and confirm the powers, resources, and networks that Adele was able to call upon in times of conflict. These resources allowed for the strategic maneuvering of her network to achieve a modest victory for Adele and her family. Finally, they establish Adele's prominent role as a key player in the conflict. It was Adele who ultimately shifted the outcome of the events of 1180.

Chapter 2: Adele and the Government of 1190

In 1187, Pope Gregory VIII issued the papal bull, *Audita Tremendi,* following the disastrous Battle of Hattin. With it, he called for a new crusade that eventually involved many of the kings of Latin Christendom, including Philip II of France. With this new crusade pressing on Philip, as well the death of Isabelle of Hainaut in March 1190, Philip had to determine how the business of government would take place in his absence, who should govern the realm, and the procedure they were to follow in the event of his death. The result was the ordinance-testament of 1190, a document that served to appoint a variety of people to various positions within the government during his absence, inform and direct those people of his wishes, prepare them to exercise their duties according to his will, and provide instructions about the procedure in the event of his death. As part of the document, Philip entrusted his mother, Adele, and his uncle, William, archbishop of Reims, with the care of both his kingdom and his son.[212] Adele had been away from the center of government for nearly a decade since the conflict in 1180, attending to her dower lands

[212] The name for this position is not universally accepted. Historians Murielle Gaude-Ferragu and Ursula Vones-Liebenstein have argued for the use of the term "lieutenancy of power" to distinguish between periods when the king was voluntarily absent, such as during a crusade, and cases of royal minority. Indeed, "regency" is an anachronistic term that was not in use until 1380. They argue that there were differences in the ways regents and lieutenants exercised the power of the position, with regents acting in the name of the king and lieutenants acting in their own names. However, Adele's appointment to the position was well before these norms were established. Further, no contemporary document assigns any title to Adele and William. The term "regency" has been more widely used to describe the period in which Adele and William acted, but the term does not appear in any contemporary document. For these reasons, this thesis will refer to Adele and William as "custodians of the kingdom," from Rigord's description that they were assigned to the role, "pro tutela et custodia totum regnum." BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269rb. See Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500*, trans. Angela Krieger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 111; Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, "Une femme gardienne du royaume? Régentes en temps de guerre (France, Castille, XIIIe siècle)," in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Age: 119^{e} congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Amiens, 1994, vol. 2: La violence et les gens,* Philippe Contamine and Olivier Guyotjeannin, eds. (Paris: CTHS, 1996), 11.

and staying mostly out of her son's affairs. With Philip's appointment of his mother to the role, Adele was once again in the spotlight.

Adele's appointment as custodian of the kingdom and the accompanying ordinance-testament were significant in several ways. The ordinance-testament was one of the first documents to establish the structure of Philip's government, and many of the directives of the ordinance-testament lasted beyond 1191, when Philip returned from crusade. For this reason, Adele's appointment to government occurred at a critical time in which some of the clearest evidence of the prerogatives of Philip's government were set into writing in the form of instructions for her, her brother William, and the other people assigned roles within the government. Additionally, Adele's designation as custodian of the kingdom was significant: she was the first woman to be officially appointed to a position in the government of France. The connection between women and government during the absence of a king originated with Adele's appointment, and she strengthened the connection by claiming particular authority. The choice to appoint Adele thus coincides with the development of women's involvement in French government during the absence of kings or with their minor sons. Her actions and her claims to power in this period established precedents in the office that persisted in the appointments of her successors.

This chapter will first examine the ordinance-testament of 1190. As an important document for understanding the government of 1190 and the future government of Philip Augustus, its directives are critical for understanding the framework in which Adele worked. The limitations Philip placed on the custodians of the kingdom are particularly telling about Philip's trust in his mother and uncle in the context of the conflict of 1180 and subsequent Capetian-Champagne relations. With this backdrop, this chapter will then

seek to identify and establish the factors in Philip's decision to choose his mother and his uncle as custodians of the kingdom. The answer is not entirely obvious: both Adele and William had been involved with the conflict in 1180, in which Adele especially had taken measures to influence the early reign of the young king. Further, the only other time a king had been absent on crusade, the Second Crusade, Louis VII had appointed a council, of which Abbot Suger was the leader, to care for the kingdom. In doing so, he bypassed women such as his mother Adelaide of Maurienne (r. 1115-1137) and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine (r. 1137-1152), who joined Louis on Crusade.[213] Though Anne of Kiev (r. 1050-c. 1075-1079) had held an unofficial role in the government of her young son, Philip I (r. 1060-1108), during his minority, no woman held an officially appointed position in the government of France before Philip's decision to appoint Adele. Next, this chapter will examine the actions taken by the personnel of government during the king's absence and seek to identify how they exercised their authority to act within the documents they created. Adele, especially, appears to have claimed broader authority than the other people appointed a position in the government. Documents reveal the dynamic and complex relationship between the parameters set up through the ordinance-testament and the actions taken by the personnel of government. Finally, this chapter will address Adele's role in government in its broader context: the 1190 custodianship was the first that officially appointed a woman to government. Although her role was limited by the directives in the ordinance-testament, her selection set a precedent for kings to choose women for the position in the future.

[213] Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency," 107-108.

This chapter will seek to understand the role in government Adele took during the Philip's absence on the Third Crusade. Because no attempt has previously been made to comprehensively analyze the 1190-91 government, historians have undervalued Adele's position as a leader in this period. Her place in government can be understood from the few but illustrative extant documents, which confirm her important spot at the beginning of the official designation of women to the regency of France.

Historiography: Regency and Women's Power

While historians have identified the 1190 crusade government as significant for the directives Philip put in writing before his departure in the ordinance-testament, the actions of the guardians have only briefly been studied. Baldwin spends little time describing Adele and William's activities, focusing mainly on the directives in the ordinance-testament and its impacts on the government and administration of Philip II's realm.[214] The majority of Baldwin's analysis of the period is devoted to the role of the Parisian bourgeois, whom he notes played an outsized role in the government.[215] In the same vein, Jean Dufour's essay on Adele briefly describes the ordinance-testament of 1190, its instructions, and its limitations on Adele and her brother. Dufour notes the significance of the ordinance-testament for understanding Philip's government and examines some of the judgements

[214] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 101-125.

[215] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 103. "One charter from the queen and archbishop and ten from the Parisian bourgeois are all that survive from the regents' operation during the eighteen months of the king's absence." Baldwin also briefly mentions one major conflict undertaken by Adele, in which she pleaded that no decision be taken about the question of the town of Dol's metropolitan status until the king's return but does not analyze the letter in full. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 69.

Adele and William oversaw.[216] Theodore Evergates likewise briefly mentions Adele's role in *Henry the Liberal*. In particular, he suggests that Philip may have seen a long regency by Adele and William as disruptive and problematic, and for that reason cut short his crusade.[217] In general, however, the biographies of Adele's contemporaries delve little into Adele's activities, instead focusing on the administrative and governmental impacts of the government.

Historians interested in women's power and authority in France likewise have not deeply analyzed Adele's role in the government during the Third Crusade. Because her role was carefully delineated in Philip II's ordinance-testament of 1190, lasted only eighteen months, and was undertaken alongside her brother, historians generally have not seen Adele's role as particularly significant. Facinger described the period as merely a "carefully regulated regency," that left Adele little room to maneuver on her own.[218] Poulet's essay, "Capetian Women and the Regency," which described the arc of Capetian women's access to the regency, dedicates only a short paragraph to the significance of Adele's regency. Unlike Facinger, however, Poulet argues that Adele's regency was important because her appointment marked the beginning of the dowager queen's official recognition as the king's replacement. He contends that the testament of 1190 was the first to provide a model for a regency that would persist while still noting Adele and William's

[216] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 38-39.

[217] Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 76.

[218] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38.

limited power.[219] Like Poulet, Theresa Earenfight places Adele at the ascendancy of the queen-regent but dedicates little space to Adele's regency.[220] Citing Facinger, she claims that Philip chose Adele as his regent "because she was there," and because of custom and traditional notions that the queen was a partner in governing.[221] Finally, Lindy Grant includes a brief mention of Adele in her study of Blanche of Castile, noting that Adele's role as regent set a precedent for future French regents and especially Blanche, who sat in judgement as Adele had done during her regency.[222] These interpretations connect the importance of Adele's appointment to the broader context of women's access to official power in Capetian France, but none study how Adele acted and claimed power as joint-guardian of the kingdom.

While historians have cited Adele's position in 1190 as significant to the history of women's ascension to and development of the French regency and in the formalization of Capetian government through the implementation of the ordinance-testament, the two historiographical interpretations have not been connected in a study of the activities of the government in Philip's absence. Missing from the historiography is a full consideration of the connection between the ordinance-testament, Adele's actions as a custodian of the kingdom, and the way women's position in government was envisioned and assumed in practice. Adele was more involved in the government than historians have thus far shown.

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[219] Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency," 108.

[220] Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 153.

[221] Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 153.

[222] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 284.

Therefore, this chapter will establish the significance of Adele's participation in government as the first officially assigned to a woman in France.

Creating the Government: The Ordinance-Testament of 1190

Before Philip embarked on the Third Crusade, he prepared the administration of his government and kingdom during his absence. His directives took the form of what historians have called the "ordinance," a document that laid out the business and administration of government during Philip's absence, and the "testament," which provided some directions on what should happen with the government, and particularly his treasury, in the event of his death. The document only survives as it was recorded by Rigord, who is the sole source for the personnel and directives of government in the ordinance-testament.[223] For that reason, the ordinance-testament is crucial for understanding the directives given to Adele, William, and the other personnel of government during Philip's eighteen-month absence from the kingdom. Though it sketches just an outline of the duties the personnel of government would eventually fulfill during Philip's absence, an examination of the ordinance-testament provides a baseline for how Philip envisioned each party's role and can be compared to the actual practices of the government to understand how it truly functioned.

[223] The ordinance-testament survives in BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript made at Saint-Denis. Appendices A and B of this thesis includes a transcription and translation of chapters seventy-six and seventy-seven, which includes the ordinance-testament and a description of Philip's preparations for departure. References to the ordinance-testament will refer to this transcription.

The ordinance-testament raises questions about the nature of Adele and William's role. It did not assign them a title, and it constructed a system of governing in which Adele and William were given both discretion in their judgements and limitations on their actions. Such institutional checks on their power makes Philip's decision to choose Adele and William for the job more puzzling: why appoint them to positions of power while taking care to limit their authority? Further, Adele's appointment marked her first public role since the conflict of 1180, and the limitations within the ordinance-testament suggest that the potential for conflict may have been a consideration for Philip.

The ordinance-testament provided a clear but limiting set of directions for the various personnel of the French government during Philip's absence, but especially for Adele and William. As historians have pointed out, it was the first document to describe in detail the prescribed workings of the French royal government. Baldwin calls it the first "constitution" in Capetian history, and stresses its importance for how it described the workings of Philip's government in more detail than ever before.[224] Historians have also been particularly interested in the innovations that the ordinance-testament made in French government. Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, for example, point out that the ordinance-testament marked a "turning point in the evolution of the office of the baillis" as they were appointed by the ordinance-testament to be the king's "most active agents" in legal and financial matters.[225] Likewise, Baldwin notes that it was the first document to officially

[224] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 102.

[225] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 276, n. 409.

grant free elections for French regalian bishops.[226] Nevertheless, little attention has been given to the orders directed toward Adele and William. Clauses aimed at them, therefore, will be the focus of this investigation to provide context for Philip's expectations of them.

The ordinance-testament did not provide a title for Adele and William's authority. Though historians have generally referred to Adele and William as "regents," and their time in charge of the French government as a "regency," this language appears nowhere in either the text of the ordinance-testament or in contemporaries' descriptions of their roles. In the narrative before the document of the ordinance, Rigord gives a brief description of the special duties entrusted onto Adele and William, noting that Philip "commended all the kingdom of France with his most beloved son Louis to Adele, his dearest mother, and his uncle William, archbishop of Reims, for protection and guardianship."[227] Rigord's description suggests that Adele and William were appointed to be in charge of the kingdom and had responsibility for Philip's young son Louis, not yet three years old.[228] This duty is absent in the ordinance-testament, which assigns only concrete duties to Adele and William, not general responsibilities.[229] The phrase also implied the intended role for Adele and William: their concern was to care for the government in Philip's absence.

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[226] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 180.

[227] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269rb. "Adele karissime matri sue et Guillelmo Remensi archiepiscopo avunculo suo pro tutela et custodia totum regnum francorum cum filio suo dilectissimo ludovico commendavit."

[228] The role of elder women as caretakers and guardians for the young members of the royal family had not been fully established in this period. Anne of Kiev had a role in her young son's minority, but no Capetian queen or dowager had been assigned the role since.

[229] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269va. "Ordinare decrevimus qualiter in absentia nostra regni negocia que agenda erunt."

The first general set of instructions for the queen and the archbishop established several days throughout the year in which they were to hear and report on the affairs of the kingdom. Information was to be gathered from the baillis from each of the king's estates, who were to hold the "day of assizes" each month. From the information gathered on that day, the baillis were then instructed to appear before the queen and the archbishop to recount to them "the business of our land."[230] This clause included the first major limitation on the queen and the archbishop: if a complaint was brought forward against a bailli, they were not permitted to remove him from his baillage except in cases of "murder or rape or homicide or treason."[231] In all other cases of a misdeed by a bailli, Philip instructed Adele and William that they were to inform him by letter "which bailli transgressed, what he did, and what and from whom he accepted money or gift or service."[232] Their role within this system of assizes was, therefore, to oversee the decisions completed by the baillis. They were given some discretion in the matter but were forbidden from acting against the baillis except in extreme circumstances. Additionally, the set of duties established a sequence of reporting and public recitation of the affairs in the land: from the baillis through Adele and William to the king, in a chain of communication that would take place every four months, or three times a year. It established Philip's regular contact with the government he left

[230] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb. "Precipimus insuper ut eo die sint ante ipsos de singulis villis nostris et ballivi nostri qui assisias tenebunt ut coram eis recitent negotia terre nostre."

[231] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb. "Ballivos autem nostros non poterunt amovere regina et archiepiscopus a ballivis suis: nisi pro murto. vel raptu vel homicidio. vel proditione."

[232] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb. "Precipimus eis ut nobis singulis annis et hoc ter in anno litteris suis nobis duobus predictis significent quis ballivus deliquerit et quid fecerit et quid acceperit. et a quo pecuniam vel munus vel servicium."

behind while on crusade, allowing him insight on the decisions made by his relatives and giving him a certain amount of oversight for the workings of the government.

The recitation by the baillis every four months took place on the same day as the next duty assigned to the queen and the archbishop: to establish one day at Paris every four months to sit in judgement and "hear the complaints of the people of our kingdom," after which they were instructed to "determine them there according to the honor of God and the utility of the kingdom."[233] In this clause, Adele and William were assigned to hear the cases brought forward three times a year, acting with judicial authority in the absence of the king. Importantly, this duty was one they had sole responsibility and broad discretion over because the ordinance-testament did not put in place any restrictions on this power. For that reason, this was one of the duties designated solely to the queen and the archbishop.

Another set of the ordinance-testament's instructions for Adele and William regarded ecclesiastical vacancies and the procedures they were to follow regarding regalian rights and free elections. Philip included a clause that stated that if an episcopal see or a royal abbey became vacant, the canons or monks would "come before the queen and archbishop as they came before us, and they shall seek free election from them." Adele and William were instructed to grant this to the monks or canons without contradiction.[234] The

[233] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb. "Preterea volumus et precipimus ut karissima mater nostra. a. regina statuat cum karissimo avunculo nostro et fideli Guillelmo Remensi. archiepiscopo singulis .IIII.[or] mensibus unum diem parisius in quo audiant clamores hominum regni nostri: et ibi eos finiant ad honorem dei: et utilitatem regni."

[234] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb-fol. 270ra. "Si forte contigerit sedem episcopalem. vel aliquam abbaciam regalem vacare: volumus ut canonici ecclesie vel monachi monasterii vacantis: veniant ante reginam et archiepiscopum: sicut ante nos venirent. et liberam electionem ab eis petant. et nos volumus quod sine contradictione eis concedant."

queen and the archbishop were then instructed to hold the regalia while the elected were consecrated or blessed, at which time they were directed to return the regalia, again, "without contradiction."[235] This clause established that the queen and the archbishop were not permitted to change any of the appointments that had been already decided. Next, Philip instructed them that if prebends or some ecclesiastical benefice fell vacant, they were to confer them on "honest and lettered men and on the advice of brother Bernard according to what is best and most honest," except if Philip had previously chosen someone to fill the vacancy.[236] In this case, Adele and William could exert discretion in the process, but were specifically told to seek outside advice and not appoint an undesirable person to the position. Finally, Philip ordered that Adele and William should hold all vacant honors until he returned from the Holy Land.[237] This set of instructions gave Adele and William the authority to receive the rights typically assumed by the king, but Philip made sure to limit their oversight by explicitly instructing them to take outside advice and to follow previously established promises and norms. Thus, Philip's instructions prevented the queen and the archbishop from using their position to install their own appointees. It gave them a

[235] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Regina autem et archiepiscopus. tamdiu regalia in manu sua teneant: donec electus consecratus sit. vel benedictus et tunc regalia sine contradictione ei reddantur."

[236] Brother Bernard was a royal cleric and had been a prior of Grandmont before he became the head of a community of hermits at Vincennes. Rigord identifies him as responsible for advising the king to despoil the Jews in 1180. See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 34. BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Preterea precipimus. quod si prebenda vel beneficium aliquod ecclesiasticum vacaverit quando regalia in manu nostra venient: secundum quod melius et honestius poterunt regina et archiepiscopus viris honestis et litteratis consilio fratris bernardi conferant. salvis tamen donationibus nostris quas per litteras nostras patentes: quibusdam fecimus."

[237] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270va. "Precipimus etiam Regine et et archiepiscopo ut omnes honores qui dum vacant pertinent ad donationem nostram. quod honeste poterunt retinere. sicut abbacie nostre. et decanatus. et alie quedam dignitates. in manu sua teneant: donec a servicio dei redierimus."

modicum of discretion but frequently tempered it with admonitions to be fair and honest about their appointments seek outside counsel.

Philip's testament, his instructions for after his death, contained mostly directions for the care of his treasury. It included only a brief description of the distribution of this duty to the personnel of government. Indeed, he gave little indication about his plans for the future of the kingdom and did not address the potential problems his death would create for his young son. His ordinance required that, during his absence, the treasury was to be brought forward three times by the Parisian bourgeois and Peter the Marshall.[238] However, in the case of Philip's death, he ordered that "queen and archbishop and the bishop of Paris and abbots of Saint-Victor and of Cernay and brother Bernard will divide our treasure in two parts." One half of his treasure he ordered be distributed for repairing churches, to be given to those who were needy, and "for the remedy of our soul and of our father King Louis and our predecessors."[239] The other half of Philip's treasury was set up for his son. He directed that "the guardians of our treasury and all people of Paris," which included Adele and William, were to safeguard the treasury until Louis came of age to rule the kingdom. Though it is not directly stated, this provision may suggest that if Philip were to

[238] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Preterea precipimus quod omnes redditus nostri. et servicia et obventiones. afferantur parisius: per tria tempora. Primo: ad festum sancti remigii. Secundo: ad purificationem beate virginis. Tertio: ad ascensionem. et tradatur burgensibus nostris predictis et p. marescallo."

[239] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra- 270va. "Si in via q[ua]m facimus nos mori contingeret: precipimus quod regina et archiepiscopus et episcopus parisiensis et abb[at]es sancti victoris et de sardenio. et frater. B. thesaurum nostrum in duas partes divident. Unam medietatem pro arbitrio suo distribuant ad ecclesias reparandas: que per guerras nostras districte sunt: ita quod servicium dei possit in eis fieri. De eadem medietate donabunt illis: qui per tallias nostras aporiati sunt et de eadem dabunt residuum illis quibus voluerint. Et quos magis egere crediderint: ob remedium anime nostre et genitoris nostri regis ludovici et antecessorum nostrorum."

die, the authority over Louis during his minority might be broken up between the people he appointed with authority over the treasury. Control of the treasury would have certainly granted these people a great deal of power in the event of Philip's death, but the testament is not specific about exactly who would control the government. Philip also included brief direction on how to disperse the treasury if Louis also died, ordering that the treasury should "be distributed according to their judgement, for our soul and that of our son."[240] This short set of instructions is all that Philip included for the personnel of government to prepare for his potential death. Certainly Adele and William were afforded some control over the treasury, but it was intended to be shared with several other people. It seems clear that Philip intended to prevent one person or group from claiming too much authority for themselves during his absence or after his death.

Overall, the ordinance-testament gave Adele and William some ability to use their own judgement when necessary. Their role was to report directly to the king about the affairs of the kingdom, and they were assigned more authoritative roles in the government than any of the other people mentioned in the ordinance-testament. Still, Philip put clear limitations on their abilities and authority, particularly regarding the treasury and their oversight of the baillis. Adele and William were typically not permitted to act without consulting at least a few other people, including Philip himself through their letters. With

[240] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270va. "De altera medietate precipimus custodibus averi nostri. et omnibus hominibus parisiensibus. quod eam custodiant ad opus filii nostri donec ad etatem veniat. in qua consilio dei. et sensu suo posset regere regnum. Si autem tam nos quam filium nostrum mori contingeret: precipimus quod averum nostrum per manum .VII. predictorum pro anima nostra et filii nostri: pro arbitrio suo distribuatur."

so many restrictions in place, Philip's decision to install Adele and William in such a prominent position is not easily explained.

The clauses within the ordinance-testament might imply Adele's role in the conflict of 1180 was still in Philip's memory, though she had been primarily fighting against the interests of Count Philip of Flanders during that time. Even if this was the case, however, the relationship between Philip and his maternal family had evolved in the decade between the 1180 conflict and his appointment of Adele and William to the government in 1190. Between 1180 and 1190, during Philip's conflicts with the Angevins and with Flanders, the members of the Champagne party often took the role of mediators. They arbitrated conflicts between Henry II and Philip at critical points throughout the 1180s and slowly regained Philip's trust.[241] Archbishop William was an especially influential figure in this period, as he was in the king's presence at most recorded events throughout the 1180s and 1190s.[242] Philip's own words describe William's emerging relationship with the young king in a letter to Pope Lucius III from 1184. The pope had summoned William to Rome, but Philip wrote to the pope, refusing to allow William to go because he had protected Philip from the evil designs of his enemies and was his "right hand" in negotiations.[243] Philip's response to the pope in this letter indicates that William especially had become indispensable to Philip's government, and this perhaps factored into Philip's decision to

[241] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 22.

[242] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 32.

[243] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 136, no. 109. "Adsistit nobis super omnes amicos et fideles nostros karissimus avunculus noster Willelmus, Remensis archiepiscopus, in consiliis nostris oculus vigilans, in negociis dextra manus."

choose William to share in the custodianship of the kingdom in 1190. From the evidence in the documents that attest to William's importance in government during the decade before 1190, it is less surprising that he would be appointed to government during the king's absence on crusade.

Adele, too, was given a prominent role as joint guardian of the kingdom beside her brother, but there are no documents that illuminate Philip's reasons for this decision. Since 1180, Adele had not only distanced herself from many of the conflicts involving her family in 1181/1182 but she had remained mostly out of politics throughout the 1180s. She appeared in no documents in Philip's government during this period and spent most of her time attending to her dower lands, despite Philip's repeated conflicts with some members of her family.[244] Her neutrality and decided removal from politics after the conflict of 1180 may have established some trust between mother and son. Additionally, the Count of Flanders, the primary opposition to Adele and her family in 1180, was increasingly involved in conflicts with the king beginning in 1184, and his fall from favor may have helped reconcile Philip to his mother and her family.[245] Her standing may have further risen in tandem with her brother William's, whose loyalty to Philip in this decade may have assuage most of the lingering distrust since 1180. Another contributing factor to Philip's choice may have been Isabelle of Hainaut's death earlier in 1190. According to Rigord, Adele and William were chosen to protect and guard not only the kingdom but also young

[244] For Philip's conflict with Adele's brother, Stephan of Sancerre, see Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 17.

[245] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 19-21.

Louis VIII. If Isabelle had been alive, perhaps some powers in the government might have been confirmed to her as the mother of the future king. Without Isabelle, both Philip and Louis' closest female family member was Adele. Choosing a woman for the position may have additionally assured his barons, whom Rigord reports assented to the choice of personnel, that Adele and William would not contribute to any concerns about political rivalries during his absence. Indeed, the choice of a male ecclesiastic and a retired, widowed woman for the share of the control of government makes Philip's political calculations clearer: Adele and William were both reasonably loyal to Philip and non-threatening to the barons. Philip's choice indicated that Adele held enough authority to command the kingdom and ward off enemies but was non-threatening enough that others would not reject her position, and he would not have to worry too much about the possibility of an insurrection. Philip's decision to choose his mother as joint guardian of the kingdom was important, however, because it was the first to establish the queen's connection with the care of government in the absence of a king.

Though Philip's decision to choose his mother and his uncle is made clearer by these factors, the limitations placed on Adele and William within the ordinance-testament hints that Philip still had some reservations about appointing his mother and uncle to fill the role of protecting and administering the kingdom in his absence. He took pains to divide the responsibilities of governing before his departure in a way that would ensure that no one individual had complete power over any sector of government and protected against complete rule by one person. Adele's assigned role in the government, according to the ordinance-testament, was to oversee judgements and reports from the baillis, and to act

with the guardians of the treasury in the event of Philip's death. However, the structure of the government presented in the document was different than the way it worked in practice.

The Business of the Government, 1190-1191

Adele's eighteen-month appointment began, according to Rigord, when Philip commended "all the kingdom of France with his most beloved son Louis" to Adele and William at Vézelay on July 5, 1190.[246] With Philip away, Adele and William assumed their roles under the directives of the ordinance-testament. However, the actual business of government did not transpire exactly as it was laid out in the ordinance-testament. The existing documents reveal the involvement of the Parisian bourgeois, who acted directly in Philip's name to confirm several documents. A far greater number of documents from the period attest to their participation in government than to the role of Adele and William. This shared authority between the bourgeois and the custodians of the kingdom exposes the potential power of the bourgeois' role, because at times they oversaw and confirmed Adele and William's documents, tempering their ability to act alone. Still, even with the addition of the bourgeois to the government, Adele and William acted with royal authority in their own names, an ability that distinguished them from the bourgeois. Further, during a crisis involving the church of Dol, Adele claimed a special ability to act alone by appealing to Pope Celestine III to resolve the conflict. Thus, to draw out the circumstances

[246] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269rb. "Feria .IIII.ª post octavas sancti iohannis baptiste: cum rege anglie ricardo: apud vizeliacum venit. Ubi accepta licentia ab omnibus baronibus suis: adele karissime matri sue et Guillelmo Remensi archiepiscopo avunculo suo: pro tutela et custodia: totum regnum francorum cum filio suo dilectissimo ludovico commendavit."

and actions Adele took in her first major public role since 1180, a full analysis of the documents of the government is necessary.

The study of Adele's time as custodian of the kingdom during Philip's absence on the Third Crusade is complicated by two factors. The first is the scarcity of sources: only ten acts by the Parisian bourgeois in Philip's name, two judgements by the Adele and William, and one letter by Adele have been previously identified as produced by the government during this period, and are the only documents through which this period has been studied by historians.[247] Additional documents exist that shed more light on Adele and William's actions in this period: two documents in which the queen and the archbishop witnessed transactions with royal authority in their own names.[248] Even with this addition, however, the number of documents available by which the government of this period can be examined is low.

The second complicating factor is the role of the Parisian bourgeois, who often contradicted or at least complicated what Philip originally set out in his ordinance-testament. Mention of the bourgeois occurs in the ordinance-testament twice. First, they were noted in the clause in which Philip instructed the baillis to establish four prudent men in each prévôté who were to consult with the prévôts on the business of the towns. According to Philip's directives, the exception to this situation was in Paris, in which he

[247] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 103. "One charter from the queen and the archbishop and ten from the Parisian bourgeois are all that survive from the regents' operations during the eighteen months of the king's absence." Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 39-40, nos. 23 and 24. Dufour notes that there are two acts, and a possible third, lost, but mentioned in a bull of Innocent III. O. Hageneder, *Die Register Innocenz III.*, t. V (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993), 196, no. 97.

[248] Neither Baldwin's or Dufour's figures include times when the Queen or the Archbishop acted as witnesses with authority to act in positions where the king would act. These documents will be examined below.

directly appointed "six virtuous and legitimate men whose names are these: T. A. E. R. B. N."[249] These six men were the Parisian bourgeois. From this description, their intended role was to act alongside the prévôts within the jurisdiction of Paris, acting as a council for the affairs of the capital. The second time the bourgeois were mentioned occurred later in the ordinance-testament, in which they were assigned the duty of receiving the finances three times a year at Paris alongside Peter the Marshall.[250] These two clauses, then, gave the bourgeois oversight over the capital and its finances.

Documents from the period of 1190-1191, however, demonstrate that the Parisian bourgeois exercised broader authority than simply acting as a council for the Parisian prévôts. About ten documents survive from the Parisian bourgeois that attest to their wide range of duties.[251] In them, the bourgeois acted in the name of the king in groups of as few as three to as many as eight, using a special counterseal that was only in use during the period of Philip's absence on crusade.[252] They worked in Paris, but their acts attest to their jurisdiction in affairs outside the city, with at least half of their charters involved in

[249] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269va. "Sine quorum vel duorum ex eis ad minus consilio: negotia ville non tractentur. excepto quod parisius .VI. homines probos et legitimos constituimus quorum nomina sunt hec. T. A. E. R. B. N." Baldwin has identified four of the six bourgeois mentioned: Thibault le Riche, Athon de la Grève, Ebrouin le Changeur, and Robert de Chartres. See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 103. Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin suggest that the last two might be Baudouin Bruneau et Nicolas Boisseau. See Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 277, no. 412.

[250] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Preterea precipimus quod omnes redditus nostri. et servicia et obventiones. afferantur parisius: per tria tempora. Primo: ad festum sancti remigii. Secundo: ad purificationem beate virginis. Tertio: ad ascensionem. et tradatur burgensibus nostris predictis et p. marescallo."

[251] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, nos. 366, 370, 371, 375, 381, 382, 390, 391, 392, 393. See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 482, no. 5.

[252] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 102-104 and 138-139.

transactions beyond Paris.[253] Taken together, this active and broad participation by the bourgeois raises questions about just how much authority they held in the government. Historians have proposed various explanations for their participation. Baldwin proposed that the bourgeois primarily exercised "gracious jurisdiction," attesting and confirming transactions done in their presence, but also acted "directly for the king, in whose name they attested."[254] Dufour suggested that, because Philip gave the Parisian bourgeois a counterseal, they served as a check on Adele and William's actions.[255] Their role, in this view, was more of a body or council of government which acted without the supervision or express involvement of the queen and the archbishop, put in place to control the power accorded to Adele and William. For this reason, the outsized role of the Parisian bourgeois raises complicated questions about the nature of the shared authority in the government of 1190-91.

The phrases used by the bourgeois in the documents that survive from this period also attest to this authority. Generally, the bourgeois worked in the king's name but mentioned their presence at the end, as witnesses to the document. Early in the period, the bourgeois used a variety of phrases to acknowledge a transaction as having occurred in their presence. Documents from October 1190 to March 1191 generally note that the acts were done in the presence of the bourgeois and, later in the document, note that the act was

[253] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France*. *Tome I*, nos. 366, 370, 381. See Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 103.

[254] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 102-104.

[255] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 39-40.

confirmed by Philip's seal "so that it may be more stable."[256] One act from December 1190 makes specific mention that the bourgeois had the authority to "guard our seal," explicitly referencing the counterseal the bourgeois were known to possess during Philip's absence.[257] Additionally, two documents from this period mention that the acts were done in the year that Philip was in Jerusalem, but the phrasing has no discernable bearing on the bourgeois' authority to act and was subsequently dropped from mention after January 1191.[258] These inconsistencies within the documents about the bourgeois' presence and authority in the period were standardized after March 1191 when the mention of the bourgeois within the documents became more formulaic. The documents included regular mention of the seal that was in their use during Philip's absence, continuing the practice

[256] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, nos. 366, 370, 371, and 375. The exact terminology used in this period varies. For the presence of the bourgeois, in October 1190, "Recitata fuit coram nostris burgensibus," see no. 366. In December 1190, "Facta est in presentia nostrorum burgensium," see no. 370. In January 1191, "Hoc est factum sub testimonio nostrorum burgensium," see no. 371. In March 1191, "Facta quidem fuit ista concessio in presencia...," see no. 375. For the mention of the seal, in October 1190, "Ut etiam ab inquietatione omnis calumpnie defendatur, sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmatur et regii nominis karactere inferius adnotato roboratur," see no. 366. In December 1190, "Quod ut stabile permaneat et firmum, presentam paginam sigilli nostri auctoritate et regii nominis caractere inferius annotato roboramus," see no. 370. In January 1191, "Quod ut sit stabilius, sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmatur," see no. 371. In March 1191, "Quod, ut ratam et inconcussam sortiatur stabilitatem, sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmatur," see no. 375. Intriguingly, the first two documents by the bourgeois use the standard formulas of diplomas, the most formal of the types of *actes* created under Philip's government, which included the royal monogram and witnesses from the household officers. The rest of the acts by the bourgeois range between less formal charters and letters, which do not include mention of the monogram or the household officers. For the standardization of diplomatics in Philip's reign, see Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 404-405.

[257] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, no. 370. "Hec autem quitatio ab heredibus ipsius facta est in presentia nostrorum burgensium, qui sigillum nostrum custodiunt."

[258] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, nos. 370 and 371. In December 1190, "Actum Parisius anno incarnati Verbi M°C° nonagesimo, illo anno quo iter arripuimus lerosolimitanum, mense decembri…" In January 1191, "Actum Parisius, anno Domini M°C°XC, illo scilicet anno quo iter arripuimus transmarinum, mense januario."

from earlier documents.[259] Though the phrasing becomes more uniform over the course of Philip's absence, the bourgeois' ability to act is made explicitly clear in all the documentation with the regular mention of their access to the royal counterseal at the end of the documents they oversaw.

The number of documents overseen by the Parisian bourgeois raises questions about their connection within this government to Adele and William. At first glance, it appears as though Adele and William were absent from the process of creating the acts overseen by the bourgeois. Further, the fact that the bourgeois were able to act in the name of the king seems to suggest that they had a more significant role in government than Adele and William. Additional sources, however, reveal that Adele and William worked alongside or in the background of at least two of these acts previously attributed only to the work of the bourgeois, suggesting they had a larger role in their creation than has been previously recognized. Although the exact nature of the arrangement is unclear, two of the ten documents confirm that Adele and William occasionally worked with the Parisian bourgeois in governing. Further, through these documents, Adele especially claimed a distinct ability to oversee the government with her mention of her son's absence.

Of the ten acts attributed to the bourgeois, two reference or confirm earlier documents created or witnessed by Adele, and one by William. The first document tells us little about Adele's role in government, but suggests that there was some interaction

[259] Generally, after March 1191, the bourgeois used the phrase, "Quod ut ratum et inconcussum permaneret, sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmatur, astantibus..." and then listed the names of the bourgeois who witnessed the act. This phrasing is attested in several documents, see Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, nos. 381, 382, 390, 391, 392, 393.

between Adele, in her dominion over her dower lands, and the bourgeois, who were tasked with exercising gracious jurisdiction by confirming the act in Philip's name. In this document, Havise d'Ormoy, while her husband was away on crusade with Philip, donated various lands and goods to the monks of Vaux-de-Cernay. This donation included some property in Corbeil, a town that was part of Adele's dower. For that reason, in January 1191, Adele and Maurice de Sully, the bishop of Paris, in separate documents, confirmed Havise's donation.[260] Two months later, in March 1191, the Parisian bourgeois confirmed the donation in Philip's name.[261] Adele's participation in this transaction was not connected to her appointment as custodian of the kingdom; her involvement was likely occurred because the land was part of her dower. However, her involvement early in the process and the later inclusion of the bourgeois indicates that Adele may have had some role bringing Havise's donation to the attention of the bourgeois to be quickly confirmed. However, there is no suggestion within the documents that the bourgeois and Adele were directly working together in this instance given the three-month delay between the confirmations by Adele and Maurice and the confirmation by the bourgeois. Even so, it shows that Adele's continued care for her dower brought her in contact with the bourgeois in a capacity other than her duty as custodian of the kingdom during Philip's absence.[262]

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[260] Lucien Merlet and Auguste Moutié, eds., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Notre-Dame des Vaux-de-Cernay, de l'ordre de Cîteaux, au diocèse de Paris, composé d'après les chartes originales conservées aux archives de Seine-et-Oise, enrichi de notes, d'index et d'un dictionnaire géographique, vol. 1* (Paris: Imprimerie H. Plon, 1857-1858), 109-110, nos. LXXXIX and XC.

[261] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 462 no. 375.

[262] There is one other document that attests to Adele's continued action in her dower lands during the regency. In January 1191, Adele donated a *gurgitem*, or a pool of water to keep fish in, for the soul of Louis VII to the abbey of Saint-Marien d'Auxerre and the nuns of Valprofond. This donation, unlike Havise's, was not confirmed by Philip until December 1197. The difference in time between this confirmation and Havise's, three months for Havise but almost eight years for Adele, is not explained in the documents. The reasons for

The second document, however, provides more direct evidence about the interactions between the bourgeois and Adele and William. Sometime between Philip's departure in July 1190 and July 1191, Adele witnessed a transaction between Guillaume de Garlande and the monks of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.[263] In this document, Guillaume renounced, with the consent of Idoine, his wife, and Robert and Thibaud, his sons, his rights of use in the forest of Noisy for one hundred pounds Paris.[264] The document notes that the act was done "in the presence of the Lady Queen who, her son Philip, king of the French, having departed for Jerusalem, bore the care of the kingdom on that authority."[265] This phrase establishes two things: first, that Adele's ability to act in this instance came directly from her son's absence. This is significant because the ordinance-testament did not specify that witnessing acts was one of her duties, so it seemed she explained her presence by including this phrase. Second, it makes clear that, having established this directly in the

this difference could be wide-ranging, and it is difficult to say with certainty whether it can be attributed to Adele's role as regent. Still, it confirms that Adele continued to be active in her dower lands during the regency. See Maximilien Quantin, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne: recueil de documents authentiques pour servir à l'histoire des pays qui forment ce département* (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouille, 1860), 429 no. CCXXV and Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 124, no. 575.

[263] Joseph Depoin, ed., *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs, monastère parisien*, vol. 3 (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1907), 106-107, no. 515. The document is undated, but can be dated to 1190-91 with certainty because of the authority Adele claimed, "In presencia Domine Regine que, filii sui Philippi, regis Francorum, Jerosolimam profecti, auctoritate freta Regni curam gerebat." In an interesting connection, Guillaume, who was one of the parties named in this transaction, was the identical man named in the ordinance-testament who was instructed to name another person to replace any of the Parisian bourgeois should one of them die. BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Si contingeret aliquem ex eius mori: G. de garlandia: alium in loco eius substitueret." For Guillaume de Garlande and his wife Idoine, see John W. Baldwin, *Knights, Lords, and Ladies: In Search of Aristocrats in the Paris Region, 1180-1220* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 38.

[264] Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs,* 106-107, no. 515.

[265] Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs,* 106-107, no. 515. "In presencia Domine Regine que, filii sui Philippi, regis Francorum, Jerosolimam profecti, auctoritate freta Regni curam gerebat."

document, Adele then used her own name to witness the document. This was distinct from documents involving the Parisian bourgeois, who could only act in Philip's name to witness or confirm documents.

As far as can be determined, Adele acted alone in this matter; neither William nor the Parisian bourgeois were named. Then, in July 1191, Guillaume de Garlande died. In this case, it was William, also acting as sole witness, who oversaw Guillaume's widow Idoine recognizing her late husband's quitclaim on the same deed and providing guarantors for the ascension of her eldest son on his return from the Holy Land.[266] Importantly, however, William, unlike Adele, gave no indication that he acted in his role as custodian of the kingdom, nor does he refer to Philip's absence on crusade. Instead, he confirmed Idoine's act in his own name and by the authority of his own seal.[267] Finally, probably on the same day, the Parisian bourgeois confirmed the document in Philip's name, mentioning both acts previously witnessed by William and Adele.[268]

Through this document, a pattern emerges that repeated into other aspects of the 1190-1191 government. Adele and William acted in their own names to witness documents. Unlike William, Adele often mentioned Philip's absence to explain and establish her ability to act. The Parisian bourgeois would then confirm those acts in the

[266] Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs,* 110-111, no. 517.

[267] Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs,* 110-111, no. 517. "Autentico sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmamus."

[268] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 480, no. 390 and Depoin, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin des Champs,* 108-110, no. 516. "In quorum audientia carta sigillo predicti Guillelmi confirmata fuit" and "exigebat in presencia A(dele) regine, karissime matris nostre, quitum clamavit et omnino guerpivit."

name of the king by their possession of the king's counterseal. Because additional documentation exists in both cases that shows Adele and William performed duties before the Parisian bourgeois confirmed the acts in Philip's name, it indicates that the bourgeois may have simply acted as a rubber stamp, confirming acts previously overseen by the Adele and William but exercising little oversight in the process. In this case, there is no evidence that the bourgeois were involved in the transaction between Guillaume de Garlande and the monks before they confirmed the act. However, the other eight documents by the bourgeois do not provide any indication that Adele and William were involved in the process at all. The documentation is inconsistent. What is clear, however, is that Adele and William's ability to act was attested through a different formula of phrase than the bourgeois, making their role in government distinct.

Adele and William's pattern of attesting to their power in their own names repeated in documents in which they issued judgements during Philip's absence. The text of the ordinance-testament is clear that this power was assigned solely to Adele and William.[269] Judgements were to be rendered every four months, and this date was concurrent with the "day of assizes," or the designated day in which the baillis were to recite the business of the land to the queen and the archbishop. If this day occurred alongside the three designated days per year in which all of Philip's treasure was to be brought to Paris, they occurred on the feast of Saint Remi, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin and Ascension Day.[270]

[269] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 269vb. "Preterea volumus et precipimus ut karissima mater nostra. a. regina statuat cum karissimo avunculo nostro et fideli Guillelmo Remensi. archiepiscopo singulis .IIII.^{or} mensibus unum diem parisius in quo audiant clamores hominum regni nostri: et ibi eos finiant ad honorem dei: et utilitatem regni."

[270] BnF, MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270ra. "Preterea precipimus quod omnes redditus nostri. et servicia et obventiones. afferantur parisius: per tria tempora. Primo: ad festum sancti remigii. Secundo: ad

Two documents demonstrate that Adele and William were active in this period, executing judgements and participating in the business of government in concordance with the clauses laid out in the ordinance-testament.[271] The first documented judgement dates to 1190, when Adele and William adjudicated the fief of Flavigny to Gautier, the bishop of Autun.[272] Before Philip departed for the crusade, he had established an agreement between Gautier, the bishop of Autun, and Renaud, the abbot of Flavigny, by which they were to determine Gautier's rights over the fief of Flavigny.[273] Not long after, later in 1190, Adele and William acted together at Sens to adjudicate the fief to Gautier. In this document, they attested to their authority to oversee this judgement, "since we bear the royal office."[274] Again, as in the case of the documents they witnessed, Adele and William made their authority to undertake the action clear by noting that they oversaw the royal office. The second judgement concerned a trial between the commune of Soissons and the abbey of

purificationem beate virginis. Tertio: ad ascensionem." These dates were October 1, February 2, and May 13 respectively. No judgement from this period is dated more specifically than the year, so it cannot be determined if these were indeed the dates in which Adele and William oversaw these judgements.

[271] A possible third is recorded in a bull presented by Innocent, but no judgment exists in and of itself. A fourth is one between Alix of France and the canons of the chapter of Charters. It has been claimed in the past that this document occurred during the 1190-1191 government: see Michelle Armstrong-Partida, "Mothers and Daughters as Lords: The Countesses of Blois and Chartres," *Medieval Prosopography* 26 (2005): 77-107. Instead, it seems more likely that Philip used Adele and William as adjudicators after he returned from crusade, as is suggested by Jean Dufour. Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 39-40.

[272] Boutaric, ed., *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, ccxcvii, viii. Also referred to in *Gallia Christiana*, volume 12 (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1757), 397 and A. de Charmasse, ed., *Cartulaire de l'évêché d'Autun, connu sous le nom de Cartulaire rouge* (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1880), 17, no. X.

[273] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 446, no. 364.

[274] Charmasse, *Cartulaire de l'évêché d'Autun*, 17, no. X. "Dum vices regias gereremus."

Notre-Dame de Soissons.[275] This judgement is undated. However, it certainly took place during the regency because Adele and William again noted, "We acted with royal authority, the king having gone abroad."[276] Again, Adele and William mention the king's departure, but act in their own names.

One document from the bourgeois contradicts the ordinance-testament, which established that judgements were reserved only for the regents. In this instance, the bourgeois concluded a judgment between two litigants. This document demonstrates that in at least one case, the Parisian bourgeois were involved in judgements as well.[277] The judgement, from October 1190, concerned a *concordia* between the convent of Saint-Ouen de Rouen and the priory of Saint-Nicaise de Gasny on one side, and Guillaume de Guiry on the other. As with their other documents, the bourgeois worked in the name of the king, but noted their presence in the document, and, as was their pattern, attested to their authority by the king's seal.[278] This document confirms that the judgements were not executed solely by Adele and William, as the ordinance-testament had laid out. When necessary, other personnel of government could exercise this duty.

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[275] Georges Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons et le groupe communal soissonnais* (Paris: H. Champion, 1908), 449, no. 19.

[276] Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons et le groupe communal soissonnais*, 449, no. 19. "Nos autem, auctoritate regia, qua, rege peregre profecto, fungebamur."

[277] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus,* 104.

[278] Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 449, no. 366. "Ista vero concordia recitata fuit coram nostris burgensibus Teboldo scilicet Divite, Athone de Gravia, Ebroino Campsore, Roberto de Carnoto…Ut etiam ab inquietatione omnis calumpnie defendatur, sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmatur et regii nominis karactere inferius adnotato roboratur."

Overall, these documents establish a pattern of separate claims to authority during Philip's absence: the bourgeois acted in the name of the king by the authority of the counterseal, and Adele and William acted in their own name by the authority invested in them through Philip's absence. The two groups seem to have occasionally had overlapping jurisdiction, but that was resolved by their distinct duties: Adele and Williams were to witness acts and oversee judgements, and the bourgeois were to confirm them. They generally followed this pattern throughout Philip II's absence.

One last document, however, more clearly demonstrates Adele's claims to authority in the government during Philip's absence. It is a letter Adele sent to Pope Celestine III.[279] Though this letter is undated, it had to have been written after March 1191, when Pope Clement III died and Celestine III assumed the papacy. In the letter, Adele is direct about where her authority to resolve the crisis alone came from: through her maternal relationship to the absent king, the care of the kingdom was enjoined on her "especially." No other person associated with the 1190-91 government claimed this ability, and thus the letter is important to establish how Adele envisioned her own role in the government during Philip's absence.

The letter concerned a conflict between the churches of Dol and Tours, a conflict which began long before 1190. Disputes over the status of Dol took place from as early as the ninth century, when the Bretons attempted to express political independence from the

[279] Michel Jean Joseph Brial, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France,* Volume 19 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1833), 291, no. 16. Joan Ferrante, trans., *Epistolae,* "A letter from Alix/Adela of Champagne, queen of France (1191)," Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning, accessed February 15, 2021. https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/249.html

Franks by elevating the bishop of Dol to metropolitan status and by seeking a Breton province separate from Tours. In 1185, during the early years of Philip's reign, the church of Dol revived its claims, encouraged by Henry II because he wanted to isolate Brittany from French influence. In 1185, Pope Lucius III appointed ecclesiastical judges to hear the dispute, but Philip argued for, and was granted, a delay in the decision and again in 1186-1187.[280] By all appearances, the church of Dol was testing the young king, looking for an opening by which to distance itself from the French and from the jurisdiction of Tours. If the church of Dol had been testing a young king in the early years of his reign, then certainly it was likewise testing the strength of the government during Philip's absence. In this case, it was Adele alone who responded to the conflict. In her letter to Celestine III, she asked for the pope to delay a decision on the conflict between Tours and Dol until the return of the king. The letter is significant because Adele explicitly connected her maternity with her position as custodian of the kingdom, using her position to argue for a delay in the pope's decision about the challenge presented by Dol just as her son had done in the 1180s.

In this letter, Adele includes two important phrases for understanding her role in the government of 1190. The first was her description of her own duties, which illuminates how she envisioned her responsibilities in the government. She wrote that, "I must see with prudent solicitude that there be no changes in the churches or the greater or lesser princes, the cities, the towns/castles or the people, that would displease or disturb the devout pilgrimage of my son the king."[281] This phrase establishes that Adele's duty, in her own

[280] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 69.

[281] Brial, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 291, no. 16. "Ut providam sollicitudine videam, ne vel circa ecclesias, vel circa principes maiores seu minores, civitates, oppida vel populum,

words, was to maintain stasis in the kingdom for her son. Major decisions, important rulings, and significant changes were to be postponed until his return, and it was her job to ensure that this stasis was enforced. This was clearly an argumentative tactic that was repeated from Philip's conflicts with Dol earlier in the 1180s: the goal was the postpone the decision as long as possible. The second phrase is still more significant. Adele wrote that, "These things, therefore, I write to you, father, since the care of the kingdom, enjoined on me especially, moves and admonishes my maternal spirit."[282] First, Adele's assertion that the kingdom was "enjoined on me especially" is the most direct claim to responsibility for the government that any person made during Philip's absence. Neither William nor the bourgeois are named in the document, and no indication is given that they were part of the process. The conflict may have been too delicate for the bourgeois to be involved, and William may have distanced himself from the conflict due to his position as a bishop. The care of the kingdom, in this case, was Adele's duty alone. Second, Adele explicitly connected her maternity to her position, both to care for the kingdom and to resolve the conflict. In this way, she connected her involvement in the crisis both to her situation as custodian of the kingdom and her position as mother of the king.

This smattering of evidence, ten documents by the bourgeois, two documents from Adele and William acting as witnesses, two judgements by Adele and William, and one letter by Adele is all that survives from the king's absence. Still, some conclusions can be

immutentur aliqua quibus devota peregrinatio filii mei Regis indignari debeat aut turbari." Joan Ferrante, trans., *Epistolae*, "A letter from Alix/Adela of Champagne, queen of France (1191)."

[282] Brial, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 291, no. 16. "Haec ideo, Pater, vobis scribo, quoniam specialiter cura regni mihi iniuncta maternum movet et monet animum meum." Joan Ferrante, trans., *Epistolae*, "A letter from Alix/Adela of Champagne, queen of France (1191)."

drawn about the interactions between the bourgeois and Adele and William, as well as the jurisdiction and authority each group claimed. The custodians and the bourgeois' duties developed a discernible pattern: Adele and William witnessed documents and executed judgments in their own names, as long as they mentioned that they were exercising this authority because of the king's absence. The bourgeois, on the other hand, acted directly in the king's name to confirm and witness acts, making sure to mention that they had control of the special seal used only during Philip's absence. Thus, it would be an overstatement to say that Adele and William were solely in control of the government. Clearly, they were involved in many aspects performed their duties by overseeing judgements, witnessing documents, and resolving major crises, but the bourgeois presented a clear limit to their power. The documents that survive from the government of 1190 reveal multiple, often conflicting and contradicting, layers of authority. In the conflict with Dol, however, it was Adele alone who claimed the sole ability to act for her son.

Conclusion

Philip's participation in the Third Crusade was short-lived. After the siege of Acre, he returned quickly to France and was back in the kingdom by Christmas 1191. Adele's time as custodian of the kingdom lasted only eighteen months and marked the end of her most public and visible role since the conflict of 1180. By all accounts, the government during Philip's absence was successful. There were no major crises, no significant disturbances, and no known conflicts between any of the people left behind in France. The

impact of the measures put in place during this period, however, lasted well beyond the return of Philip and Adele's return to private life.

The importance of the ordinance-testament of 1190 for understanding and establishing norms with the French government has never been disputed. Baldwin has firmly established that the ordinance-testament was important due to its codification of norms that continued to be followed after Philip returned from crusade, including the continued practice of a regular audit of finances, the establishing of the important role of the baillis, and, though the triannual sessions of the *curia regis* did not continue after Philip's return, the continued regular receipt of appeals and the occasional establishment of fixed times for specific cases.[283] Further, it is one of the first documents to lay out the mechanisms of government that Philip employed and would continue to follow through his reign. Establishing a clearer sense of Adele's role within the directives of the ordinance-testament not only connects Adele to the important document, but an analysis of the actions Adele took during Philip's absence demonstrates how these directives worked, or did not work, in practice. Studying Adele's role in the government of this period complicates and clarifies the directives established by the ordinance-testament.

The importance of Adele's role during a king's absence has also been recognized, as she was the first to hold an official position.[284] However, the details and significance of Adele's actions has been underestimated by historians. In her letter to Celestine III, she took her authority further by claiming the position was granted to her specifically. In her

[283] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 145; 125-126, 138-139.

[284] Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency," 108.

own words, her role was to maintain the stasis of the kingdom for Philip until his return. Adele's success as custodian of the kingdom is important: the appointment of mothers and wives to what would become the "regency" eventually became the standard in Capetian France, and Adele's explicit claim to authority in this instance established an important precedent for future regents such as Blanche of Castile.[285] Finally, within the arc of Adele's life, this period marked her most public and visible actions since the conflict of 1180. Her success in the position firmly and publicly established her loyalty to her son but marked her last major role in the Capetian government until her death in 1206.

[285] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 284.

Chapter 3: Adele's Religious Patronage, 1180-1206

After Philip's return from crusade in 1191, Adele held few public roles in his government again. However, during her widowhood from 1180 to her death in 1206, Adele was active in the administration of her dower lands, overseeing judgements and confirming acts. Most notably, she emerged in this period as a significant patron of religious individuals and institutions. Indeed, almost all of Adele's acts that illuminate her patronage date from her widowhood. Within this especially active period of her life, Adele's religious devotion and her role supporting various institutions throughout her lands became her primary focus.

Several aspects of Adele's widowhood deserve close examination. This chapter will survey the most important examples of Adele's religious patronage between 1180 and 1206. Adele's extensive and varied donations during her lifetime exhibit her sustained religious devotion and her proclivity for patronizing religious institutions. This chapter will analyze two broad categories of Adele's patronage. First, it will analyze her patronage in the wake of the political events of the 1180s, especially her interactions with the holy woman Alpais and her involvement with the creation of her husband's tomb at Barbaeux abbey. Next, it will analyze her significant donations of land, money, and buildings to Saint-Nicolas d'Hermières, Jard, and Chalou-Saint-Aignan, as well as her sustained relationship with the canons of Saint-Spire de Corbeil. The first section will focus primarily on Adele's donations that took place in the context of some of the more important political events in her lifetime, and display some of the emotional impacts of these events on her piety. Further, it will establish Adele's religiosity in ways that have not been fully

appreciated in previous scholarship. The second section analyzes the patterns of patronage that emerge from her repeated donations to the religious institutions within the boundary of her dower lands. Adele's favor was crucial in the material support of the religious men and women under her care, and the instances of religious patronage establish Adele as an important benefactor during her widowhood. By taking a detailed look at Adele's patronage of these people, orders, and institutions, this chapter seeks to establish her as a significant patron during her widowhood. It identifies her interests and her religious proclivities and argues that she remained a powerful influence in France even as she spent much of her widowhood removed from direct involvement in Capetian politics.

Historiography: Capetian Queens and Patronage

Patronage has emerged as a way in which to conceptualize women's power beyond simply an analysis of charters, as had been originally presented in Facinger's thesis. Facinger's methodology and periodization have been rethought most directly in Kathleen Nolan's edited volume *Capetian Women* (2003), and Miriam Shadis's essay "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument" directly posited alternative sources of power such as the manipulation of material culture and ritual, emphasizing the importance of "unofficial" avenues of power including patronage, marriage contracts, heirs, sources of income through dowry lands, and the queen's relationship with her natal family.[286] Many essays within *Capetian Women* analyzed

[286] Shadis, "Blanche of Castile and Facinger's 'Medieval Queenship': Reassessing the Argument," 149-150.

alternative historical evidence beyond the charters emphasized in Facinger's essay as evidence for women's power.[287] June Hall McCash's edited volume *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (1996) also examined patronage as a form of women's self-empowerment, focusing explicitly on aristocratic and religious women's patronage.[288] Likewise, in her book *Queens in Stone and Silver,* Kathleen Nolan analyzed tombs and seals commissioned by and for queens, arguing that these representations of queenship were expressions of their power through patronage and visual symbolism.[289] Most recently, Tracy Chapman Hamilton combined visual patronage and archival documents to contextualize patronage and influence in the court of Marie of Brabant.[290] In these more recent works, women's power has been rethought to include more subtle or less traditional instances of power, and new sources of evidence have been included to demonstrate the range of ways in which noblewomen used patronage to shift their political and cultural landscape.[291]

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[287] See William Chester Jordan, "Isabelle of France and Religious Devotion at the Court of Louis IX," 209-224; Anne Rudloff Stanton, "Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-58," 225-252; Aline G. Hornaday, "A Capetian Queen as Street Demonstrator: Isabelle of Hainaut," 77-98; Kathleen S. Schowalter, "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West," 99-136; and Kathleen Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship," 45-76, in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan.

[288] June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

[289] See Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France*.

[290] See Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France*.

[291] Most focus on later royal women, for whom records are better. Women like Clémence de Hongrie and Jeanne of Burgundy had inventories of their objects made posthumously, allowing scholars to get a deeper understanding of their possessions. See, for example, Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Medieval Art in Motion: The Inventory and Gift Giving of Queen Clémence de Hongrie* (State College, P.A.: Penn State Press, 2019); Marguerite Keane, "Moving Possessions and Secure Posthumous Reputation: The Gifts of Jeanne of Burgundy (ca. 1293-1349)," in Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, eds., *Moving Women*

Adele's activities in her widowhood have not sustained much scholarly attention, as Facinger and Baldwin saw Adele's retirement as a non-event. Facinger's thesis simply stated that Adele spent the majority of her widowhood "in quiet care of her dower holdings in retirement from court activities," only briefly mentioning the longevity of her dowagerhood.[292] Likewise, Baldwin simply states, "The queen mother Adele went into retirement after the king's return."[293] However, later historians have explored some specific aspects of Adele's patronage later in her life. Jean Dufour, most fully, compiled one hundred and ten of her acts and gives a brief overview of them. He notes that Adele's acts mostly date from her widowhood and primarily concern the administration of her dower, providing a few instances in which Adele donated property to individuals or institutions.[294] Kathleen Nolan's *Queens in Stone and Silver* analyzes Adele's commission of a tomb for her husband at the Cistercian monastery of Barbeaux, arguing that it was her intention and agency which produced the elaborate tomb.[295] Evergates provides a more comprehensive exploration of Adele's patronage, noting her regular travels between her residences, and

Moving Objects (400-1500) (London: Brill, 2019), 228-46; Brouquet, *Capétiennes: Les reines de France au Moyen Âge (X^e^-XIV^e^ siècle)*.

[292] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 38; 42.

[293] Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 104

[294] Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 37. Most notably, Dufour notes that Adele donated Chalou-Moulineux in favor of the Templars, endowed a woman of her entourage, her "domicella" Alice, with vineyards located near Melun, and gave to Saint-Marien d'Auxerre and to the religious women of Valprofonde the *gort* she possessed at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne. He also notes that she owned jewelry, namely clasps enhanced with emeralds, and many precious stones, sapphires, rubies, positing that they likely came from the Orient. For this he cites Baldwin et al., eds., *Les registres de Philippe Auguste*, 233-234.

[295] Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 101.

her relationship with Pontigny.[296] Grant also mentions Adele's role as an active patron in her later years.[297]

While Dufour, Grant, Evergates, and Nolan provide pieces of important information about Adele and her patronage, they do not extensively analyze any instance of Adele's patronage during her widowhood. As historians of women's patronage have established, women used patronage to express their influence over the cultural and social landscape of the medieval world. Thus, a closer look into the ways in which Adele exerted influence over the religious landscape of France in the twelfth century recognizes her power to establish influential relationships with abbeys, monasteries, and individuals. These relationships directly contributed to the cultural landscape of Capetian France. This chapter seeks to situate Adele within the context of Capetian patronage and demonstrate her active involvement in the religious world of this period, arguing that she was an active and significant patron during her widowhood.

Adele's Patronage in 1180: Barbeaux Abbey and Alpais of Cudot

Though Adele appears in records periodically during her marriage to Louis VII, her patronage is not frequently noted until after Louis' death in September 1180. Examples of Adele's religious patronage during her marriage with Louis VII are largely absent from the historical record, and only one significant instance is known, in which she donated tithes

[296] Evergates, *Marie of France*, 20; 82.

[297] Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 218, 232. Nielen, *Corpus de sceaux français du Moyen Âge, III*, 31-2 and Dufour, "De l'anneau sigillaire au sceau: évolution du rôle des reines de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle," in *Corpus de sceaux français du Moyen Âge, III*, 11-25.

which she held in Bussy to the abbey of Saint-Victor.[298] Beyond this, however, known instances of Adele's personal patronage during her marriage are rare. Yet after her conflict with Philip II ended in the summer of 1180, and after Louis VII's death in September of that year, Adele shows up in the records as a more active patron.

1180 was a year of transition, in which Louis became incapacitated and died, and Philip II joined forces with Count Philip of Flanders to threaten the security of her family and herself. It was during this tumultuous period that Adele first emerged as a patron. In 1180 alone, Adele granted at least two donations: First, to Barbeaux abbey, where she was involved in commissioning Louis' tomb and, second, with her donation to the canons of Cudot upon her visit to the holy woman Alpais. Occurring early in her widowhood, these donations appear at the end of a politically and personally difficult period for Adele. With the donations, Adele, first, connected her husband's death with her visit to a famous holy woman, and second, commissioned a sumptuous tomb for his burial, the epitaph of which included a subtle admonition directed toward her son. Her donations, then, suggest that Adele used patronage as a political and emotional tool in the wake of the conflict with her son and the death of her husband. Adele's actions early in her widowhood thus connected to the broader social and political landscape of her day.

One of the first actions Adele took as a newly widowed woman was to commission a tomb for Louis VII in the Cistercian abbey of Barbeaux. Louis had founded the abbey himself in 1147, but his decision to be buried in Barbeaux constituted a break in the

[298] This donation is known from Louis VII's confirmation of Adele's donation. Jules Tardif, ed. *Monuments historiques* (Paris: J. Claye, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1866), 326, no. 664.

Capetian tradition to bury kings at Saint-Denis.[299] Rigord confirmed Adele's role in the creation of the tomb in his *Gesta,* attributing its construction solely to her. The *Gesta* also gives the only description of this monument: noting that it was especially grand and constructed in stone, gold and silver and very finely decorated with brass and precious gems.[300] Rigord gives no hints about whether Adele's construction followed Louis' orders or if she had creative control over parts of the project.[301] Still, Adele's commission of her husband's tomb was significant because it marked the first of the sumptuous and grand effigies that would be erected for Capetian male rulers in the future.[302] In its construction alone, the tomb Adele commissioned for her husband and its location marked two distinct shifts in traditional burials for Capetian kings. Historians have shown that commissioning tombs could be a way for women to permanently associate themselves with the institution in which the tombs were held.[303] In Adele's case, later in her life she reportedly requested to be buried in Barbeaux alongside her husband. One of the goals of her involvement with the tomb, then, may have been to associate herself with the abbey and with her husband in the hope that she might be buried there as well. However, perhaps anticipating a negative

[299] For Adele's role in commissioning Louis VII's tomb, see Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver,* 99 and Evergates, *Marie of France,* 52-53. Louis VII's tomb would eventually be moved to Saint-Denis in 1817.

[300] Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 142, no. 10. "In eadem ecclesia super sepulturam ipsius regis, Adela predicta illustris Francorum regina, mater jam dicti Philippi Augusti Francorum regis, fecit construi sepulchrum miro artificio compositum ex lapidibus, auro et argento et ere et gemmis subtilissime decoratum."

[301] Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver,* 72 n. 75.

[302] Though Evergates has suggested that Adele may have been inspired by Marie of France's inscription on the tomb for Adele's brother, Henry. Nolan suggests that it was Marie who was inspired by Adele because Henry had died a year later. See Evergates, *Marie of France,* 53 and Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver,* 102.

[303] Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," 47.

response, Adele later applied for a papal dispensation to be buried at Pontigny, another Cistercian monastery, and where her father was buried.[304] Though she was unable to be buried at Barbeaux, she was linked to her husband and the abbey through her commission of the tomb.

Adele's tomb for Louis was notable for other reasons in the context of the political situation that had unfolded over the course of 1179-1180. By the time of Louis' death in September 1180, Adele's conflict with Philip had been firmly resolved with the Treaty of Gisors. Adele had received a daily pension, and most of the dower lands Philip had previously confiscated were returned to her. Just before the creation of Louis VII's tomb in 1180, Adele had witnessed the attempt of Count Philip of Flanders to exert influence over the young king, and had, with modest success, eked out a position for her family in her son's new government. The inscription Adele commissioned reflects these circumstances. It suggests that, if not the 1180 conflict, then at least Philip's youth and inexperience, were at the forefront of her mind. It states: "You who succeed the deceased in honor will demean it if you fail to attain his renown."[305] This was a subtle but public display of criticism directed toward Philip. Adele connected the inscription on Louis VII's tomb to the uncertainty and instability of Philip's early reign, in which the security of

[304] The pope granted Adele permission to be buried at Pontigny in 1204. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, Vol. 217, 4, 108-109, ep. 75. For Adele's desire to be buried at Barbeaux, see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort, étude sur les funérailles, les sepultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 90–91; Carsten Woll, *Die Königinnen des hoch mittelalterlichen Frankreich 987–1237/38* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 250.

[305] "Huic superes tu qui superes successor honoris/Degener es si degener a laude prioris." Bournazel et Poly, "Couronne et mouvance," 227, cited by Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin, eds., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 143, no. 52.

Philip's power was in question and his relationship with his mother was still precarious. Taken together, the tomb connected Adele, her son, and her husband together in the one object, intertwining the legacy of Louis with Philip II's potential, and publicly pointing toward Adele's own desires and perspective in her son's early reign.

The tomb at Barbeaux was not Adele's only known act of patronage in 1180. That same year, between her husband's death in September 1180 and the beginning of the new year in March 1181, Adele visited a holy woman in the village of Cudot, in the diocese of Sens, by the name of Alpais.[306] Like the commission of her husband's tomb at Barbeaux and the message she inscribed on it, Adele's connection to Alpais came at a significant time in the context of Adele's life. It was the first known donation of her widowhood, and her visit to Alpais came in the wake of the political events of 1180, and especially the death of Louis VII. In this instance, Adele's motivation for the donation seems to have been a public expression of grief and piety. However, Alpais' geographical and religious connections were also intimately linked with Adele's natal family, and especially her brother, William, who had been archbishop of Sens before becoming archbishop of Reims. Adele's relationship with Alpais was thus tied both to her familial relationships as well as the political and social context of her life in 1180.

[306] Alpais is not unknown to modern scholarship. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski provides a brief sketch of her life. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Holy Women in France," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c.1100-c.1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 241-265. Elisabeth Stein has published a new edition of texts on Alpais' life. See Elisabeth Stein, ed., *Leben und Visionen der Alpais von Cudot (1150-1211): Neuedition des lateinischen Textes mit begleitenden Untersuchungen zu Autor, Werk, Quellen, und Nachwirkung* (Gunter Narr Verlag: 1995). Sean Field noted Adele's relationship with Alpais but placed the episode outside of his analysis of holy women and the Capetians. Sean L. Field, *Courting Sanctity: Holy Women and the Capetians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 7.

Alpais' life is known from several contemporary sources. The most complete work is her *Vita,* written by an anonymous monk and priest in the nearby Cistercian abbey of Les Escharlis between the years of 1180 and 1184.[307] Additionally, by 1180, when Adele's visit is known to have taken place, Alpais attracted the notice of at least one chronicler, Robert of Auxerre. He writes that Alpais was "a young girl known and of great renown" who was, by divine favor, given a life "without needing bodily nourishment."[308] Moreover, Ralph of Coxal, an abbot of a Cistercian monastery in England, also made note of Alpais in his work *Chronicon Anglicanum,* written in 1200. He provides an important source for Alpais' interactions with Adele's brother, Archbishop William, and his interrogations into Alpais's holiness.[309]

From Alpais' *Vita* and from the information provided by Robert of Auxerre and Ralph of Coxal, we know some details about Alpais and the increasing fame she experienced over the course of her life. She was from a humble background, born near the Cistercian abbey of Les Escharlis, where she was said to have helped her father in the fields. At a young age, she was struck with leprosy and paralyzed, and she began fasting, after which she was cured through the intervention of God.[310] She was known to have

[307] P. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais,* (Marly-le-Roy, 1893), 17. Blanchon has provided a printed version of her Vita along with important documents concerning Alpais, see Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais,* 10-17.

[308] Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 243.

[309] The part of Coxal's chronicle that concerns Alpais has been published by Blanchon. Coxal is the only source for the visit of William, Adele's brother, to Alpais. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais,* 23-27.

[310] Stein, ed., *Leben und Visionen,* 84. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais,* 40-41. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Holy Women in France," 243.

visions, and these were recorded by the chronicler Robert of Auxerre, including one in which she saw the earth in the shape of a ball, suspended in space like an egg on a pendulum, surrounded by water in a spherical universe, where the sun is larger than the earth.[311] According to Alpais' biographers, these visions and her notable fasting had brought her fame, and "archbishops and bishops, kings and dukes, noblemen and common people" would flock to visit her.[312] By 1180, Alpais' fame had spread wide enough to attract the attention of the dowager queen Adele, who made a visit to the chapel of Cudot.

Adele visited Alpais at least twice. Although there are suggestions that William, Adele's brother, was one of the first to have visited Alpais, the most securely dated interaction by any of Adele's contemporaries was made by Adele herself, in a charter dated to 1180. This interaction must have occurred after September 1180, when Louis died.[313] In this document, Adele makes a donation of one muid of wheat to the canons of Cudot, "for the remedy of our soul, the soul of our lord and husband Louis of good memory, illustrious king of France, and the souls of our predecessors and out of love for the venerable lady Alpais."[314] This phrase within Adele's charter implies several important aspects of Adele's

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[311] Holder-Egger, ed., "Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon," 243-244; Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Holy Women in France," 243.

[312] Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 25 and Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Holy Women in France," 243.

[313] Blanchon's work contains a copy of Adele's charter. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 28. Blanchon notes that the charter is also found in Bibliothèque de Sens, *Fonds de l'abbaye de Saint-Jean Liasse: Prieuré de Cudot.*

[314] Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 28. "Quod canonicis Cudoii intuitu Dei et pro remedio anime nostre, anime domini et mariti nostri Ludovici bene memorie illustris Francorum Regis et animarum predecessorum nostrorum et pro amore venerabilis domine Alpessie vitam inibi ducentis gloriosam et admirabilem, donavimus annualem redditum unius modii frumenti quamdiu vixerimus ad modium Ville nove, quem in molendis nostris de Villa nova annuatim in crastino Purificationis beate Marie percipient."

connection to Alpais at this time of her life. The first is its explicit connection to her husband's death. It not only offers a temporal reference for the meeting of the two women, but also insight into Adele's motivations for seeking out Alpais at that time: for the sake of her recently deceased husband. How Adele first heard of Alpais and thought to seek her out is not known. Alpais' *Vita* suggests that her fame was growing significantly in 1180.[315] This is bolstered by the fact that Robert of Auxerre, as well, took notice of her in 1180. Additionally, according to Coxal, Adele's brother William visited Alpais before 1180 and may have been instrumental in bringing Alpais to Adele's attention.[316] Both Alpais' growing fame as well as Adele's husband's death may have been important factors in her visit. The second significant phrase from Adele's charter comes from the given reason for her donation to the canons of the chapel of Cudot. The charter notes that Adele made her donation "out of love for the venerable lady Alpais."[317] This phrase demonstroates that Adele's donation to the canons of Cudot was intimately linked to Alpais, and her holiness, as it publicly acknowledged Adele's appreciation for her. Additionally, the donation established a yearly connection with the canons of the chapel by providing them with an annual donation of wheat. The charter, then, suggests Adele's visit and donation in 1180 was inspired by Alpais's holiness in the context of the death of Louis VII and disruption in the kingdom: a public display of religiosity unprecedented in Adele's life.

[315] *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 28.

[316] Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 23-27.

[317] Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 28. "Pro amore venerabilis domine Alpessie vitam inibi ducentis gloriosam et admirabilem."

Adele's first visit produced the most direct evidence for Adele's connection to Alpais, but it was not her last visit. Adele returned to Cudot in November 1200, this time to confirm a donation made by one of her bourgeois of Egriselles, Raoul de Vaumor, to the abbey of Les Escharlis.[318] Like Adele's first donation, this charter was done in the chapel of Cudot, and suggests that during this visit, as well, Adele saw and spent some time with Alpais. Though this charter did not include any mention of Adele's personal patronage, it acknowledged her role in the donation by Raoul to the abbey of Les Escharlis, an important location with connections to Alpais because that abbey was where Alpais' *Vita* is thought to have been written by an anonymous monk.[319] This interaction further connects Adele with Alpais and the religious men of Cudot and Les Escharlis and establishes a pattern of Adele's involvement in Alpais's patronage, that continued at least into the 1200s.

Despite providing important glimpses into Adele's relationship with Alpais, the existing documents do not establish an especially close relationship between them, nor do they suggest the women were in regular contact. Still, they are significant in several ways. First, Adele's visit suggests she may have been seeking solace from the holy woman. Second, Adele's repeated visits reveal that her religious donations were made out of love for her husband and through connections to her family. Before this period, Adele's religiosity can only be assumed through the actions of her husband, her son, and her natal family. Finally, it suggests the influence of Adele's brother William on her pious activities.

[318] Maximilien Quantin, ed., *Cartulaire general de l'Yonne*, 512, no. 505.

[319] Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 17.

William is thought to have visited Alpais before 1180 and may have been instrumental in bringing Alpais to Adele's attention.

Both Adele's commission of her husband's tomb and her visit and donation to the canons of Cudot out of veneration for Alpais establish important information about Adele's impulses in 1180. They confirm Adele's connections with the Cistercian order, an order strongly associated with her natal family. Barbeaux was a Cistercian abbey and was founded by Louis VII, and Adele's creation of the tomb established her direct association with the abbey as well. Les Escharlis Abbey, where the anonymous monk wrote Alpais' *Vita,* was likewise a Cistercian abbey, and many of the people involved with Adele's early donation are associated with the order including the chroniclers Robert of Auxerre and Ralph of Coxal. Second, Adele's instances of patronage in 1180 were directly connected with both the death of her father and her conflict with her son. In each instance, she made public reference to the political situation in France in her inscriptions and charters. Though Adele's later patronage is less directly connected with the political occurrences of her day, they further confirm her mark on the religious landscape of France during her widowhood.

Adele's Patronage of Religious Institutions, 1180-1206

As Adele transitioned to life as a widowed queen after the conflict with her son in 1180, she turned to the religious institutions within her dower lands by providing them with material support in the form of land, buildings, or monetary donations.[320] Throughout her

[320] Jean Dufour, Kathleen Nolan, and Theodore Evergates have mentioned some of Adele's donations. Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 218, 232, cites Nielen, *Corpus de sceaux français du Moyen Âge*, 31-2 and Dufour, "De l'anneau sigillaire au sceau: évolution du rôle des reines de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle," in *Corpus*

widowhood, she maintained relationships with these abbeys, monasteries, and collegiate churches. Establishing a complete picture of Adele's religious patronage and donations is impossible due to the inconsistent sources that date from her widowhood.[321] Still, from the existing documentation, Adele's piety and devotion are clear. These available documents show that Adele, like many of her contemporaries as well as the Capetian queens that came after her, was dedicated to the well-being of the religious men and women in the lands within her dower.

This section includes an analysis of four institutions that were subject to Adele's patronage during her widowhood: the collegiate church of Saint-Spire in Corbeil, Jard Abbey, Saint-Nicholas d'Hermières Abbey, and the Templars in Chalou-Saint-Aignan. Adele's relationship with these places is significant because they represent the largest and most important instances of her patronage that can be identified from the available records. Further patterns of favor emerge from her repeated donations. Women's donations to religious institutions were instances where women could express their favor or their desire to be remembered.[322] Adele's donations show that she was concerned with providing support for the religious institutions within the boundaries of her dower, no matter their order or affiliation.

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de sceaux français du Moyen Âge, III, 11-25; Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 101; Evergates, *Marie of France*, 20; 82.

[321] Though Dufour has catalogued one hundred and ten of her acts, many of these documents remain unprinted. Dufour, "Adèle de Champagne," 37.

[322] Miram Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and Her Daughters Berenguela of Leon and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 202.

Adele and Saint-Spire de Corbeil

Adele's patronage is seen most consistently in her interactions with the town of Corbeil and the collegiate church in the town, Saint-Spire. The town of Corbeil was part of Adele's dower, and it came under her jurisdiction after the death of Louis VII in 1180. Existing documentation of Adele's actions after Louis' death suggest that she frequented Corbeil during her widowhood, as she repeatedly interacted with the canons of Saint-Spire in various capacities between 1180 and her death in 1206. Indeed, her first known chaplain, Hervei, had connections to the college. Hervei's relationship to Adele is repeatedly attested in the documents she created during her widowhood, and his name is ascribed to at least eight of Adele's acts in this period.[323] After Hervei died, likely around 1190 when he ceased to be noted as Adele's chaplain in her acts, his obituary noted his connection with the abbey as well as with the queen as her chaplain.[324] Hervei was not the only person connected to the church that Adele provided with a position in her household. She also employed a clerk, Peter, who was a canon of Saint-Spire. His role in her household is known from a charter

[323] Several documents of Adele's include a phrase which notes that they were done through the hand of Hervei, her chaplain. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais*, 28. "Datum per manum Hervei." Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, nos. 51-52, 53-54 and 54. "Data per manum Hervei, capellani nostri." *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, 58. "Data per manum Hervei, capellani nostri." *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens, tome XXVII* (Sens: Duchemin, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1912), 112, no.4. "Datum per manum Hervei, capellani."; Maximilien Quantin, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 380, no. CCCLXX. "Data per manum Hervei, capellani nostri." Société historique et archéologique du Gatinais, *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais, Tome Trente-et-Unième* (Fontainebleau: Maurice Bourges, Imprimeur Breveté, 1913), 321. "Data per manum Hervei capellani nostri."

[324] Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 163. "Undecimo kalendas novembris, anniversarium magistri Hervei, capellani Regine, qui in nostra eccelsia institute capellanum Sancte Thome, assignans eidem redditus unde viveret. Idem vero capellanus in anniversario ejus tenetur nobis reddere sex solidos Parisiensium, quorum medietas canonicis, altera medietas clericis qui ejus intererunt anniversario."

in which she donated a house to him in Corbeil.[325] These documents indicate that Adele surrounded herself with the canons of Saint-Spire, who staffed her household and assisted her as she administered her dower lands. This suggests that Adele had a close connection with the church and its canons, and they provided trusted support as scribes, chaplains, and clerks.

Adele made two known donations to Saint-Spire during her lifetime. The first occurred in 1183, when she donated "two bakers and a donkey" for the anniversary of Louis' death.[326] This donation provided the canons with material to supply bread for themselves, as well as support themselves monetarily. Next, in 1190, Adele gave alms to the church in the form of wheat from a tithe she was entitled to in Soisy.[327] Though these

[325] Depoin, ed., *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs,* 64-65, no. 476. "Notum facimus universis presentibus et futuris Nos Petro, clerico nostro, Sti Exuperii canonico, domum quam Ysabellis et Bertrannus cementarius, filius ejus, vendiderunt Helie judeo, intuitu recompensationis servitii sui, donasse." Philip confirmed Adele's donation sometime after 1184. See Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 162, no. 33.

[326] Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 51-52. "Notum facimus universis presentibus pariter et futuris quod pro anniversario pie memorie Ludovici, Christianissimi regis Francorum, domini nostri, necnon et pro anniversario nostro post obitum nostrum in ecclesia Beati Exuperii Corboliensis singulis annis sollempniter faciendo, et pro remedio patris et matris nostre aliorumque antecessorum nostrorum, eidem ecclesie duos talamerarios et asinum unum qui moltam molencium ecclesie deferat imperpetuum donavimus, hoc adjuncto quod solos canonicos ejusdem ecclesie apud Corboilum residentes emolumenti quod ex munere isto processerit volumus et constituimus esse participes. Ceterum canonici in utriusque anniversarii die, singulis annis, ex pacto tredecim pauperes pascere tenebuntur. In arbitrio vero et liberalitate prefatorum canonicorum reliquimus ut quantum eis libuerit clericis sepedicte Ecclesie non canonicis qui anniversariis intererunt largiantur. Et, ne hoc vel oblivione deleri, vel aliqua suboriente calumpnia inposterum valeat retractari, idem vivaci litterarum memorie commendari, et sigilli nostri auctoritate precepimus communiri."

[327] Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 55. "Noverint universi, tam presentes quam futuri, Paganum de Soisiaco, pro anima sua et pro animabus predecessorum suorum, dedisse in elemosinam ecclesie Beati Exuperii Corboliensis unum modium bladi in decima sua de Soisiaco in perpetuum percipiendum, medietatem ybernagii et medietatem avene, presente et concedente Ludovico, vicecomite Meleduni, de cujus feodo nominata decima erat. Nos vero, ad peticionem ipsius Pagani et Ludovici vicecomitis, manucepimus quod ecclesia Beati Exuperii prefatam donationem bladi quiete et pacifice possideret."

donations are small and only two are known to exist, they yield clues to Adele's connection to Saint-Spire. Adele's relationship with the church certainly must have stemmed from the fact that it was part of her dower, and she is known to have stayed in Corbeil often, evidenced by her signing documents from the church or settling disputes concerning the canons or the people within the town.[328] Adele seems to have had a particular connection with Corbeil, and she was invested in providing material support and money to the canons during her widowhood. After Adele's death, the canons established an anniversary mass for her.[329] Her relationship to Saint-Spire was lifelong.

Adele's Donations: Jard, Saint-Nicolas d'Hermières, and Chalou-Saint-Aignan

A clear pattern in Adele's religious patronage is her repeated donations of buildings and land within her dower to religious orders. There are at least three known examples of this: the donation of her palace at Jard to Augustinian monks, her donation of land and the monastery of Saint-Nicolas d'Hermières to Premonstratensian monks, and her donation of the village of Chalou-Saint-Aignan to the order of Templars. Adele's patronage follows the example of her contemporaries' donations before her widowhood, as her relatives and family members were known to have built or donated buildings to orders they favored. Her

[328] At least ten of Adele's acts are known to have been done in Corbeil. See E. Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 50, 51-52, 53-54, 54, and 55; Depoin, *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, 87, no. 498; Merlet and Moutié, eds., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Notre-Dame des Vaux-de-Cernay*, 121-122, nos. 102 and 103; Joseph Depoin, *Commission des antiquités et des arts du département de Seine-et-Oise*, 62; Jean Dufour, *Le chartrier de la collégiale de Saint-Martin de Champeaux* (Droz: Geneva, 2009), 114.

[329] Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 155.

father, Thibaut, is thought to have been a major donor to Pontingy,[330] and her husband, Louis VII, is known to have founded Barbeaux abbey.[331] Adele's donations mirror many of the patterns her husband and her father established: giving land and buildings to religious orders within her jurisdiction and granting them rights over areas she originally controlled. Adele is known to have provided land and buildings for a variety of orders, including the Cistercians, Augustinians, and Premonstratensians, showing little personal preference for one order. Adele's patronage shows that she was most concerned with the material wellbeing of the religious men and women under her care, and she took pains to ensure that support was confirmed regardless of affiliation.

One of her more significant donations was to give several buildings of her chateau at Jard to the members of the Augustinian order in nearby Melun. Adele's connection to the location began before the death of Louis VII in 1180. The abbey was first a palace that Adele and Louis frequented after their marriage in 1160, as she and her husband were periodically noted to have resided there in the 1160s and 1170s.[332] Jean Comoy has even made a tenuous argument to suggest that, due to the frequency of Adele's visits to Jard, it is a possible birthplace for Philip II.[333] After Louis' death, the chateau became part of Adele's dower and she continued to use it as an occasional residence. A few of Adele's

[330] Terryl N. Kinder, "Toward Dating Construction of the Abbey Church of Pontigny," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 145, 1 (1992): 77-88.

[331] See Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver,* 99.

[332] Comoy, ed., *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun,* 55.

[333] Comoy, ed., *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun*, 39-45. This suggestion has not been firmly substantiated in the scholarship.

acts give her location as Jard, one in 1201 and two in 1197.[334] One of the acts from 1197 notes that Adele established a court there. It document confirmed a sale between a certain man named Peter and Notre-Dame de Paris. Within the document, Adele attested that the act was "done at Jard, at my court."[335] Beyond these instances, Jard is only occasionally mentioned in records from Adele's widowhood.

After Louis VII's death, Adele began a process of transforming the chateau into an abbey. In 1203, the queen called on the religious men of the Priory of Pacy to come and settle in her house at Jard.[336] Finally, in 1206, right before her death, Adele donated her house, property, and six Parisian pounds to Jard Abbey, providing it with the building and lands surrounding the abbey for their sole use.[337] These records establish that Adele was the primary benefactor of the abbey. According to Jean Comoy, a chronicle in the archives of Jard suggests that she modeled her foundation after that of her father, Thibaut, as he did to Pontigny, and her husband, Louis VII, when he founded Barbeaux Abbey.[338] This hints that Adele's pious donations served in part to connect herself with the traditions of religious donations that her father and husband established during their lifetimes, and further

[334] Société historique et archéologique du Gatinais, *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais,* 321. "Actum apud Jardum." Benjamin Edme and Charles Guérard, eds., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850), 258 no. XVII. "Actum publice apud Jardum." René Poupardin, ed., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés des origines au début du XIIIe siècle, Tome Premier* (Paris: Chez H. Champion, 1909), 89, no. CCCI.

[335] Edme and Guérard, eds., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris,* 258 no. XVII. "Actum publice apud Jardum, in curia mea."

[336] Comoy, ed., *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun (1171-1794),* 55.

[337] *Gallia Christiana, tome XXII* (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1757), 63 no. LXXX.

[338] Comoy, ed., *L'abbaye royale du Jard-la-Reine-lez-Melun (1171-1794),* 56.

established her as a benefactor with influence over the religious landscape within her dower.

Two other one-off donations are of note. Adele is known to have donated land that was originally part of her dower to Saint-Nicolas d'Hermières, a Premonstratensian institution. In 1202, she gave the monks the monastery in which they lived, the adjacent cemeteries as well as ninety arpents of wood around the abbey, with rights of high and low justice over it all.[339] Like her donation to Jard, this donation established Adele as the major benefactor of the abbey and provided them with a building in which they could continue their activities. Finally, a donation earlier in Adele's widowhood must be noted. In about the year 1183, Adele donated the entire village of Chalou-Saint-Aignan to the Templars.[340] This donation came with the stipulation that, every year, the Templars were to give twenty muids of wheat to the brothers of the Grandmontine order.[341] Like her other donations, Chalou-Saint-Aignan was originally part of her dower, and through her donation, which included not only the lands of the village but also all the related rights, the Templars became lords and depositaries of the rights of low and high justice over this domain. Once again, Adele displayed an interesting in providing material support for the religious men under her care.

[339] Hugo, ed., *Sacri et canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis annales,* 650.

[340] This donation is known only from Philip's confirmation, in a document dated between November 1182 and April 1183. See Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France. Tome I*, 87, no. 66.

[341] The master of the Temple of Paris in 1184 recognized that the Templars owed rents to the Louye brothers near Dourdan. Moutié, *Recueil de chartes et pièces relatives au prieuré N.D. des Moulineaux,* 88.

Adele's role as a benefactor is significant in two ways. First, she seems to not have favored any one particular order in her donations, despite her family's known connections to the Cistercian order. Adele eventually chose to be buried at Pontigny, and this along with her other donations implies that she still held the familial connection to the Cistercian order.[342] Still, during her widowhood and through her patronage, Adele did not express a predilection for any one order. Instead, she appears to have been concerned mostly with ensuring the groups of religious people in her care were provided with material support. This brings us to the second, and related, point. Adele's piety is clear from the existing documentation. Most of Adele's known donations during her widowhood concern religious institutions rather than individuals or secular institutions. Indeed, Adele surrounded herself with religious men staffed from religious institutions, and she supported them through donations of land and property that came directly from her dower lands. In all instances of her patronage, Adele used the money, land, or buildings available to her to fund her interactions. She is the first Capetian queen for which we have such extensive documentation of her piety, and the patterns of her donations suggest that she paid special attention to the concerns of the religious orders under her care.

Conclusion

This chapter provides only a preliminary sketch of Adele's activities in her years as a widow. Future research into her widowhood might include, for example, her relationships with and connections to other noble women: she was known to have spent

[342] Kinder, "Toward Dating Construction of the Abbey Church of Pontigny," 84.

time in her widowhood with Marie of France, Blanche of Navarre, Eleanor of Vermandois, and Margaret of France.[343] Additionally, Adele's cultural patronage has not yet come to light to the extent that it has for her contemporaries like Marie of France. Recent studies have shown that Marie was an active literary patron, and no such evidence is thus far known exist for Adele.[344] Still, far from being inactive in this period, Adele frequently attended to the religious life of the people within her dower lands, providing them with lands and income from the resources she had at her disposal. Indeed, Adele used her patronage to express her political desires and intentions: her first moments as a widow were marked by her relationship with Alpais, and the tomb she commissioned at Barbeaux Abbey was directly connected to the political trials Adele experienced with her son and the death of her husband in 1180. Through her donations, Adele connected her pious patronage to the political world around her and used her endowments to support individuals and institutions with special meaning for her and her family. As the resources of land, buildings, and income from Adele's dower became available to her, she used them to donate to the various orders that were situated within her land. In the case of Corbeil, she established firm relationships with the religious men to staff her household and attend to the administration of her land. Adele's widowhood was an active period of her life, and she continued to consider the political, cultural, or pious objectives of each of her donations.

[343] Adele witnessed Blanche of Navarre's dower in 1199. See Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Tome I*, 238, no. 679. Additionally, Margaret joined Adele and Marie of France, wife of Henry of Champagne, all recently widowed women, in Troyes in 1183 and at Foissy for Christmas in 1184. See Evergates, *Marie of France*, 48.

[344] Evergates, *Marie of France*, 58-62.

Adele's activities as a patron came on the heels of two moments in which she was highly visible in the Capetian political world. During the conflict of 1180 and in her role as custodian of the kingdom in 1190, Adele was at the height of her political authority, involved in her most visible positions since the death of her husband. After these events, Adele did not simply fade into obscurity. Instead, these moments of political visibility were accentuated by quieter instances of religious patronage, in which Adele commemorated the dead, gave alms, or donated her wealth to the institutions she held under her care. Her actions connected her to the institutions or individuals she patronized, establishing her mark on the cultural landscape of France. Though these moments are less overt or visible than her roles in 1180 and 1190, the tomb, buildings, and land she donated made lasting impressions on the religious landscape of France. Adele thus remained a powerful benefactor in her years away from the Capetian court.

Conclusion: Death, Burial, and Legacy

On June 4, 1206, Adele died in Paris at the age of about sixty-one.[345] She had spent twenty-six years of her life as a widow and dowager queen, longer than her twenty-year tenure from 1160 to 1180 as queen beside Louis VII. After her death, the lands and villages she possessed as part of her dower were reintegrated into the royal domain, and the income from them was recorded in Philip's register.[346] A few of her contemporaries are known to have mourned her death: Eleanor of Vermandois donated 100 marks of silver in her memory to Notre-Dame de Paris,[347] and the canons at Corbeil established an anniversary Mass in her honor.[348]

Despite Adele's large donations of lands and buildings to religious institutions during her widowhood, she did not choose to be buried at any of the institutions she was known to have patronized. Instead, in 1204, Adele appealed to the pope for permission to be buried at Pontingy. In a letter from Innocent III, Adele was granted this privilege, because of "the devotion you are known to have towards the monastery of Pontigny and the brothers who continuously serve the Lord there."[349] However, an incident in 1205

[345] Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 394, no. 194. "Anno Domini MºCCºVIº, pridie kalendas martii, fuit eclipsis solis particularis, hora VIª diei, in XVIº gradu Piscium. Sequenti vero mense junio, pridie nonas ejusdem, obiit Ala regina, mater sepe nominati Philippi Francorum regis, apud Parisium."

[346] Baldwin et al., eds., *Les registres de Philippe Auguste*, 207.

[347] Edmé and Guérard, eds., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, 154-155, no. CLXXXIV.

[348] Couard-Luys, ed., *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au Diocèse de Paris*, 154.

[349] Joan Ferrante, trans., *Epistolae*, "A letter from Innocent III, pope (1204)," accessed May 23, 2021. "Consuevit annuere sedes apostolica piis votis, et honestis petentium precibus favorem benevolum impertiri. Eapropter, charissima in Christo filia, devotionem quam erga monasterium Pontiniaci et fratres qui jugiter Domino famulantur ibidem, habere dignosceris, attendentes, tuis piis postulationibus clementer annuimus,

threatened this arrangement. Adele and a great number of her ladies were received by the abbot of Pontigny in the monastery, where they were led into the enclosure, heard a sermon in the chapter hall, and spent two nights in the infirmary. As a result, the Chapter General of Citeaux disciplined the abbot for allowing this to happen, as it was a violation of Cistercian norms that prevented women from entering male monasteries.[350] This incident cannot have endeared Adele to the abbot of Pontigny, but Adele was buried at Pontigny as Innocent allowed. It seems most likely that she chose Pontigny because of her father's relationship with the abbey. Rigord mentions that she was buried beside her father "who, as we have learned from many reports, had founded this abbey."[351] She remained buried

auctoritate praesentium inhibentes, ne quis post obitum tuum fratribus ipsis impedimentum aliquod inferre praesumat, quin corpus tuum in eorum monasterio iuxta tuam dispositionem liberam habeat sepulturam. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae inhibitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum."

[350] Canviez suggests that the queen of France in this document was Ingeborg of Denmark. However, Ingebourg was imprisoned in various locations until 1213 when Philip restored her as queen, and thus cannot have been travelling freely around the kingdom in 1205. Agnes of Meran, who was never officially queen, died in 1201, leaving Adele as the only possible queen of France to have visited Pontigny in this period. Canivez, ed., *Statuta Capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 308-309. "Abbas de Pontiniaco qui contra formam Ordinis reginam Francie cum aliis eiusdem sexus non paucis numero in suum monasterium introduxit ad adiendum sermonem in Capitulo, ad processionem in claustro, ad reficiendum etiam, et duabus noctibus pernoctandum in infirmitorio, sumpta occasione quod ex rescripto domini Pape, et de permissione Domini Cisterciensis eidem Reginae patebat aditus illius monsterii cum eo usque procedendum, nec dominus Papa, nec abbas Cistercii indulserint, sed nec etiam tale quid cogitaverint, et quia tam enorme factum sustinuit in totius Ordinis Cisterciensis iniuriam, licet absque omni retractatione depositionem mereretur in instanti, tamen ad petitionem domini Remensis cui negare nec volumus nec debemus, et aliorum episcorporum, ei parcitur in hac parte. Verum ne omnino impunita remaneat tanta praesumptio extra stallum abbatis meneat usque ad Pascha, et non celebret nisis de necessitate sui officii, et sex diebus sint in levi culpa, tribus in Cistercio, tribus in Pontiniaco, uno eorum in pane et aqua, hinc et inde. Et hoc ipsum provideat ut pavimentum suae ecclesiae quod et levitatem redolet et paupertatem sancti Cisterciensis Ordinis nutricem, superfluitate sua et curiosa varietate quodammodo detestatur, vel omnino amoveat, vel sic faciat emendari, ut neminem deinceps super hoc scandalizet."

[351] Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 394-96, no. 194. "Postea vero sepulta apud Pontiniacum in Burgundia juxta patrem suum, Theobaldum comitem Trecensem et. Blesensem qui predictam abbaciam fundaverat, ut relatu multorum didicimus." There is some question about whether Thibaut founded Pontigny or simply contributed to its construction in 1150. See Kinder, "Toward Dating Construction of the Abbey Church of Pontigny," 82-83.

there until 1567, when her tomb was destroyed by Huguenots.[352] Adele's connection to her natal family seems to have remained strong even in her death.

Legacy and Significance

Adele's role in the conflict of 1180, her position as custodian of the kingdom in 1190, and her activities as a patron complicate previous interpretations of her life and her position as queen. Further, they situate Adele's actions in the broader context of changes in Capetian queenship in the twelfth century. This thesis has shown Adele was active both politically and privately from Louis VII's incapacity in 1180 to her death in 1206.

Chapter one showed that Adele was at the forefront of the transition between the reigns of her husband Louis VII and her son Philip II in 1180. An event typically understood from the perspective of Philip, this thesis has demonstrated that Adele took on a position as the leader of her faction during Louis' incapacity, and her actions shifted the outcome of the conflict as it unfolded. Rather than being quickly subdued by her son or playing a minor part in Philip's early reign, as previous scholarship has suggested, Adele's actions changed the trajectory of Philip's first years as king. Adele called upon familial and political networks to maneuver against the Flemish faction and her son in order to disempower Count Philip of Flanders and secure her and her family's position in her son's court. This study of Adele's maneuvering reveals her ability to consolidate and apply the

[352] Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver,* 101.

resources and relationship networks available to her to extract an outcome that kept her and her family's positions intact for the future.

Chapter two analyzed Adele's appointment as custodian of the kingdom alongside her brother William in 1190 during Philip's absence on the Third Crusade. Her appointment has been noted by scholars as both the first written directive for the absence of a king and the first to give a woman the role in France, but this chapter has revealed the specific actions and limitations put upon Adele as she navigated her unprecedented role. First, the examination of the ordinance-testament alongside a comprehensive overview of Adele's actions in the period has allowed for an analysis of how the business of the kingdom was conducted in practice. Second, Adele's claims to authority in her position reveal that she understood her role to be substantially different from the other personnel appointed by Philip in the ordinance-testament. During the period, Adele acted in her own name by virtue of the absence of her son, but she took this authority further by claiming special ability to act within her letter to Celestine III, stating the position was bestowed on her specifically. Therefore, she did not hold a minor role in a carefully regulated government but used her position to establish herself at the head of government in this period.

Chapter three brought Adele's activities as a patron during her widowhood to light in order to illustrate how she used her private actions as a tool, both to connect to the political events of her day and to change the religious landscape of medieval France. The connection between Adele's patronage within the broader context of the politics and religious institutions in France has not been well understood in previous scholarship. As this chapter has shown, Adele established relationships with Alpais and Barbeaux Abbey

to send a political message to her son, and she used her land and income to patronize various religious institutions in her dower lands to provide them with support. As one of the most powerful benefactors of her day, the tomb, buildings, and land she donated made lasting architectural and cultural impressions on the landscape of France, drawn from the resources at her disposal as dowager queen.

When Marion Facinger penned her thesis on queenship in Capetian France, Adele appeared in a minor position, quickly dominated by her son in 1180. In Facinger's view, Adele's position as queen marked the beginning of the diminishing of the queen's power as the abstract and bureaucratic power of the crown expanded during Philip II's reign.[353] Though Facinger's thesis has been significantly rethought through studies of several of the queens presented in her essay, Adele's place in this shift has never been fully established. As scholars have done for other Capetian queens, this thesis has challenged Facinger's idea of charters as the marker of political power. In 1180, it was Adele's connections, familial and political, that allowed her to leverage a position of power in the conflict with her son and the count of Flanders. In 1190, her access to the throne through her appointment as custodian of the kingdom and her subsequent role during the absence of Philip allowed her to claim special power in her administration of the kingdom and in her dealings with the pope. Finally, as a patron, Adele used her income, lands, and buildings to express political, emotional, and religious authority over the landscape of France. These instances show that Adele was neither ignorant of nor uninfluential in the politics of the Capetian world, even when she was often absent in the royal charters.

[353] Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," 27.

Adele's actions set many precedents for Capetian queenship. She was the first queen to take up arms against her son in response to a usurped role in Philip's early government for herself and her family. She was the first woman to be officially appointed as the guardian of the kingdom in the absence of a king in 1190, which marked a major shift for future appointments of queens to the position. Finally, the large donations she made during her widowhood are the first to be recorded so fully for any French queen. In some ways, the fact that many of Adele's actions are unprecedented is simply the result of the expansion of record-keeping and bureaucracy during her lifetime. However, in other ways, her actions changed the vocation for subsequent queens: she established many precedents that would eventually become norms. Her appointment to government in 1190 paved the way for the actions of later queens such as Blanche of Castile, who was appointed more easily to the role of guardian during her son's minority and his absence on crusade.[354] Her activities in her later years as a patron represent some of the earliest examples of dowager queens disposing of the money and resources from their dower into their favored religious institutions and individuals. Adele also provides an early example of how these donations were used for political or emotional purposes.

In all, this study of Adele's life provides insight into the vocation of queen in general. Adele's case underscores two important aspects of queenship that allowed her to claim and express power and authority during her lifetime. The first is the importance of recognizing the power of the queen in her position as mother, and the second is the continued importance of the queen's networks of natal family. Often with military,

[354] Grant, *Blanche of Castile,* 80-82; 131-145.

monetary, or religious assistance from her brothers, Adele forged a conceptualization of queenship that emphasized her maternal relationship to the king as one of political and ideological importance. Indeed, Adele is most active and visible in the period after Louis's incapacity, and she made her most direct claims to power and authority through her relationship with her son, not to her husband. Further, having brothers in powerful religious and political positions allowed Adele to assert her significance as dowager queen. As the mother of the king, she could expect a role at the death of her husband, and it was her kinship networks that allowed her to act on this claim. As a mother, she was appointed to guard the kingdom in Philip's absence, and she carried out her position alongside her brother, who filled the role of the male ecclesiastic previously established by Abbot Suger during the Second Crusade. Her patronage again demonstrates this duality: her position as mother to the king allowed her to publicly admonish her son, as she did in her husband's tomb at Barbeaux. Still, despite her vast donations to religious institutions in her dower, she chose to connect herself in death to her natal family, going so far as to request papal permission to be buried at Pontigny. In the study of queenship generally, Adele's life provides an important example of the dual importance of powerful kin to back up the influential role of mother of the king.

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Appendix A:
Transcription of Chapters Seventy-Six and Seventy-Seven of Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti*

The following is a transcription of chapters seventy-six and seventy-seven of Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* from Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5925 (P), fols. 269ra-270vb. These chapters are significant for understanding Adele's role as custodian of the kingdom. While the ordinance-testament of 1190, found in chapter seventy-seven, most explicitly defines the duties of her role, chapter seventy-six provides additional context to Philip's crusade ambitions and describes his decision to appoint his mother and William to the government. For these reasons, both chapters will be included. This manuscript has been most recently transcribed, as well as fully described, in Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin's 2006 work, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*.[355]

There is no contemporary manuscript of Rigord's *Gesta*, and thus this thirteenth-century manuscript made at Saint-Denis provides the closest insight into the intent and words of the original scribe. This edition will therefore provide a transcription as close to the scribe's version as possible with minimal editorial input: leaving line breaks, punctuation, and capitalization as the scribe wrote them within the manuscript. The scribe's

[355] Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2006). Other editions with full Latin transcriptions include: Rigord, "Gesta," in *Historiae Francorum ab anno Christi DCCC ad ann. M. CC. IXXXV Historiae Francorum ab anno Christi DCCC ad ann. MCCLXXXV scriptores veteres XI: in quibus Glaber, Helgaudus, Sugerius Abbas, M. Rigordus, Guillermus Brito, Guillermus de Nangris et anonymi alii*…, Petrus Pithou (Frankfort, 1596), 158-207 ; Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti francorum Regis Ludovici Junioris Filii, descripta a magistro Rigordo, seu Rigoto ipsivs regis chronographo. Ab Anno I. inunctionis eiusdem, usque ad XXVIII. Regni annum," in *Historiae Francorum scriptores a Philippo Augusto Rege usque ad R. Philippo IV. Acti Pulchri, opera et studio filii post patrem Francisci Duchsne, in sperema Parisiensium curia, et sacro consistorio patroni, necnon Geographi, & Historiographi Regii, t.* V, (Paris, 1649), 1-49; *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 17 (1818), 1-62; "Gesta Philippi Augusti," *Œuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, Volume II*, ed. Henri-François Delaborde (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), 1-167.

abbreviated words will be extended in brackets to provide context to spelling and word choices. For chapter seventy-six, an additional manuscript survives: Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, reg. lat. 88, ff. 189ra-b. Therefore, this transcription will compare BnF, MS lat. 5925 to Vatican City, reg. lat. 88, noting any word changes or omissions. The latter manuscript ends at chapter seventy-six, and thus chapter seventy-seven transcribes only from BnF, MS lat. 5925.

(fol. 269ra)
…Q[uo]d phi-
lippus rex in eccl[es]ia b[eat]i dyonisii ba-
culum et sportam p[er]egrinationis
accepit
Anno Domini $M^0.C^0.XC^0$.
In festo s[an]c[t]i Ioh[ann]is Bap[tis]te. Ph[ilippu]s
rex ad eccl[es]iam beatissimi martiris[356]
dyonisii. cum maximo comitatu
venit: causa licenciam accipien-
di. Consuev[er]ant eni[m] antiquit[us] reges
francor[um]. Q[uo]d q[ua]ndocumq[ue] cont[ra] hostes
arma movebant: vexillum desup[er]
altare beati dyonisii p[ro] tutela seu
custodia secum portabant. et in p[ri]-
ma acie pugnator[um] ponebant. Q[uo]d
videntes aduersarii et cognoscentes
territi: multociens terga dederu[n]t.
Ideo [christ]ianissimus rex ante corpora
s[an]c[t]or[um] m[a]r[tyru]m dyonisii. Rustici et eleuthe-
rii humilit[er] sup[er] pavim[en]tum mar-
moreum in oratione prostrat[us]: /(fol. 269rb)
deo et beate virgini marie et s[an]c[t]is mar-

[356] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as "martyris." Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 272.

tyrib[us] et omnib[us] sanctis se co[m]mendavit.
Tandem cum lacrimis ab oratione
surgens: sportam et baculum p[er]egri-
nationis de manu Guill[elm]i remen[sis] ar-
chiep[iscop]i avunculi sui. ap[osto]lice sedis le-
gati: devotissime ibidem accepit. De-
inde desup[er] corpora s[an]c[t]or[um]: duo standa-
lia serica optima et duo magna vex-
illa aurifrisiis crucib[us] decenter in-
signita: pro memoria s[an]c[t]or[um] m[a]r[tyru]m
et tutela. contra inimicos crucis [Christ]i
pugnaturus: p[ro]priis manib[us] accepit.
demum orationib[us] fr[atru]m se co[m]menda[n]s
accepta benedictione clavi et spinee
corone et s[an]c[t]i senis symeonis brachii:
recessit et feria .IIII.[a] post oct[avas] s[an]c[t]i ioh[ann]is
bap[tist]e: cum rege anglie ricardo: a-
pud vizeliacum venit. Ubi accep-
ta licentia ab omnib[us] baronibus
suis: adele k[arissi]me matri sue et Guill[elm]o
Remen[si] archiep[iscop]o avunculo suo: p[ro]
tutela et custodia : totum regnum
francor[um] cum filio suo dilectissimo
ludovico co[m]mendavit. Et paucis e-
volutis dieb[us]: apud ianua[m] venit.
ubi naves et ea que erant victui
necessaria: cum armamentis[357] dili-
gentissime parari fecit. Ricard[us]
au[tem] rex anglie: apud massiliam c[um]
omnib[us] suis mare intravit. Et sic ia[m]
dicti catholici reges pro s[an]c[t]a [christ]iani-
tate defendenda et p[ro]pter amorem
d[o]m[ini] n[ost]ri ih[es]u [christ]i ventis et mari se com-
mittentes: cum multis et magnis p[er]i-
culis apud messanam venerunt. //(fol. 269va)[358]

[357] Reg. lat. 88 has “armentis,” fol. 189ra.

[358] Reg. lat. 88 ends here (fol. 189rb) and omits the final paragraph as well as chapter seventy-seven.

Sed anteq[ua]m rex ph[ilippu]s de regno francor[um]
exiret: parisius convocatis amicis et
familiarib[us]. testam[en]tum condidit.
et regni tocius ordinationem fecit:
in hunc mod[um].
In nomine s[an]c[t]e et in dividue trini-
tatis amen. Philippus dei gr[ati]a fran-
or[um] rex. officium regum est subiecto-
rum co[m]modis: modis omnib[us] p[ro]vi-
dere et sue utilitati private: publi-
cam anteferre. Q[uonia]m ig[itu]r summo
desiderio votum p[er]egrinationis
n[ost]re ad s[an]c[t]e t[er]re subventionem totis
virib[us] amplectimur: idcirio consilio
altissimi ordinare decrevimus. q[ua]li-
ter in absentia n[ost]ra regni negocia q[ue]
agenda erunt: tractari debeant. et
vite n[ost]re si quid in via humanitus
accid[er]et: extrema disponi. In primis
[i]g[itur] p[re]cipimus ut ballivi n[ost]ri p[er] singu-
los p[re]positos in potestatib[us] n[ost]ris: pona[n]t
.IIII.^{or} ho[m]i[n]es prudentes. legitimos et bo-
ni testimonii. sine quor[um] vel duor[um]
ex eis ad minus consilio: negotia vil-
le non tractentur. excepto q[uo]d parisi[us]
.VI. ho[m]i[n]es p[ro]bos et legitimos [con]stitui-
mus quorum nomina sunt hec. T. A. E.
R. B. N. Et in t[er]ris n[ost]ris que p[ro]priis no[m]i[ni]b[us]
distincte sunt: ballivos[359] n[ost]ros posui-
mus: qui in ballivis[360] suis singulis
m[en]sib[us] ponent unum diem qui dicit[ur]
assisia. in quo om[ne]s illi qui clamo-
rem facient: recipient ius suum

[359] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as “baillivos.” Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 276.

[360] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as “balliviis.” Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 276.

p[er] eos et iusticiam[361]: sine dilatione.
et nos n[ost]ra jura et n[ost]ram iusticiam
et foref[a]c[t]a que p[ro]prie n[ost]ra sunt : ibi scri /(fol. 269vb)
bentur. Preterea volumus et p[re]cipim[us]
ut k[arissi]ma mater n[ost]ra. a. regina statuat
cum k[arissi]mo avunculo n[ost]ro et fideli Guil-
lelmo Remen[si]. archiep[iscop]o singul[is] .IIII.[or]
mensib[us] unum diem parisius in quo
audiant clamores ho[m]i[nu]m regni n[ost]ri:
et ibi eos finiant ad honorem dei: et
utilitatem regni. Precipimus insup[er]
ut eo die sint ante ip[s]os de singulis villis
n[ost]ris et ballivi n[ost]ri qui assisias teneb[un]t
ut coram eis recitent negotia terre
n[ost]re. Si au[tem] aliquis de ballivis no-
stris deliq[ue]rit preter q[ua]m in murtro. [ve]l
raptu vel homicidio vel p[ro]ditione et hoc
constabit archiep[iscop]o et regine et aliis qui
aderunt ut audiant forefacta balli-
vor[um] n[ost]or[um]: p[re]cipimus eis ut nobis sin-
gulis annis et hoc ter in anno litteris
suis nobis duob[us] p[re]d[i]ct[i]s sig[nifi]cent quis
ballivus deliq[ue]rit et quid fecerit et q[ui]d
accep[er]it. et a quo pecuniam vel mun[us]
vel servicium: p[ro]pter q[uo]d homines no-
stri ius suum amitt[er]ent: vel nos no-
strum. Similit[er] de p[re]positis n[ost]ris: sig-
nifice[n]t nobis ballivi n[ost]ri. Ballivos
au[tem] n[ost]ros n[on] pot[er]unt amovere regina et
archiep[iscopu]us a ballivis[362] suis: nisi p[ro] murto.
vel raptu vel homicidio. vel p[ro]ditione.
vel ballivi p[re]positos: nisi p[ro] aliquo
istor[um]. Nos aut[em] consilio dei talem fa-

[361] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as “justicia.” Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 277.

[362] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as “balliviis.” Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 278.

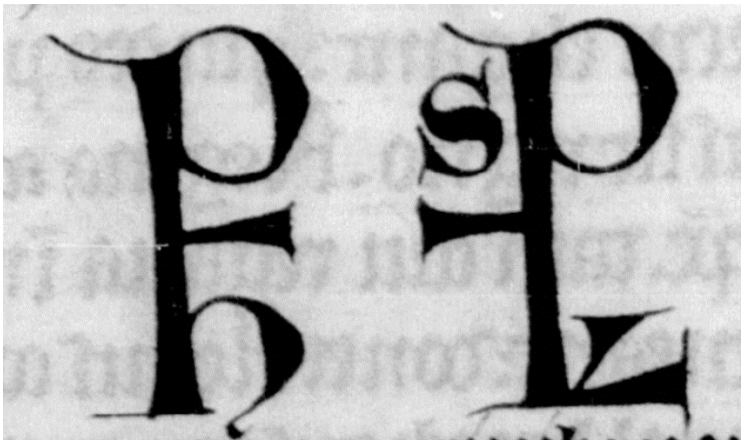
ciemus de eo vindictam: postq[ua]m pre-
dicti viri nobis rei v[er]itatem nuncia
verint: p[er] q[ua]m allii n[on] inm[er]ito pot[er]unt
det[er]reri. Simil[ite]r regina et archiep[iscopu]s
de statu regni n[ost]ri et negotiis: ter i[n] an-
no significent. Si forte contig[er]it //(fol. 270ra)
sedem ep[iscop]alem. vel aliq[ua]m abbaciam re-
galem vacare: volumus ut canonici
eccl[es]ie vel monachi monast[er]ii vacan-
tis: veniant ante reginam et archie-
piscopum: sicut ante nos venire[n]t.
et liberam electionem ab eis petant.
et nos volumus q[uo]d sine contradictione
eis concedant. Nos v[er]o tam canonicos
q[ua]m monachos monemus. ut talem
pastorem eligant: qui deo placeat.
et utilis sit regno. Regina aute[m] et
archiep[iscopu]s. tamdiu regalia i[n] manu
sua teneant: donec electus consec[ra]-
tus sit. Vel benedictus et tunc regalia
sine contradictione ei reddantur. Pre-
terea p[re]cipimus. q[uo]d si prebenda vel
beneficium aliquod ecclesiasticu[m] va-
cav[er]it q[ua]ndo regalia in manu n[ost]ra
venient: s[e]c[un]d[u]m q[uo]d melius et honestius
pot[er]unt regina et archiep[iscopu]s viris hones-
tis et litt[er]atis consilio fr[atr]is bernardi
conferant. salvis tam[en] donationibus
n[ost]ris quas p[er] litt[er]as n[ost]ras patentes:
quib[us]dam fecimus. Prohibemus et[iam]
univ[er]sis p[re]latis eccl[es]iar[um] et ho[m]i[ni]b[us] n[ost]ris
ne talliam vel toltam donent: q[uam]
diu in servicio dei erimus. Si v[er]o d[omi]n[u]s
d[eu]s de nobis suam fac[er]et voluntate[m].
et nos mori conting[er]et: p[ro]hibemus dis-
trictissime omnib[us] hominib[us] t[er]re n[ost]re.
tam cl[er]icis q[ua]m laicis: ne talliam vel tol-
tam donent: donec filius n[oste]r quem d[eu]s
servitio suo sanum et incolum[en] conser-

vare dignetur. veniat ad etatem i[n]
qua gr[ati]a s[an]c[t]i sp[irit]us possit reg[er]e regnum.
Si autem aliquis filio n[ost]ro vellet
movere guerram et redditus sui quos
h[abe]t n[on] suffic[er]ent: tunc om[ne]s ho[m]i[n]es nostri
adiuvent eum de corporib[us] suis et a-
veris et eccl[es]ie tale faciant ei auxilium.
quale solite sunt fac[er]e nobis. Prepo-
sitis insup[er] n[ost]ris et ballivis p[ro]hibemus:
ne aliquem ho[m]i[n]em capiant. neq[ue] ave-
rum suum: q[ua]m diu bonos fide iusso-
res dare voluerit de iustitia p[ro] seq[ue]nda
in curia n[ost]ra: nisi p[ro] homicidio vel
murtro vel raptu vel p[ro]ditione. Pre-
terea p[re]cipimus q[uo]d om[ne]s reddit[us] n[ost]ri.
et servicia et obventiones. afferant[ur]
parisius: p[er] tria tempora. Primo:
ad festum s[an]c[t]i remigii. Secundo: ad p[ur]-
ificationem beate virginis. Tertio:
ad ascensionem. et tradatur burge[n]-
sib[us] n[ost]ris predictis et p. marescallo. Si
conting[er]et aliquem ex eius mori: G.
de garlandia: alium in loco eius sub-
stitueret. In receptionib[us] averi n[ost]ri:
adam cl[er]icus n[oste]r presens erit et eas scri-
bet et singuli habeant singulas cla-
ves de singulis archis in quib[us] repone-
tur averum n[ost]r[u]m in templo et te[m]plu[m]
unam. De isto avero t[antu]m nobis mitte-
tur : q[ua]ntum litt[er]is n[ost]ris mandabim[us].
Si in via q[ua]m facimus nos mori con-
ting[er]et: p[re]cipimus q[uo]d regina et archi-
ep[iscopu]s et ep[iscopu]s paris[iensis] et abb[at]es s[an]c[t]i victoris et
de sardenio. et f[rate]r. B. thesaurum n[ost]r[u]m i[n]
duas p[ar]tes divident. Unam medieta-
tem pro arbitrio suo distribuant
ad eccl[es]ias rep[ar]andas: que p[er] guerras

n[ost]ras districte[363] sunt: ita q[uo]d serviciu[m]
dei possit in eis fieri. De eadem me //(fol. 270va)
dietate donabunt illis: qui p[er] tallias
n[ost]ras aporiati sunt et de eadem dabu[n]t
residuum illis quib[us] voluerint. et
quos magis eg[er]e credid[er]int: ob remedi-
um anime n[ost]re et genitoris n[ost]ri regis
ludovici et antecessor[um] n[ost]ror[um]. De alt[er]a
medietate p[re]cipimus custodib[us] averi no-
stri. et omnib[us] hominib[us] parisien[sibus]. q[uo]d ea[m]
custodiant ad opus filii n[ost]ri donec
ad etatem veniat. in qua consilio
dei. et sensu suo posset reg[er]e regnum.
Si au[tem] tam nos q[ua]m filium n[ost]r[u]m mo-
ri conting[er]et : p[re]cipimus q[uo]d averum
n[ost]r[u]m p[er] manum .VII. p[re]dictor[um] p[ro] a[n]i[m]a
n[ost]ra et filii n[ost]ri: pro arbitrio suo dis-
tribuatur. Q[ua]m cito et[iam] certum e[ss]et de mor-
te n[ost]ra: volum[us] q[uo]d averum n[ost]r[u]m ubi
cumq[ue] foret. ad domu[m] ep[iscop]i parisien[sis].
portaretur: et ibi custodiretur. et
postea de eodem fiet q[uo]d disposuimus.
Precipimus et[iam] Regine et et archiep[iscop]o ut o[mne]s
honores qui dum vacant p[er]tinent ad
donationem n[ost]ram. q[uo]d honeste po-
terunt retinere. sicut abbacie no-
stre. et decanatus. et alie quedam dig-
nitates. in manu sua teneant: don[ec]
a servicio dei redierimus. Et quos
retinere n[on] pot[er]unt: donent s[e]c[un]d[u]m de-
um et assignent consilio fr[atr]is. B. et
hoc faciant ad honorem dei et utili-
tatem regni. Si au[tem] in via morere-
mur: volumus. ut honores et dig-
nitates eccl[es]iar[um] donent illis: quos
magis dignos vid[er]int. Q[uo]d ut fir-

[363] Carpentier, Pon and Chauvin have transcribed this word as “destructe,” and have “distructe” as an alternative. Carpentier, Pon, and Chauvin, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 282.

mum et stabile p[er]maneat: p[re]sente[m]
paginam sigilli n[ost]ri auctoritate /(fol. 270vb)
et regii no[min]is karat[er]e inferius anno-
tato: p[re]cipimus confirmari. Actu[m]
paris[us]. anno v[er]bi incarnati $M^0.C^0.XC^0$.
Regni n[ost]ri anno .XI. astantib[us] in pa-
latio n[ost]ro: quor[um] no[m]i[n]a subposita s[un]t
et signa. S. comitis tibaldi dapiferi
n[ost]ri. S. Guidonis buticularii. S. ma-
thei camerarii. S. Radulfi consta-
bularii. Data vacante ca[n]cellaria.



Monogram, BnF MS lat. 5925 (P), fol. 270vb.

Appendix B: Translation of Chapters Seventy-Six and Seventy-Seven of Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti*

This original translation of chapter seventy-six and seventy-seven of Rigord's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* is based on the transcription of BNF MS lat. 5925 (P) provided in Appendix A.

76: That King Philip received the staff and scrip of pilgrimage in the church of the blessed Denis.

In the year of the Lord 1190, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist, King Philip went to the church of the most blessed martyr Denis with the greatest retinue for the sake of receiving permission [to go]. For, since antiquity, it was the custom of the kings of the Franks that whenever they took up arms against enemies, they brought with them a flag from above the altar of the blessed Denis for guardianship or protection and they placed [it] on the first battle line of fighters. When the enemies saw and recognized [it], oftentimes they fled, terrified. Therefore, the most Christian king, humbly prostrate before the body of the sacred martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius upon the marble floor in prayer, commended himself to God and to the blessed virgin Mary and to the holy martyrs and to all saints. Then, arising with tears from prayer, he accepted in that moment with the utmost devotion the pilgrim's scrip and staff from the hand of his uncle William Archbishop of Reims, legate of the apostolic see. Next, he accepted with his own hands from above the bodies of the saints two best silk standards and two great flags properly marked with gold crosses for the memory of the sacred martyrs and protection as he went to fight against enemies of the cross of Christ. Finally, commending himself to the prayers of the brothers, and having received the blessing of the nail and the Crown of Thorns and the arms of the elder Saint

Symeon, he withdrew, and on the Thursday after the octave of Saint John the Baptist, with Richard the king of England, he arrived at Vézelay. There, having received permission from all his barons, he commended all the kingdom of France with his most beloved son Louis to Adele, his dearest mother, and his uncle William, archbishop of Reims, for protection and guardianship. And after a few days unfolded, he came to Genoa where ships and whatever was necessary for sustenance, with equipment, was most diligently made ready. Also, at Marseille, Richard the king of the English with all his own entered the sea. And thus, now the said catholic kings for the defense of holy Christianity and because of love for our lord Jesus Christ committed themselves to the winds and the sea. They arrived at Messina with many great trials. But before King Philip departed from the kingdom of the Franks, convening [his] friends and household in Paris, he put together his testament and made ordinance of the whole kingdom in this way:

In the name of the holy and undivided trinity, amen. Philip by the grace of God king of the Franks. It is the duty of the king to provide for the condition of their subjects and to place the public before his private profit. Therefore, since with the highest desire we embrace with all strength the vow of our pilgrimage for the aid of the Holy Land, for that reason, by the council of the Most High, we decided to ordain how the business of the kingdom that must be done in our absence ought to be handled, and if we should die, how the end of our life is to be arranged.

In the first place, therefore, we order that our baillis install for each prévôt in our dominions four prudent men, legitimate and of good testimony. The business of town should not be handled without the counsel of two of them at least, except for at Paris, where we appoint

six virtuous and legitimate men whose names are these: T. A. E. R. B. N. And we placed our baillis who are distinct in their particular names in our lands, and in their bailliages they will create one day each month which is called “the day of assizes” in which all those who make a complaint will receive his right and justice through them without delay. And we will receive our rights and our justice, and our forfeits will be written there.

Moreover, we wish and order that our dear mother Queen A[dele] establish with our dear and faithful uncle William, archbishop of Reims, one day every four months at Paris in which they shall hear the complaints of the people of our kingdom and resolve them there according to the honor of God and the benefit of the kingdom.

We order furthermore that on this day our baillis from each of our estates will be before [the queen and the archbishop], who hold the day of assizes so that they will publicly recite to them the business of our land. But if any of our baillis shall transgress, except in murder or rape or homicide or treason, and this is certain to the archbishop and queen and others who will be present, we order that they hear the misdeeds of our bailli, and they will show us each year and three times in a year by their letters to us on the aforesaid days which bailli transgressed, what he did, and what and from whom he had accepted money or gift or service, on account of which our people lost their right or we ours. Likewise, our baillis shall show this to us from our prévôts.

However, the queen and archbishop cannot remove our baillis from their bailliages except for murder or rape or homicide or treason, nor the baillis the prévôts, except on account of any of these [misdeeds]. But we, with the counsel of God, will make vengeance on them

after the aforesaid men announced the truth of the matter in a way which will reasonably deter others. Similarly, the Queen and Archbishop shall make known the state and business of our kingdom three times in a year.

If perhaps an episcopal see or other royal abbey happens to be vacant, we wish that the canons of the church or the monks of the vacant monastery come before the queen and archbishop as they came before us and seek free election from them. And we wish that without contradiction they grant [it] to them. We truly advise the canons and monks that they choose such a pastor who will please God and shall be of use to the kingdom. Moreover, the Queen and Archbishop shall hold the regalia in their hand all this time while the elected are consecrated or blessed, and then the regalia without objection shall be returned to them.

Moreover, we order that, if prebends or some ecclesiastical benefice should fall vacant when the regalia has come in our hands, let the queen and archbishop bestow [them] on honest and lettered men and on the advice of brother B[ernard] according to what is best and most honest, save for our gifts which we made to others through our letters patent. And we forbid that all church prelates and our men pay neither talliage nor tolte as long as we are in the service of God.

If truly the Lord God should work his will and we should happen to die, we most strictly forbid that any men of our land, whether clergy or laity, pay neither talliage nor tolte as long as our son, may God deem him worthy to conserve to his service healthy and unhurt, comes to a state in which he shall be able to rule the kingdom by the grace of the Holy

Spirit. Also, if anyone shall wish to stir up war on our son and the income which he has does not suffice, then let all men of ours help him with his body and treasure and the churches will render aid to him such as they are accustomed to make to us.

We forbid furthermore that our prévôts and baillis seize neither any man nor his treasure so long as he will give good faith guarantors for pursuing justice in our court, except for homicide or murder or rape or treason.

Moreover, we order that all our property and services and income shall be brought forth at Paris three times. First: on the feast of Saint Remi.[364] Second: at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.[365] Third: on the Ascension;[366] and shall be handed over to our aforesaid bourgeois and P[eter] the Marshall. If any of them should happen to die: G[uillaume] of Garland should substitute another in his place. In the reception of our treasury, Adam our cleric will be present and will record them and each shall have a single key for each chest in which our treasure will be stored in the Temple, and the Temple [shall have] one [key]. From this treasury will be sent to us only how many we will order in our letters.

If, on the journey that we make, we should happen to die, we order that the queen and archbishop and the bishop of Paris and abbots of Saint-Victor and Cernay and brother B[ernard] will divide our treasure in two parts. One half they shall distribute according to their judgement for repairing churches, which have been destroyed by our wars, so that the

[364] October 1st.

[365] February 2nd.

[366] May 13th.

service of God can be done in them. From the same half they will give to those who, through our taillages, are impoverished, and from the same [half] the remainder will be given to whomever they wish and whom they shall believe to need [it] more greatly for the remedy of our soul and of our father King Louis and our predecessors. From the other half, we order that the guardians of our treasury and all people of Paris guard it for the work of our son until he comes to a state in which, with the council of God and with his sense, he would be able to rule the kingdom. But if both we and our son die, we order our treasury be distributed through the hand of the seven aforesaid for our soul and of our son, according to their judgement.

And as soon as they are certain of our death, we wish that our treasury, wherever it may be, be brought to the house of the bishop of Paris and there guarded, and afterwards what we arranged will be done with it.

And we order the queen and archbishop hold in their hand all honors which, while they are vacant, pertain to our gift that they will be able to retain honorably, such as our abbeys and deanery and other honorable employments, until we have returned from the service of God. And they shall give those they will not be able to retain according to God and shall appoint [them] according to the council of brother B[ernard], and this shall be done to the honor of God and the utility of the kingdom. But if we die along the way, we wish that they give honors and dignities of the churches to those who seem to them most appropriate.

We order the present page to be confirmed by the authority of our seal and the monogram of the royal name will be written down below so that it shall stay firm and stable. Done in

Paris in the year of the Incarnate Word 1190, in the eleventh year of our reign, at our palace, in the presence of those whose names and marks are below. Signed by count Thibaut, seneschal, Guy the butler, Matthew the chamberlain, and Ralph the constable. Given while the office of the chancellor was vacant.

[Monogram]