That King Philip received the pilgrim’s staff and wallet in the church of the Blessed Dionysius

§69     In the year of the Lord 1190, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist,1 King Philip came with a huge retinue to the church of the most blessed martyr Dionysius for the sake of receiving permission [to go on pilgrimage]. For since antiquity the kings of the French have had the custom that whenever they take up arms against an enemy, they take with them the oriflamme over the altar of the blessed Dionysius for their safety and protection and place it in the first line of fighters. When their adversaries see it and realize what it is they often turn tail and run away in terror. Now then, this most Christian king humbly prostrated himself in prayer upon the marble floor before the bodies of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius and entrusted himself to God, the Virgin Mary, the holy martyrs, and all the saints. When he finally arose from prayer in tears, he received with utmost devotion the pilgrim’s staff and wallet from the hand of Archbishop William of Reims, his uncle and the legate of the apostolic see. Then he took with his own hands two fine silken standards from above the bodies of the saints and two great banners fittingly marked with crosses in gold embroidery in memory of the saints and for protection as he went off to fight the enemies of the cross of Christ. Then, after commending himself to the brothers’ prayer and receiving the blessing of the nail, crown of thorns, and the arm of St Symeon, he departed and, on the fourth day after the octave of Saint John the Baptist,2 came with King Richard of England to Vézelay. There, after receiving permission from all his barons, he entrusted the kingdom and his most beloved son Louis to his dearest mother, Adela, and his uncle William, archbishop of Reims, for their safety and protection. Several days later, he arrived in Genoa, where he had had ships, arms, and whatever was necessary for provisions most carefully prepared. Richard, king of England, embarked at Marseilles with all his men. And thus the aforementioned catholic king, entrusting themselves to wind and waves to defend holy Christendom and out their love for our Lord Jesus Christ, arrived at Messina3 after many and great perils.

§70    But before King Philip left the kingdom of the French, he gathered his friends and familiars in Paris, made a will, and established the administration of the entire kingdom in the following way.4

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, amen. Philip, king of the French by the grace of God.

It is the king’s duty to provide in every way for the comfort of his subjects and to set the public good ahead of his own. Therefore, since we shall embrace with utmost desire and with all our might our pilgrimage vow to aid the Holy Land, by the counsel of the Most High we have decided to ordain how, in our absence, the affairs of the realm which shall need to be handled, should be handled and how the remains of our life should be disposed of if

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1 June 24.
2 July 4.
3 In Sicily.
4 This political testament is preserved in other sources.
something should happen along the way as happens in human affairs.

First, we order that our bailiffs place four prudent men, legitimately born and of good reputation, in each district under our control. Without their counsel, or the counsel of at least two of them, the business of the town should not be handled, except for Paris where we have appointed six proven and legitimately born men whose names are theses: T.A.E.R.B.N.

And in our lands which are distinguished by proper names we have placed our bailiffs who shall establish one day each month in their bailliwick which is called an “assize”. On this day, everyone who has a complaint to make, shall receive his rights and justice through them without delay, and we our rights and our justice. The wrongs which are properly ours shall be written down there.

We wish and command that our dearest mother Adela, the queen, establish with our dearest and faithful uncle, William, archbishop of Reims, one day every four months in Paris on which they shall hear the complaints of the people of our realm, and make an end of them there to the honor of God and the good of the kingdom.

We further order that on this day the bailiffs from each one of our estates who shall hold the assizes appear before them and recount to them the business of our land.

If any of our bailiffs should commit a crime, especially in murder, whether in rape or homicide or treachery, and this shall be confirmed to the archbishop and queen and to others who shall be present to hear the wrongs of our bailiffs, we order them to indicate to us each year, three times a year, in their letters on these days which bailiff has committed a crime, what he did, what he received, and from whom he received the money, gift, or service on account of which our people lost their right or we ours.

Our bailiffs shall indicate likewise regarding our provosts.

The queen and archbishop cannot remove our bailiffs from their bailliwicks except on the grounds of murder, or rapine, or homicide, or treachery. Nor can bailiffs remove provosts, unless it is on account of one of these. We shall with God’s counsel exact such vengeance upon him once the aforementioned men have indicated the truth of the man to us, that others shall be deterred, and not without good reason.

The queen and archbishop shall likewise inform us three times a year of the state and affairs of the realm.

If perchance it happens that an episcopal see or some royal abbey falls vacant, we wish that the canons of the vacant church or the monks of the vacant monastery come before the queen and the archbishop, just as they would come before us, and seek a free election from them; and we wish that they grant it without any contradiction. But we admonish both monks and canons that they choose a pastor of the sort who shall please God and be of use to the kingdom. Let the queen and the archbishop keep the regalia in their own hands until the elected man has been consecrated or blessed and then the regalia should be handed over to him without contradiction.
We further command that if prebends or any ecclesiastical benefice should fall vacant, when the regalia come into our hands, let the queen and archbishop confer them upon honorable and lettered men on the advise of Brother Bernard, save for the gifts that we have made to some persons by means of letters patent.

We also forbid all prelates of churches and all our men lest they render talliage or arbitrary exactions as long as we are in the service of God. If the Lord God should do his will with us and we should happen to die, we most strictly forbid all persons of our land, both clergy and laity, from rendering talliage or arbitrary exaction until our son (may God deign to preserve him safe and sound for His service!) comes to the age when he can, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, rule the realm.

If anyone should wage war on our son or the income which he has is inadequate, then all our men should aid him with their bodies and treasuries, and the churches offer such aid to him as they customarily do to us.

We forbid our provosts and bailiffs from seizing any person or his treasury, as long as he would offer good oath-helpers in pursuing justice in our court, save for homicide, murder, rapine, or treachery.

Furthermore, we order all our renders and services and income be brought to Paris three times a year: first, on the feast of Saint Remi, second on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, third, on the Ascension. and let this be handed over to the aforementioned burghers and to P. the Marshal. If one of them should happen to die, let G de Garland substitute another in his place.

For our treasury’s receipts, our cleric Adam shall be present and record them all in writing; and let each man have a separate key for each chest in which our treasury is stored in the Temple, and let the Temple have one. From this treasury let only so much be sent to us as we shall request in our letters.

If we should happen to die along the route that we shall be taking, we order that the queen and the archbishop, the bishop of Paris, the abbots of Saint-Victor and Vaux-de-Cernay, and Brother B. divide our treasure into two portions. They may distribute one half at their own disgression to repair the churches which have been destroyed on account of our wars so that the service of God can be performed in them. From the same half, they shall give to those who have been impoverished by our talliages and from the same half they shall give the remainder to whomsoever they wish and whom they believe to need it more for the remedy of our soul and that of our father King Louis, and our predecessors. From the other half, we order the caretakers of our treasury and all the people of Paris to guard it for the benefit of our son until he reaches the age at which he can rule the kingdom with the counsel of God and his own sense.

If it should happen that both we and our son dies, we order that our treasury be distributed by the power of the seven aforementioned persons at their own disgression for our soul and that of our son. As soon as there should be certain

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5 I.e., the liturgy, esp. the Mass.
news of our death, we wish that our treasury, wherever it may be, be brought to the palace of the bishop of Paris and there guarded and from there it shall be handled as we have decreed.

We also order the queen and the archbishop that when offices fall vacant, they retain in their power all those pertaining to our gift which they can honorably retain, such as abbeys and certain other dignities, until we return from God’s service. And those which they cannot retain, they donate according to God and assign them on the advice of Brother B. and they do this to the honor of God and the benefit of the realm. If we die on the journey, we wish that they give the honors and dignities to those whom they perceive most deserve them.

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§71 He also ordered the citizens of Paris that the city of Paris, which the king greatly loved, was to be enclosed with a most excellent wall most fittingly equipped with tournelles and carefully closed with gates. And this we saw completed in a short space of time. And he commanded the same thing be done in other cities and castles throughout the entire kingdom.