which covered the face of the earth like locusts. When the count of Flanders saw the king's army, that it was very great and strong, his spirit was troubled, and the hearts of his people became as water, so that they sought safety in flight. Then the count took counsel with his own, and sent messengers to call to his presence Theobald, count of Blois, chief of the king's knights and seneschal of France, and William, archbishop of Rheims — both uncles of the king, to whom the direction of affairs had been intrusted at this time because they were faithful to the king.

The count of Flanders used them as intermediaries and through them addressed the king in this wise: "Let thine anger toward us cease, Lord. Come to us in peaceful guise, and use our service as shall be pleasing in thy sight. The land which thou desirest, my lord king, Vermandois, with all the castles and vills belonging to it, I will restore to thee, my lord king, in its entirety, freely, and without delay. But if it shall please your royal majesty, I beg that the castle of St. Quentin and the castle of Péronne may be granted to me as a kingly gift to be held so long as I live. After my death they shall, without controversy, devolve upon thee or thy successors, the kings of the French."

When Philip, most Christian king of the French, had heard this message, he called together all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, viscounts, and all the barons who had come with one accord to subdue the insolence of the count of Flanders and to humble his pride. He took counsel with them, and they answered as with one voice that this which the count of Flanders proposed to the king should be done. When this decision had been reached, the count of Flanders was introduced, and before all the nobles and the throng gathered there, he restored to Philip, the lawful king, the land he had so long wrongfully held; and then and there, after he had restored the land before them all, he put the king in possession of it.

Further, he promised the king upon his oath to make good, without delay, and according to the king's will, all the losses he had inflicted upon Baldwin, count of Hainault, and other

friends of the king. And thus was peace restored between the king and the count as by a miracle, for it was concluded without shedding human blood. And when all the people heard of these things they were filled with great joy, and praised and blessed God who saves those who put their hope in him.

V. Philip Augustus and John of England

94a. How Philip Augustus took Normandy from King John. (From *Rigord.*)

In 1201 John, king of England, came to Paris and was received with much honor by King Philip. When he withdrew to his own lands again, he and Philip appeared to be upon the best terms, and the French king was able to turn his attention to a couple of recalcitrant counts who were "persecuting the churches of God and despoiling them of their goods," and who refused to obey his summons to appear at his court. But meanwhile new difficulties arose with King John. These are explained by Rigord as follows:

John of England refuses to do homage to Philip Augustus.

The king of the French summoned John, king of England, as his liegeman, holding from him the counties of Poitou and Anjou and the duchy of Aquitaine, to come two weeks after Easter to Paris to give a satisfactory answer to the charges which Philip made against him. But since the king of England, instead of coming in person on the day indicated, did not even send a satisfactory reply, the king of the French, with the advice of his princes and barons, assembled an army, entered Normandy, and took the little fort of Boutavant, which he destroyed. Orgueil, Mortemer, and all the land which Hugh of Gournay held soon fell into his power. At Gournay he made Arthur [John's brother] a knight and delivered to him the county of Brittany, which had fallen to him by hereditary right. He even added the counties of Anjou and of Poitou, which he had acquired by right of arms. Lastly, he gave him the support of two hundred knights, with a considerable sum of money. Then the king received

Arthur as his liegeman. The latter, with the king's permission, left him in July.

A few days later Arthur rashly advanced with a small troop of men into the territory of the king of England, who suddenly came upon him with a vast multitude of armed men, defeated him, and carried him away prisoner with Hugh le Brun, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and several other knights. King Philip, having learned this news, immediately abandoned the siege of the castle of Arques and appeared with his army before Tours, took the town, and set fire to it. The king of England, on his side, arrived, at the head of his troops, after the departure of the king of France and destroyed the same city with its castle.

Perfidious conduct of King John.

A few days after, the king of England took the viscount of Limoges and carried him off with him. Although Hugh le Brun, viscount of Thouars, Geoffrey of Lusignan, and the viscount of Limoges were all liegemen of the king of England, nevertheless they allied themselves with the king of the French, both by oath and through hostages. For King John had perfidiously carried off the wife of Hugh le Brun, daughter of the count of Angoulême, and this outrage, added to other grievances of the same lords of Poitou, alienated their fidelity to King John. The following winter the two kings discontinued their war after having guarded their fortresses, without, however, concluding either peace or a truce. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1202, in the fortnight following Easter, the king of the French had raised an army, entered Aquitaine, and, with the aid of the people of Poitou and of Brittany, had taken several fortresses. It was at this time that the count of Alençon formed an alliance with King Philip and put his whole land under the protection of this prince. The king then returned to Normandy with his army, and took possession of Conques and the island of Andelys and of Vaudreuil.

Innocent III tries to reëstablish peace between Philip and John.

While these things were taking place in France, Pope Innocent III sent the abbot of Casemar to the king of the French and the king of England with the view of reëstablishing peace. Conformably to the orders of the pope his lord, the abbot joined to himself the abbot of Trois-Fontaines, and with his aid made clear to the two princes the wishes of the pope. The pope ordered them to convoke the archbishops, bishops, and the other great people of the whole kingdom, in order, while guarding their respective rights, to make peace in the presence of the assembly and to reëstablish in their former estate the monasteries and nunneries, as well as the churches, which had been destroyed in the course of their wars. Philip received this injunction at Mantes in the week of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin Mary. He immediately appealed in the presence of the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, who submitted the whole case to the examination of the sovereign pontiff.

The last day of the same month the king of France assembled an army and besieged Rodepont. In about a fortnight, having raised about the place his movable wooden towers and set up his other machines of war, he took the town. He secured as prisoners twenty knights who had bravely defended themselves, a hundred squires, and thirty crossbowmen.

Philip attacks and takes Castle Gaillard.

When he had recovered his strength and that of his army he laid siege to Castle Gaillard, in the month of September following. This was a strong fortress which King Richard had had constructed upon a high rock which dominated the Seine near the island of Andelys. The king of the French and his army were delayed by the siege of this place for five months, for they were unwilling to undertake an assault lest much blood should be spilled and they might damage the walls and the tower. They hoped to force the besieged to surrender through hunger and deprivation. [Later the king decided upon an attack and successfully took the fortress by assault.] . . .

Philip conquers Normandy.

In the year of our Lord 1203, Philip, king of the French, having assembled his army, entered Normandy on the 2d of May, took Falaise, a very strong castle, Domfront, and a very rich town which the people call Caen. He also brought under his control all the neighboring districts as far as Mont St. Michel. The Normans then came to ask for

mercy and delivered up the towns which had been confided to their protection, — Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Avranches, with their castles and suburbs. As for Evraux and Séez, he already had them in his power. Of all Normandy there only remained Rouen, — a very rich town, full of noble men, the capital of all Normandy, — and Verneuil and Arques, strong towns well situated and well defended. Returning from Caen, the king, having left garrisons in the various cities and castles, laid siege to Rouen.

The Normans, seeing that they could not defend themselves, nor could expect any aid from the king of England, began to think of surrender; nevertheless they judiciously took precautions in order to remain faithful to the king of England. They humbly asked the king of the French to grant a truce of thirty days, which should close at the feast of St. John, for their own city [Rouen] and for Verneuil and Arques, which were in league with Rouen. In this interval they might be able to send to the king of England and ask for aid in so pressing a danger. If he should refuse, the Normans agreed to place their goods and persons, the city and the said castles, in the hands of the victorious Philip, king of the French, and to give as hostages sixty sons of the burghers of Rouen.

At the feast of St. John, the burghers, having received no aid from the king of England, fulfilled their promise and delivered to the king of the French their city of Rouen, a rich town, the capital of all Normandy, with the two castles of which we have spoken above. Three hundred and sixteen years had elapsed since this city and all Normandy had ceased to belong to the kings of France. The Northman Rollo, who had come with his pagan followers, had taken it by right of arms in the time of Charles the Simple.

VI. St. Louis

We are particularly fortunate in possessing full and interesting accounts of St. Louis, who was the very ideal of a devout and sagacious mediæval ruler. The most famous of his biographers was the courtly Sire de Joinville, who was brought up at the elegant and refined court of the counts of Champagne. He was born in 1225, and although eleven years younger than the king, he became his friend and companion, and had excellent opportunities to acquaint himself with the king's character and to follow the events of his reign. Joinville was one of the first to desert Latin and write a serious historical work in French.

95. Revolt of the barons at the opening of the reign of Louis IX (From *Joinville.*)

As I have heard say, our sainted king Louis was born on the feast of St. Mark the evangelist, after Easter [1214]. . . . God, in whom he put his trust, watched over him always, from his infancy to the end, but especially in his childhood, when he had greatest need of his care, as you shall hear later. God saved his soul through the pious care of his mother, who taught him to believe in God and to love him, and kept him surrounded by devout and religious people. Even as a child she made him attend the daily services and listen to the sermons on feast days. He remembered hearing his mother often say that she would rather that he were dead than that he should commit a mortal sin.

In his youth he had sore need of God's aid, for his mother, who came from Spain, had neither relatives nor friends in the whole kingdom of France. And when the barons of France saw that their king was a child and the queen mother a foreign woman, they made the count of Boulogne their head and treated him in all things as their lord. After the king had been crowned there were certain barons who demanded that the queen should give them extensive lands, and when she would not they assembled at Corbeil. And the sainted king has told me how he and his mother, who were at Montlhéry, dared not return to Paris until their supporters there came for them in arms. He told me, too, that all the way from Montlhéry to Paris the roads were full of men, armed and unarmed, and that they all called on

our Lord to grant the king a long and happy life and defend him from his enemies. And God did even so, as you shall hear.

How St. Louis and his knights fought in Egypt.

Louis got the better of his many enemies at home, and in 1248 went on a crusade directed against the sultan of Egypt, who had gained possession of Jerusalem four years before. Joinville accompanied his king and gives many vivid accounts of the fighting in Egypt.

While I was on foot with my knights, and wounded, as I have just been relating, the king came along with his own body of troops, amidst a great shouting and noise of trumpets and kettledrums, and halted on the highroad. Never have I seen knight so noble, for he stood head and shoulders above all his attendants, a golden helmet on his head, and in his hand a German sword.

As soon as he came to a halt the good knights in his following, whom I have already named to you, rushed pell mell upon the Turks. And then followed a splendid feat of arms; none drew bow or crossbow, but it was a combat at close quarters, with sword and battle-ax, between the Turks and our people, all mixed up together. One of my squires, who had escaped [from a previous encounter] with my banner and returned to me, loaned me one of my Flemish stallions, which I mounted and rode off side by side with the king.

[In the midst of a council of war as to the course to be pursued] the constable, Monseigneur Imbert de Beaujeu came to the king to tell him that his brother, the count of Artois, was defending himself in a house at Mansourah and needed aid. The king said, "Constable, go you ahead and I will follow you." And I said to the constable that I would go with him and be his knight, for which he thanked me heartily. So we set out for Mansourah. . . .

As we came down along the river bank, between the brook and the river, we saw the king near the river, and that the Turks were pushing back our troops toward the river, driving them on with furious strokes of battle-ax and sword. So great was the havoc that some of our people thought to escape by swimming across the river to the duke of Bourgoyne's side, which, however, they were unable to do, for the horses were weary and the day grown very hot; so that, as we came down, we saw the river full of lances and shields, and of drowning men and horses who perished there.

We came presently to a little bridge or culvert over the brook, and I said to the constable that we would better stay and guard it, "for, if we leave it, they will rush across it to attack the king, and if our men are assailed from both sides at once they are likely to succumb." So we did this. And men said that we should all have been lost that day if it had not been for the king's being there in person. For the sire of Courtenay and Monseigneur Jean de Saillenay told me how six Turks seized the king's horse by the bridle and were going to take him prisoner, and how he, with great slashing sword cuts, delivered himself from them unaided. And when his men saw how the king defended himself they took heart, and some of them gave up trying to get across the river and came to his support. . . .

[The constable went to seek aid, leaving Joinville and two other knights to hold the bridge, which they did, in spite of many wounds. At sunset the constable brought a company of crossbowmen, who ranged themselves in front of us; and when the Saracens saw them preparing to discharge their crossbows they took to flight and left us. Then the constable said to me, "Seneschal, this is well done; now you must go to the king, and do not leave him until he dismounts at his own tent." Just as I reached the king, Monseigneur Jean de Valery came and said, "Sire, Monseigneur de Châtillon requests that you assign to him the rear guard." This the king did gladly, and then we set out. As we went along I got him to take off his helmet, and I lent him my iron one so that he might get some air. . . .

After we had passed the river there came to him Henry de Ronnay, marshal of the hospital, and kissed his hand, all in armor as it was. The king asked if he could give him any tidings of his brother, the count of Artois, and he said

he could indeed, for he was sure the count of Artois was in paradise. "But O sire," said the marshal, "be of good comfort; for never did a king of France win greater honor than has fallen to you. You have swum a river in order to fight your enemies; you have routed them and driven them from the battlefield, have captured their tents and engines of warfare, and to-night you shall sleep in their camp." And the king replied that God be praised for all that he had done for him; but great tears fell from his eyes.

The following anecdote shows the king's charming courtesy as well as his extreme conscientiousness.

How St. Louis thought people should dress.

One day in Pentecost the saintly king was at Corbeil, where there were eighty chevaliers. After dinner the king came down into the courtyard beneath the chapel and was talking in the gateway with the count of Brittany, the father of the present duke, God keep him! Master Robert de Sorbonne[1] came seeking me and, taking me by the hem of my cloak, led me to the king; and all the other gentlemen followed us. So I said to Master Robert, "Master Robert, what do you want with me?" and he said to me, "If the king should seat himself here in the courtyard and you should go and sit above him on the same bench, would you think yourself blameworthy?" And I replied that I should. And he said, "Then you are also blameworthy when you wear finer clothes than the king, for you array yourself in ermine and cloth of green, which the king never does."

"But," I said, "Master Robert, saving your grace, I am not to blame in wearing ermine and cloth of green, for it is the habit of dress that has come down to me from my father and my mother. But you, on the contrary, are much to be blamed, for your father was a villein and your mother was a villein, and you have forsaken the dress of your father and your mother, and wear finer camelot than the king." And I took the skirt of his outer coat and that of the king's and

[1] The founder of the college which grew into the famous divinity school at Paris.

said to him, "Look now, if I do not speak the truth." Then the king set himself to speak in defense of Master Robert with all his might.

Afterward my lord the king called my lord Philip, his son, the father of the present king, and King Thibaut,[1] and, seating himself at the entrance to his oratory, he put his hand on the ground and said to them, "Sit here close by me so that no one can hear us." "O, sire," they said, "we dare not seat ourselves so close to you." Then he said to me, "Seneschal, sit here," which I did, and so close to him that my garments touched his. Then he made them sit down after me and said to them, "You did very wrong, you who are my sons, not to do at once what I commanded; see that it does not happen again." And they said that it should not.

Then he said to me that he had summoned us in order to confess to me that he had been wrong in defending Master Robert against me. "But," he said, "I saw that he was so thunderstruck that he was in sore need of my aid. However, do not mind anything I may have said in defense of Master Robert; for, as the seneschal told him, you should always dress neatly and well, for your ladies will love you the better for it, and your servants value you the more. As the philosopher says, one should array oneself, both as to clothing and arms, in such a manner that the men of sense of his generation cannot cry that he dresses too well, nor the young people that he dresses too poorly."

St. Louis listens to lawsuits under the oak tree.

When it was summer King Louis went and sat him down in the forest of Vincennes after mass, taking his place under an oak tree, and making us sit down by him. Then those who had anything to say to him might come without the interposition of any usher or other attendant. Then he would ask of them, "Is there any one here who has any case to be decided?" and those who had a case would rise; then he would say, "All must keep silence, for we must take up one matter after another." And then he called M. de Fontaines and M. Geoffrey de Villette, and said to one of them,

[1] Of Navarre, the son-in-law of St. Louis.

"Hand the brief to me"; and when he saw anything to better in the words of those who spoke for another, he corrected them with his own mouth.

Sometimes in summer I have seen him, in order to dispose of his people's affairs, come into the garden in Paris dressed in a coat of camelot, with a sleeveless garment of linsey-woolsey, a cloak of black taffeta about his shoulders, his hair carefully dressed, but with no headdress save a hat of white peacock feathers. He would have carpets spread down so that we might sit about him, and all the people who had business to bring before him stood round about. And then he would attend to them in the manner I have described above in the forest of Vincennes.

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B. Additional reading in English.

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One *source* only is available in English; it is, however, one of the most famous historical works of the Middle Ages, — *The Life of St. Louis*, by JOINVILLE, mentioned above. It may be found in the *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Bohn Library).

C. Materials for advanced study.

Histoire de France, edited by LAVISSE, Vol. II, Part II, and Vol. III; Parts I and II, by LUCHAIRE and LANGLOIS. An admirable and very recent account of the whole period, with special chapters on its social and economic as well as its political aspects.

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Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française, edited by PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, 1896 *sqq.* Vols. I and II relate to the Middle Ages. A scholarly, interesting, and beautifully illustrated work by a number of well-known French specialists, which serves to supplement the general history as narrated, for example, in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France.*

Great collections of sources for French history.

France has several great collections of historical material; the most important are the following:

Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, — often cited as "Bouquet," the name of the Benedictine monk who was the first editor of the collection in the eighteenth century, Paris, 1738–1876, 23 thick

folio volumes. Begun like the *Histoire littéraire* (see below) by the monks of St. Maur. The more recent volumes are well edited and supplied with useful indices. This series is being continued in quarto.

Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1835 *sqq*. Some 230 volumes have appeared. A vast and invaluable collection, still in course of publication, undertaken by the French government at the instigation of Guizot when minister of public instruction. Especially rich in documents and letters. See Potthast, pp. liv *sqq*. for contents.

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Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris, 1886 *sqq*. An admirably edited and annotated, inexpensive collection of important sources for mediæval and modern French history. It corresponds with the octavo edition of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (see below), and should be in every college library.

Guizot, *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1823–1835, 31 vols., 8vo. A fairly accurate translation into French of a number of the most important mediæval chronicles.

Histoire littéraire de la France, Paris, 1733–1895, 32 vols., 4to. A very famous and often cited work, begun by the Benedictine monks of St. Maur, and continued by the members of the French Institute. Contains so full and elaborate an analysis of the literary monuments of France down to the fourteenth century that it takes, in a way, the place of a collection of the sources themselves.

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Richer, monk residing at Rheims between 966 and 998. His *Historiarum Libri IV* (888–995), while rhetorical and partisan, tell us about all we know of the revolution which put Hugh Capet on the throne. See extract above, p. 195. (Octavo edition of the *Monumenta; Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. XXXVII; French translation, published by *Société de l'histoire de France*.) Richer's account may be controlled by the remarkable letters of the famous Gerbert, his teacher and friend (edited by Havet in the *Collection de textes*).

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The most important and interesting source for the twelfth century is the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Ordericus Vitalis, who was born in England in 1075, but spent the greater part of his life in Normandy. His so-called *Historia* is really a collection of four or five historical treatises, — a short chronicle, an account of the expeditions of the Normans, a history of France and the Christian world, 751–1141, etc. Full of personal reminiscences, vivid and sometimes humorous (published by *Société de l'histoire de France*, 5 vols.; English translation, by Forester, 4 vols., Bohn Library).

Suger, *Life of Louis the Fat*, written between 1138 and 1144. See above, pp. 198 *sqq*. (*Collection de textes;* Guizot, *Collection*, Vol. VIII.)

Historical works by the monks of St. Denis

Rigord, *Deeds of Philip Augustus*, completed about 1200. See above, pp. 206 *sqq*. (*Société de l'histoire de France;* Guizot, *Collection*, Vol. II.)

Rigord, like Suger, was a member of the great monastery of St. Denis. Their historical work was continued for two centuries by their fellow-monks, who constituted themselves royal historiographers. The best known of this group in the thirteenth century was William of Nangis (d. *ca.* 1300), who compiled a chronicle and lives of St. Louis and Philip III, which are valuable in parts, but have little of the charm of Joinville (Bouquet, Vol. XX).

The once highly esteemed *Grandes chroniques de la France* are a compilation in French of the contributions of the monks of St. Denis, preceded by older sources, such as the *Annals of Lorsch* and *Annals of Einhard*, together with much quite unworthy material.

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