# The Third Time Was the Charm? Philip of France and the Third Crusade

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**Abstract:** This article examines the role of Philip II "Augustus" (r. 1180–1223) in the Third Crusade. It argues that Philip's role has been largely overlooked in the historiography, due in part to the replication of biases inherent to the source materials and has thus been traditionally studied as a separate and oblique part of the French king's reign. The article argues instead that Philip's understanding of his role as a crusader-king was a critical part of his reign and that Philip's crusading involvement sustained an ideology and execution of sacral Capetian kingship, bridging a critical period in French monarchical history. It emphasizes the sacerdotal representation of medieval monarchical power in contemporary discourses of kingship and argues for the existence of a theoretical framework of uniquely Capetian sacral kingship that consciously informed Philip's most significant political and administrative reforms. By focusing on Philip's role during the Third Crusade, and highlighting his early support and engagement with Outremer for the purposes of the crusade, this paper challenges traditional historiographical interpretations of Philip's crusading and posits an alternative framework to highlight the centrality of crusading in Philip's conception and execution of Capetian kingship. The article examines his leadership and participation in the expedition and how it provided opportunities for the public ceremonial reification of Capetian sovereignty. It closely studies the ceremonial and ideological foundations of crusading and its intersection with material transformations to medieval governance. Finally, it stresses the direct impact the crusading movement had on the shape and strength of royal government. It argues that Philip's involvement in the Third Crusade fundamentally influenced the presentation and exercise of royal power, substantially strengthened a nascent ideology of sacral Capetian kingship, and positioned the Capetians to effectively integrate themselves as the leaders of a medieval Mediterranean commercial and social network.

*Past Imperfect* | ISSN 1718-4487
Volume 26, 2024/25, pp. 3–38


DOI: 10.21971/pi29427

# Introduction

The Third Crusade (c. 1188–92) is one of the most well-documented military expeditions launched in the Middle Ages from Latin Europe to the Mediterranean. The conflict, which was Latin Christendom's response to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, was characterized by the outsized personalities of its leaders like Richard the Lionheart, Frederick Barbarossa, and Saladin, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt. Yet the king of France, Philip II (r. 1180–1223), also known as Philip Augustus, however is not frequently remembered among this litany of great figures. A monarch more known for his political maneuvering, Philip has been frequently characterized, both by contemporary writers and modern historians, by his unwillingness to engage in open warfare, his conflicts with the papacy over his marital disputes, and his allegedly unappealing personal character. His contribution to the Third Crusade is often minimized in comparison with Richard's, contributing fewer men and monies to the expedition and returning to Europe well before the English king.[1] Philip's physical presence on the Third Crusade is often presented as an outlier in his reign and a clear endpoint to any assessment of his involvement or support for the crusading movement. His procrastination and delay in departing for the Levant, his early return from the crusade before even setting eyes on Jerusalem, and his subsequent moves to take control of still-absent Richard's territory, has broadly coloured historiographical and contemporary interpretation of Philip's attitude to crusading.[2] All this has contributed to a historiographical willingness to analyze Philip's crusading participation separately from his efforts to strengthen the constitutional power of the French monarchy.[3] Only recently has crusading been studied as an ongoing and complementary facet of elite medieval, social and political systems in the Central Middle Ages. It is to this effect that Philip's involvement and

1. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Consider Gérard Sivery's verdict on the Third Crusade: "Philippe s'affole, devient craintif, angoisse, prudent à l'extrême et préfère abandonner le champ de bataille au valeureux Richard qui ne rejette pas cette occasion insigne de prouesses et va y gagner son surnom" (Philip panics, becomes... extremely cautious and prefers to abandon the field of battle to the valiant Richard, who does not reject this exceptional opportunity to show his prowess and will earn his nickname there). Gerard Sivery, *Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Perrin, 2003), 86–88.

2. Jean Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le Temps de Mutation*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 423.

3. This is particularly prevalent in the historiography of the Angevin empire. John Gillingham's *Richard I* goes so far as to claim Philip's early return from the Third Crusade was a "permanent slur" upon his reputation. John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 163–164. See also Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010), 387, 449; Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–1199* (New York: Pearson Education, 2000), 130; Marianne J. Ailes, "Heroes of War: Ambroise's Heroes of the Third Crusade," in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corrinne Saunders, Francoise Le Saux, and Neil Thomas (Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 42–44.

leadership on the Third Crusade should be understood to have exercised a significant and long-term impact on his reign.

Closer examination of contemporary chronicles and accounts of Philip's reign challenge this scholarly trend and suggest instead that Philip saw crusading as an integral component of Capetian kingship, with the crusading movement remaining a personal focus throughout his reign. Philip's varied contributions to the Third Crusade were more substantial than has generally been accepted, and this involvement in the wider crusading movement facilitated and created the conditions for the political and administrative reforms enacted during Philip's reign.[4] In fact, crusading was a significant developmental factor in the evolution of French medieval governance under Philip II. The bureaucratic mechanisms set up in order to manage the French government in the absence of the king on crusade would prove a durable foundation for the expansion of royal power under Philip's successors. His administration, meanwhile, would continue to rely upon men who had served alongside the Capetian monarch during the Third Crusade. This article will demonstrate that the Third Crusade was not the end of Philip's crusading but rather represented a key stage in the development of a lasting commitment to supporting the Crusades later in his reign. This commitment played a central role in stabilizing the association of the Capetian monarchy with the crusading movement in subsequent centuries and indelibly marked the development of an ideology of sacral monarchy under Philip II.

By rejecting the orthodox analysis of Philip's participation in the Third Crusade as a limited gesture to the demands of Christian kingship and proposing a positive relationship instead, this project emphasizes that Philip saw crusading as an integral component of his duty as a Capetian monarch and a valuable tool to support an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship.[5] Philip's successful leadership and involvement transformed crusading from an aspiration to an obligation on the part of the "most-Christian kings."[6] This deliberate intersection of religious symbolism and crusader imagery shaped the presentation and practice of royal governance. The Third Crusade underpinned the entirety of Philip's reign, creating an image of a crusader king that enabled Philip and the Capetians to engage in a new vernacular discourse of authority rooted in such imagery. It was not the rejection but rather the integration of crusading into the presentation and practice of French kingship that was the lasting legacy of Philip's involvement

4. John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189–91: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 170–174; Michael Markowski, "Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 354.

5. Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 412.

6. The title of *rex christianissimus* or "most-Christian king" was granted to the French king Louis VII by Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–81) in recognition of Louis's offer of sanctuary to Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, who had fled England following a dispute with the king. It was a title that the Capetian dynasty would flaunt for the next two centuries, distinguishing them as the preeminent and most pious rulers in Latin Christendom. Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *House of Lilies: The Dynasty that Made Medieval France* (New York: Allen Lane, 2024), 105, 112.

in the Third Crusade with significant consequences for the legitimation and scope of Capetian rulership in the thirteenth century.

## The Fall of Jerusalem and the Origins of the Third Crusade

The stunning defeat of the armies of Outremer at the Battle of Hattin in 1187 sent shockwaves throughout medieval Europe.[7] The fall of Jerusalem—itself the political center of the coastal Latin enclaves—to the armies of Saladin (c. 1138–93) shortly thereafter only exacerbated these fears. The capture of the king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan (c.1150–94), and the massive casualties inflicted on the Knights Templar and the Order of the Hospital, the two military orders hitherto primarily responsible for the military defence of the crusader-states, reflected the most significant defeat of Latin armies in Outremer since the battle of Inab in 1149.[8] Perhaps even more significant to the wider Latin Christian community was the loss of the True Cross, a loss lamented by the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (*Itenerarium Peregrinorum*): "the life-giving wood of the Cross of Salvation... whose help our people had always won the victory in war—alas! was now captured by the enemy. And the bearers of the Cross fell with it, the bishop of Acre and the precentor of the Lord's Sepulchre."[9] The assertion that the cross ensured that "our people had always won the victory," and the connection it had directly to the core tenets of medieval Christian religiosity, represented a critical and dramatic trauma. Recovery of the relic would become a key part of both the early calls to the Third Crusade and Philip's personal participation in the expedition.

The fall of Jerusalem prompted a wave of epistolary calls to Latin Europe for aid. Delegates from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including the Archbishop of Tyre and the Master of the Templars, supposedly brought the news of these disasters to Europe aboard a black-sailed ship, the *Chronicle* stating:

> The archbishop of Tyre... carried the news of this great disaster to the whole of Christendom. So the wound of this small country brought pain to all lands.

7. "Outremer," meaning "lands beyond the sea," was coined to explicitly integrate this coastal enclave of Frankish settlement into the Latin Christian milieu, and referred broadly to the four largest principalities established by the leaders of the First Crusade: the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the county of Edessa. Asbridge, *The Crusades*, 115; Hosler, *The Siege of Acre*, 7–9.

8. Nicholas Morton, *The Field of Blood: The Battle for Aleppo and the Remaking of the Medieval Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 177–179; Katrina Funding Hojgaard, "Laments for the Lost City: The Loss of Jerusalem in Western Historical Writing," in *Crusade, Settlement and Historical Writing in the Latin East and Latin West, c. 1100–c.1300*, ed. Andrew Buck, James Kane, and Stephen Spencer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2024), 225.

9. Translated by Helen J. Nicholson. Helen J. Nicholson, trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi* (Hants: Ashgate, 1997), 32–33; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1864), 14–15.

> Rumours flew to the ears of princes and declared to all the faithful that the inheritance of Christ had been occupied... stirring some to tears and inflaming others to revenge.[10]

As the shock of defeat permeated the political and cultural atmosphere of medieval Europe, Latin Christendom rallied to produce the expedition which would come to be known as the Third Crusade, beginning with the newly elected Pope Gregory VIII (r. 1187–91). His first act was to issue an urgent call for a new crusade, framing the capture of Jerusalem as a punishment for Christendom's sins and a test of the Christian faith. Gregory, in his encyclical *Audita Tremendi*, urged the princes of Christendom with fiery language to "gird yourselves and be valiant men, for it is better... to die in battle than to see the evils of our nation and of the holies."[11] This call for a new crusade was enthusiastically taken up in Western Europe as well, most notably in Capetian France and the Anglo-Norman realm of the Plantagenets. Andrew of Marchiennes wrote "the same king [Philip II] and Philip, Count of Flanders, and many other nobles...to avenge the injury to the Sepulchre, took up the Cross; Richard duke of Aquitaine was the first of all princes to assume it."[12]

Having only recently agreed to a truce to end another round of warfare between the Capetian and Plantagenet dynasties following the death of Henry II in 1189, Philip and Richard delayed their departure for the Levant in order to make arrangements for the governance of their respective realms in their absence, not leaving until nearly three years after the initial call for the crusade. Despite lofty ambitions, the Third Crusade was riven by disagreements and divisions between the French and Anglo-Norman hosts and their leaders. The crusade would score some notable successes, including the recapture of the port of Acre, the conquest of Cyprus by Richard and its incorporation into an increasingly Christian-dominated Mediterranean sphere, and the political and territorial stabilization of the remainder of the crusader states. However, the Third Crusade ultimately failed to recover Jerusalem for the armies of Latin Christendom with Richard signing a truce with Saladin for the safe passage of Christian pilgrims to visit holy sites within the city,

10. Translated by Nicholson. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 47–48; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 31–32.

11. Gregory VIII, "Audita Tremendi," in *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274*, ed. Louise Riley-Smith and Jonathan Riley-Smith (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), 63–66.

12. Original Text: "Idem Rex et Philippus Comes Flandriarum et multi alii proceres, post Nativitatem Domini, ad vindicandam injuriam Dominici Sepulcri cruces assumunt; nam Richardus Dux Aquitaniae primus omnium principum illam assumperat." Andrew of Marchiennes, "De gestis et successione Regum Francorum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Leopold Delisle, vol. 18 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 556. Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, also joined the crusade but died before reaching Jerusalem in 1189 while crossing Anatolia. A small remnant of his original army would reach the Levant and participate in the siege of Acre. Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hovedon: Comprising the History of England and of Other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, trans. Henry T. Riley (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853), 75–76; Hosler, *The Siege of Acre*, 62–64.

which remained under Saladin's control.[13] Philip's role in the inability of the crusade to retake the city, coupled with his early departure from the expedition and the almost immediate invasion of his fellow crusaders' homelands, earned him the scorn of his contemporaries. Typically presented as a desultory effort to participate against his better judgement, Philip's subsequent refusal to join later expeditions is often interpreted as further indication that he saw crusading as an obstacle to the expansion of Capetian political and territorial authority in Western Europe.[14]

## Historiography Review

In a recent 2022 English-language translation of Rigord's *Deeds of Philip Augustus* (*Gesta Philippi Augusti*), Larry F. Field writes that:

> Rigord's account provides both a French perspective on the Third Crusade and something of a whitewashing of Philip's contributions, which were nugatory and somewhat embarrassing in an age that prized the exploits of Christian knighthood.... All in all he paled in comparison to the military prowess of Richard the Lionheart who... a natural military leader, came to be hailed as the hero of the Third Crusade.[15]

This remains the dominant historical consensus on Philip Augustus and the Crusades—that the French king not only embarrassed himself in his conduct, but that the sum total of his investment in crusading was in the Third Crusade. Philip II occupies a particular place in the broader historiographical field of Capetian France, one whose function conforms to several somewhat rigid historical narratives of royal power and national history. A highly successful and long-lived ruler whose reign marked a transformative moment in Capetian political fortunes, Philip's sweeping territorial conquests and comprehensive institutional and bureaucratic reforms bridged the gap between the weakness of the early Capetians and the highly successful reigns of later Capetians such as Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) and Philip IV "the Fair" (r. 1285–

13. Turner and Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart*, 130; Asbridge, *The Crusades*, 513–516.

14. Olivier Hanne's 2012 *Innocent III* blithely notes that, in negotiations between Philip and Innocent in 1198–99 over the question of the French king's marriage, "La fermete du pape envers Philippe Auguste tenait pour beaucoup a la dimension morale et theologique de l'affaire, aspects totalement secondaires pour le Capetien" (the pope emphasized the moral and theological aspects of the affair, aspects which were totally secondary to the Capetian monarch). Olivier Hanne, *Innocent III: La stupeur du monde* (Paris: Belin, 2012), 86. Also see Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021), 73.

15. Larry F. Field, Introduction to Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip Augustus: An English Translation of Rigord's Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. M. Cecilia Gaposchkin and Sean L. Field, trans. Larry F. Field (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022), 30–32.

1314).[16] Kimberly LoPrete (2007) notes that for many twentieth century historians, Philip's reign "had been inscribed by... nationalist predecessors as the moment when a recognizably French state-like government emerged."[17] Historians from the mid-twentieth century, such as Robert Fawtier, Jean Flori, and Georges Bordonove, also emphasized Philip's importance as a "state-building" ruler but not a "saintly" one. Jean Flori describes Philip as "un roi moderne" ("a modern king") while Bordonove suggests that "it is with him that the monarchy emerges from the shadows, rising like the rising sun, whose first rays illuminate a France recomposed, the outline of a hexagon"; Fawtier, meanwhile, asserts that Philip returned from his crusade bald, lame, and suffering from a nervous disorder that would affect him for the remainder of his life.[18]

This national framework continues to influence French-language historiography. More modern French-language scholarship retains this national view of Philip's reign, including Jean Cassard's *L'age d'or des Capetiens* (*The Golden Age of the Capetians*) beginning its study with Philip's accession to the throne in 1180; additionally, Bruno Galland's 2016 *Philippe Auguste: Batisseur de royaume* (*Philip Augustus: Defender of the Realm*) emphasizes how Philip's military and political accomplishments fundamentally informed the political ascendancy of "France" in the Middle Ages.[19] French historiography often conforms to an analytical framework characteristic of "state-building" history which saw the secular development of political structures as a natural evolution of royal governance and generally emphasizes Philip's commitment to governmental reform and suggests his enthusiasm for crusading was perfunctory, at best. Philip's absence from the most significant spiritual activities of the Central Middle Ages was, for French historians, crucial to the establishment of Capetian

16. John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 392–394; Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France 987–1328* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 145; William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 35, 79–80; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15.

17. Kimberly A. LoPrete, "Historical Ironies in the Study of Capetian Women," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 272–274.

18. Jean Flori, *Philippe Auguste: La Naissance de l'Etat Monarchique* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002), 126; Georges Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France: Philippe Auguste, Le Conquérant* (Paris: Pygmalion, Gérard Watelet, 1983), 274. Original text "C'est qu'avec lui la monarchie sort enfin de l'ombre, s'élève comme un soleil levant, dont les premiers rayons éclairent une France enfin recomposée, l'ébauche de l'hexagone"; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy & Nation (987–1328)*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1960), 24–25.

19. Jean-Christophe Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien, 1180–1328* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 2011), Chapter 1; Bruno Galland, *Philippe Auguste: Le bâtisseur du royaume* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 2016), 88; Élisabeth Lalou, "1214–1314: le moment capétien?," in *Bouvines 1214–2014: Histoire et Mémoire d'une Bataille*, ed. Pierre Monnet (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2016), 57–58.

political ascendancy in the thirteenth century.[20] This historiographical framework emphasizes that medieval warfare and taxation were the principal impetus of monarchical expansion; the centralization of power under a monarch was the result of material, rather than cultural or spiritual forces.[21] The triumph of the political over the spiritual, in the narrative of national French history, is where Philip's reign stands as a prologue to the reign of Louis IX, who fulfilled the ideal of the spiritual king, and to Philip IV, whose reign finalized the project of "France"—and this is accomplished in spite of, or in isolation from the crusading movement.[22] This focus positioned Philip as a king whose bureaucratic and administrative reforms were foundational to the material development of political power; however, these achievements came as a consequence of Philip's failure to embody the traditional model of Capetian pious kingship of his predecessors and in his utter disinterest in crusading. [23]

In his 1982 work *The Government of Philip Augustus*, John W. Baldwin asserts that the king saw crusading as a distraction from his efforts to reform and expand the bureaucratic apparatus of royal governance. Furthermore, he argues the frustrations and disappointments of the Third Crusade left Philip firmly opposed to any future participation in the crusades. While Baldwin does not wholly discount the importance of the Third Crusade to Philip's rule—describing it as a "turning point" due to the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1190, a constitutional document that legislated significant political and administrative changes in Capetian governance —he nonetheless suggests that crusading was largely ignored during Philip's life.[24] Baldwin's influential monograph followed closely on the publication of a diverse collection of articles and essays published in 1982 entitled *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps de mutation* (*France Under Philip Augustus: A Time of Change*), which thoroughly engaged with the diverse impacts

20. Bordonove, *Les Rois*, 106–107, 274; Flori, *Philippe Auguste*, 44–45, 60; Stéphane Curveiller, *Philippe Auguste: Le Premier Grand Capétien (1180–1223)* (Paris: Ellipses, 2021), 5.

21. Lisa Blaydes and Christopher Paik, "The Impact of Holy Land Crusades on State Formation: War Mobilization, Trade Integration, and Political Development in Medieval Europe," *International Organization* 70 (2016): 552–554; Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 24–27; John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 148; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 30; C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *The American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 902–905.

22. Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, 165–168; Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 411; Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien*, 108; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 128.

23. See Bordonove: "Philippe n'était pas un paladin à la façon de Coeur de Lion, c'était simplement un homme d'État" (Philip was not a warrior in the manner of the Lionheart, but was simply a statesman). Bordonove, *Les Rois*, 108; Flori, *Philippe Auguste*, 62, 113–114; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 85; Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien*, 533.

24. Baldwin himself spends little time discussing the Third Crusade compared to the detailed analysis of Philip's financial and political support for towns and urban economic development. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 77–80; Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, 164–166; Firnhaber-Baker, *House of Lilies*, 120.

of Philip Augustus on the development of medieval France. Yet few of these papers substantively studied the impact of the crusading movement on Philip's reign.[25] Jean Richard's "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et la royaume" ("Philip Augustus: The Crusade and the Kingdom") was the sole exception, noting the important role Philip played during the siege of Acre and how preparing for the crusade necessitated important administrative evolution. He also briefly mentions the significant part that crusading played in Capetian royal ideology.[26] However, Richard limits his discussion to the only crusade in which the French king directly participated, eliding the many other ways in which Philip contributed to crusading efforts and how this shaped his exercise of French kingship. As such, it does not fully explore the sociocultural significance of Philip's crusading leadership as a part of, rather than something distinct from his exercise of French kingship.

Newer scholarship challenges the historiographical interpretation of Philip's relationship to the Crusades as largely negative and argues instead that the Crusades formed an essential framework of Capetian kingship that Philip both recognized and actively contributed to throughout his reign. This approach was highlighted in Sean L. Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin's "Questioning the Capetians," (2014) which advocated for a renewed examination of the impact of crusading on social and political history in medieval Europe. They specifically note that "Capetian history and the history of the crusades are in fact so intertwined that it would be impossible to treat one without the other."[27] The 2017 edited collection *Autour de Philippe Auguste* (*On Philip Augustus*) provides a more diversified presentation of the various aspects of Philip's reign, emphasising the complex interactions at the cultural, financial, and social network levels of Philip's court with its neighbours.[28] Other historians have also taken up this approach, emphasizing the sociocultural and economic community of medieval French nobles which straddled the Mediterranean. This has contributed to a flourishing study of what has been termed "crusader culture" and the transregional impact of this phenomenon upon the sociopolitical structures in the Middle Ages. Works like Hussein Fancy's *The Mercenary Mediterranean* (2016) suggest that increased secularization was not the inevitable companion of increased bureaucratization; other scholars like Guy Perry (2013) and Nicholas Paul (2013) have expressed similar positions.[29] Crusade historiography has increasingly emphasised the lived and memorial

25. Robert-Henri Bautier, "La Place du Règne de Philippe Auguste dans L'Histoire de la France médiévale," in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le Temps des Mutations*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 11–15, 26–27.

26. Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 411–413, 23–24.

27. Sean L. Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Questioning the Capetians, 1180–1328," *History Compass* 12 (2014): 568, /, 573; James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 111–113.

28. Martin Aurell and Yves Sassier, eds., *Autour de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), 11.

29. Hussein Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean: Sovereignty, Religion, and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 8–10; Guy Perry, *John of Brienne King of Jerusalem, Emperor*

experience of crusading to medieval society. It functioned both to legitimize social hierarchies and to perpetuate structures of ancestral veneration that doubled as liturgical symbols of Christian authority. In this sense, crusading was very much connected to the representation and reception of noble Christian identity and power. The enduring association between Capetian kingship and crusading has been a key part of modern scholarship on Louis IX—most notably in the work of William Jordan on Louis's reign—but only recently has there been an effort to integrate the crusading movement into the reigns of earlier Capetians.[30]

## Primary Source Overview

The broader biases of the historiography can be traced to the fact that majority of late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman authors who recorded the Third Crusade, such as Richard of Devizes, Ambroise, Gervase of Canterbury, and Roger of Howden, had strong connections to Richard I's court and were thus ill-disposed towards Philip.[31] Many of these men traveled at least part way on the Third Crusade in the companies of either the French or English kings. For example, Roger of Howden, a key official in the English court, initially traveled with Richard but returned to England in the company of Philip, while Ambroise remained in the Levant and journeyed to Jerusalem after the truce signed between Richard and Saladin in 1192.[32]

By contrast, contemporary French chronicles written by Rigord, a monk of Saint-Denis, and the near-contemporary account of Guillaume le Breton, Philip's chaplain, were broader surveys of the king's life and deeds rather than a focused narrative of the Third Crusade. Neither author accompanied the French king on the expedition. Their positive interpretations of Philip's actions on crusade have been dismissed by some historians as overly panegyric due to the close

*of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 192–193; Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 42, 48.

30. See William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 216–17; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and the Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 10–11; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 134; Marcus Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narratives: Perception and Narration in Accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 228–229.

31. Richard's reign was dominated by his political struggles with the Capetian kings of France. Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180–1223* (New York: Longman, 1998), 93–94; Ailes, "Heroes of War," 42–44; Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 419–421.

32. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 246; Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, trans. Marianne Ailes (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 410–411. Historian Marcus Bull suggests that Roger, a high-ranking member of Richard's official entourage, was deliberately sent back with the French king in the hopes of spying on him to divine any potential threat to the Angevin territories in Richard's absence. See Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narratives*, 194.

connection between the monastery of Saint-Denis and the Capetian monarchy.[33] However, it was precisely this connection which underpinned the cultural and ceremonial significance of Philip's crusading as part of a broader tradition of sacral kingship. A crucial aspect to his instrumentalization of the ceremonial aspects of crusading was to develop an image of sacral Capetian monarchy.[34] A closer inspection of the available sources enables a more complete understanding of Philip's role in the Third Crusade and the way crusading had become a tool for the lauding and legitimation of Latin Christian kingship.

## Philip Augustus and the Preparation for Crusading in the 1180s

Philip's support for crusading predated the call for the Third Crusade as he received papal letters asking him to either lead a crusade or provide financial assistance to Outremer. There are two events of further note, and it is important to consider this in any study of his attitude towards the role of crusading in the exercise of French kingship. Rigord recounted an earlier episode in 1184 where, following a major defeat suffered by the Frankish armies, an embassy arrived in Paris from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in order to rally military support for the crusader states.[35] In describing the embassy, Rigord stated that "the patriarch with the two masters mentioned above [of the Temple and Hospital], carrying the keys of the city of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord to the most Christian King of the Franks Philip: they prayed and humbly supplicated him to be kind enough... to bring aid to the land of Jerusalem."[36] The fact of a patriarch of the church in Jerusalem supplicating for aid before a Western king is a striking image.

33. In an article written in 1988, Baldwin writes that Philip was "a politically astute, manipulative, calculating, penurious, and ungallant ruler—in short, the ultimate discourteous knight." This, he suggests, was the "true" nature of the king which was quite distinct from a deliberately cultivated public persona that existed in French narrative sources. John W. Baldwin, "The Case of Philip Augustus," *Viator* 19 (1988): 207. See also Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), 11; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 316–318.

34. The monastery of Saint-Denis was a major center of historical literary production and was closely associated with the Capetian kings. It housed numerous royal relics and would, beginning with Philip II, rise in prominence to be the heart of royal religiosity and sanctity. Gillingham, *Richard I*, 164–165; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline: Classical Folio Editions, 1978), 27–28.

35. Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 115–116; Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 287.

36. Original Text: "Patriarcham cum duobus magistris predictis in Franciam, portantes claves civitatis Jerusalem et Sancti Sepulchri Domini ad christianissimus regem Francorum Philippum, rogantes et humiliter deprecantes quatinus, intuitu Dei et amore christiane religionis, terre Jerosolimitane oppido desolate succursum prestare dignaretur." Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.–F. Delaborde, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882–85), 1: 46–47.

However, Philip ultimately rejected the offer, and this refusal is often presented, as part of a pattern of his alleged unilateral rejection of crusading.[37] Even if this were the case, the fact that the Outremer delegation arrived in Paris to appeal to Philip at all speaks to the centrality of the Capetians to the imagined community of defence and cooperation which anchored the crusader-states, particularly in the latter part of the twelfth century. The embassy would also travel to the courts of Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa seeking aid for the crusader-states.[38] This speaks to how crusading leadership was understood as a particularly valuable metric of royal legitimacy and authority, as the symbolism of such a request would have publicly demonstrated the sacral legitimacy of the respective monarch to whom it was addressed.

To the chagrin of the Jerusalemite embassy, none of the kings committed to lead a new crusade, but the two rulers agreed to meet with the goal of organizing a truce to allow both monarchs to depart on a crusade. Philip also organized a council in Paris to encourage further crusading and to spread news about the dire situation facing the crusader-states among the population. Guillaume de Nangis, writing in the thirteenth century, noted:

> The king, having learned of their cause, greatly honoured them and, because he had no heir at the time, by the advice of the prelates and princes, sent to the aid of the Holy Land brave soldiers with a multitude of armed foot soldiers, providing them with sufficient expenses from his own revenues.[39]

Once more, Philip's refusal was not a blanket rejection of help or expression of disinterest —the king's own monies would be used to fund a contingent of soldiers for the express purpose of assisting the crusader-states. The Jerusalemite embassy's strategy to target Philip was likely informed by their remembrance of his predecessor Louis VII's actions in the Levant. Following the abortive end of his military campaign against Damascus on the Second Crusade, Louis had remained in the Kingdom of Jerusalem for nearly a year, visiting pilgrimage sites and forming

37. Nicolas Civel, *La fleur de France: Les seigneurs d'Ile-de-France au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 123–125; Dominique Barthélemy, *La France des Capétiens 987–1214* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 2012), 308.

38. Robert of Auxerre, "Ex Chronologia Roberti Altissiodorensis, Praemonstratensis ad S. Marianum Canonici," in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Leopold Delisle, vol. 18 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 252; Anonymous, "Chronico anonymi Laudunensis canonici," in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Léopold Delisle, vol. 18 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 450; Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 196. Interestingly, neither Rigord nor Roger of Howden mentioned that the embassy traveled anywhere other than their royal patron's court. Roger wrote only that "Heraclius, the Patriarch... and the Grand Masters of the Hospital and Temple, together with the royal standard, and the keys of the Sepulchre... asking of him [Henry] speedy succour." Translated by Henry T. Riley. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 46; Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 2-4 (London: Longmans, 1868), 2: 299.

39. Original Text: "Rex vero, eorum cognita causa, multum eos honoravit, et quia heredem tunc non habebat, consilio praelatorum et principum, in Terrae Sanctae subsidium transmisit strenuos milites cum multitudine peditum armatorum, de propriis redditibus eis sufficientes ministrans sumptus." Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113–1300*, ed. H. Géraud (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1843), 78.

strong relationships with Outremer nobles and leaders.[40] Though the Second Crusade failed to accomplish its goals, Louis's actions supported contemporary understanding of the Capetians as pious and worthy crusading monarchs; his support positioned them to act as the social and cultural center of the cross-Mediterranean community of Frankish Outremer. He provided a template that Philip both emulated and enhanced by his own commitment to crusading and his intent to meld the prestige of a crusader into the perception of Capetian power. Such an association would prove fundamental to the establishment of an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship in the thirteenth century and one which would be actively courted by Philip throughout his reign.

In 1185, Philip Augustus was only twenty-five, by far the youngest ruler consulted on this diplomatic tour, and the accordance of interest shows that he considered crusading an integral part of his duty as a Capetian king. He would offer material aid for the crusading movement at this early stage of his reign and would continue to do so throughout his life. In his account of the Levantine embassy's reception at Paris, Rigord noted that the king

> particularly instructed his *prevots* and administrators that they should provide funds from his revenues to meet their expenses wherever in his land they might go.... By royal authority he instructed the archbishops, bishops, and all ecclesiastical prelates that they should encourage his subjects through frequent preaching and instruction to go off to fight at Jerusalem and defend the faith of the Christians against the enemies of the cross.[41]

40. Louis was approached in 1150 to lead another crusade to the Levant, and in 1155–56 was consulted to arrange the marriages of the daughters of prominent Levantine magnate, Raymond of Poitiers. In a fragmentary chronicle written in the early 1200s, Philip is even referred to as "the son of Louis the Jerusalemite." The sobriquet of "Jerusalemite" was attached with great reverence to the victorious crusaders of 1099, and it undoubtedly carried forward to later crusading generations. It was a clear indication of Philip's inherited status as a legacy crusader. The annals simply list "Philippus, filius *Lodovici Iherosolimitani* [my emphasis], apud Remis rex inungitur, kalendis novembris" (Philip, son of Louis the Jerusalemite, was anointed as king at Reims on the Kalends of November). Anonymous, "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis in unum congestae," in *Chronique des Eglises d'Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and Emile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1869), 44; Marcus Bull, "The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusading Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996): 45–46; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 142–43; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 99–100; Barber, *The Crusader States*, 208–209.

41. Translated by Field. Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 75; Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 47–48. The *prevots* ("provosts") were royal officials appointed to administer justice in specific regions of the French kingdom and had been in place for much of the Capetian era. Their fixed territory and limited scope of action distinguished them from the later *baillis* or "bailiffs," being based on the Anglo-Norman officials of the same name, that were instituted in the Ordinance of 1190. The latter had no specific jurisdiction and were considered the 'superiors' of the *prevots* in their ability to dispense royal justice and to collect complaints to be dealt with in Paris. See Galland, *Philippe Auguste*, 74.

The "instruction" of the king places Philip, despite his youth, into a position of authority that was legitimated by the need to pursue a crusading response, and I would like here to note the importance of vassalage and feudal obligation in the crusading context. Philip's endorsement and interest may have been performative, but it was a performance geared specifically to the expectation of medieval kingship. The connection between the needs of the crusade and the ability of the medieval monarchy to exercise political power is evident as Philip instructed his "*prevots* and administrators... wherever in his land they might go." The language both circumscribes the limits of Philip's authority and also clearly indicates how royal administration needed to evolve in order to best serve the needs of the crusade. It is also possible that this early meeting with the Masters of the Templar and Hospitaller Orders would highlight to Philip their efficacy as an ongoing resource, given the significant role members from both Orders would play in royal governance later in Philip's reign. Philip would maintain close relationships, political and economic, with the crusader-states, and would come to play a major role in shaping the political leadership of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the crusader-states of the Latin Empire in the early thirteenth century.

Further evidence of Philip's early interest in crusading can be seen in his attempt to institute a tithe for aid to the Latin Kingdom and also to fund his own preparations for a crusade. The need to raise funds for the crusader-states was dramatically highlighted by the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and prompted not only Pope Gregory VIII's 1187 encyclical, but a renewed tithe levy in order to fund the anticipated crusade of the kings of France and England. This need is evident in the way that Rigord framed the imposition of the Saladin Tithe, which Philip instituted for a second time 1188. Rigord wrote:

> Philip held a general council at Paris.... And there a host of knights and soldiers beyond count were enrolled in the crusade. And, because of the *present necessity* [emphasis my own] regarding the city, for the king was very anxious to leave for Jerusalem, he decreed, with the consent of the clergy and the people, that a certain tithe would be collected.... This was called the Saladin tithe.[42]

In the wider context of the crusade, the "present necessity" facilitated the ability of kings to impose more exacting tax regimes and to institute a bureaucratic apparatus capable of actually collecting the revenues generated. The indication that Philip was "very anxious to leave for Jerusalem" was likely an attempt to insulate Philip against contemporary criticism, but as has been noted above, this was not the first time Philip had attempted to institute a tax for the crusade. The use of "present necessity" as a justification for extra taxation indicates how crusading

42. Translated by Field. Rigord goes on to include the provisions of the tax and its exemptions in the next two sections of his chronicle. Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 102; Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 84–85; H.–F. Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916), 1: 279–280 no.229.

contributed materially to the expansion of royal government under Philip II. The framing of the motivation for the tax also emphasizes how the crises of Latin Christendom, prompted exposure to the crusading world of the medieval Mediterranean, could directly influence the justification for royal centralization. The need to finance and transport such a significant body of soldiers forced the development of new and more flexible governmental structures to compensate, including methods of taxation and distribution of finances. Such methods had been pioneered by the medieval Church but translated easily to the needs of medieval monarchies.[43]

Philip was eventually forced to rescind the tax in face of stiff opposition, though this was in response to a challenge from regional nobility rather than Philip's own reluctance to transfer funds to support the crusade.[44] One such example came from the renowned minstrel, Conon de Bethune, who ruled lands for which he owed feudal service to both Henry II and Philip II. Conon penned a crusading song in 1188 to denounce the imposition of the Saladin Tithe: "I have absolutely no desire to remain here with these tyrants who have taken the cross out of self-interest, to tax clerics, burghers and men-at-arms... Greed more than faith has made them take the cross."[45] The frustration that Conon felt cannot be disentangled from his social position. The hostility to the Saladin Tithe in France was driven as much by concerns over the expansion of political power into spheres hitherto considered outside the royal prerogative. This points also to the fact that the crusading movement, even in the twelfth century, provided opportunities for both the expansion of royal power and articulation of oppositional theories to it.[46] The failure of the Saladin Tithe in France should not obscure its significance as an indicator of Philip's interest in supporting the crusade through the most effective means available at the time. It also speaks to the direct, material impact that crusading had on the medieval monarchs and their expansion and justification of power. It clearly demonstrates the intimate connection between the pressures of the crusading apparatus and the administrative capabilities of monarchical government, and it was within that broader cultural context that Philip's most significant governmental act would be articulated.

43. Jordan, *Louis IX*, 98–100; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 52; Blaydes and Paik, "The Impact of Holy Land Crusades on State Formation," 563; Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade*, 73.

44. Philip allowed several religious orders close to the crusading movement, including the Cistercians and Carthusians, to be exempt from the tax, but it did not wholly overcome clerical opposition.Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du règne de Philippe Auguste, 1180–1223*, trans. François Guizot (New York: Paleo, 2011), 41–42; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 121–122; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 77–78.

45. Translated by Linda Paterson. Conon was a prolific composer and crusader and also participated in the Fourth Crusade; he was named regent for the Latin Empire in 1219. Conon famously performed before both Philip and Adela in the early 1180s and declared Philip to be wholly lacking in literary refinement. Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movement, 1137–1336* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), 51; Martin Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt, 1154–1224* (Paris: Perrin, 2003), 99.

46. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 62–63; France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714*, 162.

The Ordinance of 1190, or the "Ordinary Testament," is widely considered to be one of the earliest articulations of royal governance under the Capetian kings during the Central Middle Ages.[47] Philip and Richard's extensive preparations for the crusade were heightened by the logistical complexities of leaving a kingdom without a king for an extended period of time. While Philip had an heir, his wife Isabelle of Hainaut had passed away in 1190 during childbirth, leaving the Capetian succession extremely tenuous; Richard, meanwhile, had no heirs and was then unmarried despite his betrothal to Philip's sister, Alix.[48] The document also contains extensive sections on the application of justice, collection of taxes, and the institution of new bureaucratic positions that owed allegiance to the king.[49] The widespread use of such officials provided the Capetian monarchy with the ability to project its newfound power far beyond the Île-de-France region and laid the foundation for further administrative and political reforms that would be carried out in the later thirteenth century. The crusading movement exerted pressure on the monarchies of Latin Christendom as the material requirements of crusading necessitated a major reform of the machinery of governance. The pressure of the crusade provided an opportunity for the authority of the Capetian monarchy and its political reach to be defined more clearly, namely that the person of the king was definitively the root of sovereignty even while away on crusade.[50] It necessitated the development of guidelines that articulated a "proto-state" of being for the kingdom in the presence and absence of the body of the sovereign. The preparations for royal crusading, then, provided Philip the opportunity to explicitly define the business of government in the king's absence and implicitly outline the scope of royal authority and political reach in the king's presence.

47. Delaborde, *Recueil des Actes*, 416; Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 73, 101–102; Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien*, 167–168; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 79. The importance of this Ordinance was such that Rigord, the chief chronicler of Philip's reign, recorded the text verbatim in his work. See Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 113; Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 100–105.

48. The accusations that Alix had had an extramarital affair with Henry II are cited by Roger of Howden as a reason for Richard's repudiation of the French princess, and as a reason for the resumption of conflict between Philip and Henry II in 1188. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 78, 196. See also Guillaume le Breton, "Philippidos," in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.–F. Delaborde, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882–85), 2: 301–02; Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt, 1154–1224*, 142.

49. Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, trans. Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2006), 277–285; Galland, *Philippe Auguste*, 73–78.

50. Danielle E. A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095–1222* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), 184; Xavier Hélary, *La dernière croisade: Saint Louis à Tunis (1270)* (Paris: Perrin, 2016), 80; Jordan, *Louis IX*, 46–48.

## Philip Augustus Departs: Ceremonies and Cultures of Crusading

Further exploration of contemporary accounts reveals clear efforts by Philip and his court to incorporate the imagery and symbolism of crusading into a royal ideology that legitimated Capetian political authority. The crusading movement contributed to the development of a new vocabulary of political authority, where crusading ancestry and participation increasingly became emblematic not only of divine favour but also of prestigious symbolic authority. The rising production of historical literature from cultural centres like Champagne and Flanders—each home to dynasties who had had major involvement in the crusading movement—enabled them to catapult themselves to the forefront of Latin Christendom as "soldiers of Christ" or *milites Christi*.[51] The aristocratic families of northern France developed a narrative of a Frankish crusading community that relied heavily upon invocations of ancestral memory and martial valour. Transmitted through familial networks, these stories of ancestor veneration were at the heart of prominent crusading literature that fused the spiritual legitimacy of crusading to the dynastic tradition of Latin Christian politics.[52] Exploring the broader effect of crusader culture on the socio-political environment of medieval France emphasizes the connections between crusading ceremony, Capetian royal authority, and political legitimacy.

The elaborate ceremony that accompanied Philip's departure for the Third Crusade in 1190 provides a key example of his understanding of the importance of public ritual in the augmentation of Capetian ideological prestige and the extent to which Philip saw himself as continuing a pre-existing tradition of Capetian crusader kings. The description of the ceremony that accompanied Philip's departure for the Third Crusade offered by Rigord's *Deeds of Philip* is strikingly similar to the one offered by Odo of Deuil (ca. 1110–1162), who accompanied Louis VII on the Second Crusade. On Philip's departure, Rigord noted:

> King Philip came to the church of the most holy martyr Saint Denis with a large retinue.... For it was customary among the kings of the Franks in ancient times, each time they took up arms against the enemy, to take up the *oriflamme* for protection.... Also the Most-Christian King, before the bodies of the holy martyrs... humbly prostrated in prayer on the marble pavement.[53]

51. These included the counts of Flanders, the Thibaudian counts of Champagne, the counts of Saint-Pol, the lords of Marle and Montlhéry, and the counts of Ponthieu, all of whom patronized historical and poetic literature during the early 1200s that explicitly foregrounded their crusading pedigrees. For dynastic memorialization of crusading, see also: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 12; Civel, *La fleur de France*, 376.

52. Civel, *La fleur de France*, 409; Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 49; Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narratives*, 220.

53. Original Text: "Philippus rex ad ecclesiam beatissimi martyris Dionysii cum maximo comitatu venit.... Consueverant enim antiquitus reges Francorum, quod, quandocumque contra hostes arma movebant, vexillum

Two elements are of note here: Philip's prostration in prayer and his acceptance of the *oriflamme*. The latter was colloquially believed to be the war-banner of Charlemagne, in which guise it appeared in numerous contemporary depictions of Charlemagne in popular *chansons de geste* (songs of great deeds) and other literature in the twelfth century. Guillaume le Breton describes the *oriflamme* as follows:

> A simple banner (*vexillum*), made of simple silk fabric of a bright red.... Called the *oriflamme,* its right is to be, in all battles, in front of all other banners, and the abbot of Saint-Denis is accustomed to handing it over to the king every time he takes up arms and leaves for war.[54]

In Odo of Deuil's *On the Departure of Louis VII* (*De Profectione Ludovici VII*), an eyewitness account of the crusade of Philip's father Louis, Odo likewise emphasized both the prostration of king Louis before the holy relics of Saint-Denis and the acceptance of the Carolingian *oriflamme* from the abbot. In particular, he noted that Louis "requested from St. Denis the *oriflamme* and the permission to depart (a ceremony which was always the custom of our victorious kings)."[55] This Carolingian connection was promoted to highlight the dynastic continuity between the Capetians and their predecessors.

Rigord placed Philip's actions during the Third Crusade squarely in a longer trajectory of French sacral violence and makes no serious distinction between the "crusade" and royal warfare conducted against other enemies of the Frankish realm. Rigord's *Deeds* also depict a pious and

desuper altare beati Dionysii pro tutela seu custodia secum portabant... Ideo christianissmus rex ante corpora sanctorum martyrum... humiliter super pavimentum marmoreum in oratione prostratus." Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 98; Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe*, 273..

54. Original Text: "Vexillum simplex, cendato simplice textum,/ Splendoris rubei, lethania qualiter uti.... Quod cum flamma habeat vulgariter aurea nomen,/ Omnibus in bellis habet omnia signa preire,/ Quod regi prestare solet Dionysius abbas/ Ad bellum quoties sumptis proficiscitur armis." Guillaume le Breton, "Philippidos," 2: 319. Le Breton's *Philippide* is a lyric epic of Philip's reign, culminating in the Battle of Bouvines in 1214. The text is rife with references to Charlemagne, including naming both Philip and his son Louis "Karolide" and paralleling Philip's actions at Bouvines with those of Charlemagne in his campaigns against the Saxons. See Dominique Barthélemy, *La Bataille de Bouvines: Histoire et légendes* (Paris: Perrin, 2018), 95.

55. Translated by Berry. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 16–18. Odo is clearly exaggerating the longevity of this custom, as the Vexin, a region bordering the north of the Capetian domain alongside the county of Flanders and the duchy of Normandy, had only come into royal control during the reign of Louis VI (r. 1108–37). The banner itself had only been formally used by the French kings once before, during Louis VI's preparations for a German invasion in 1107. The *vexillum* was called such due to the location of the monastery in the Vexin, and was held by the Capetian monarchy in their capacity as the Counts of the Vexin. The territory nominally belonged to Saint-Denis and so the monastery retained physical guardianship of the sacred flag. See Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Montjoie et Saint-Denis! Le Centre de la Gaule aux origines de Paris et de Saint-Denis* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1989), 218; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 68–69; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 126–127.

Christian king who, despite his royal status, "humbly prostrated himself in prayer on the floor" —an act that conveniently strengthened the position of the monastery of Saint-Denis as a royally favoured institution. In taking up the banner, Philip and his father were able to use the ritual ceremonies of crusade leave-taking to publicly demonstrate their lineage, piety, and devotion to the cause of sanctified violence. The *oriflamme* also took on spiritual qualities through its conflation with the specific banner of Saint-Denis, the *vexillum,* noted in the quote above by Guillaume's comment that "the abbot of Saint-Denis is accustomed to handing it over to the king every time he takes up arms."[56] The *oriflamme*'s hybrid character was only reinforced through the participation of the French king on crusade, an event which by its very nature straddled the boundary of spiritual and secular activity. Odo of Deuil refers to the same banner as the "banner of blessed Denis" (*beato Dionysio vexillum*) in his account of Louis VII's crusade, while Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat,* a narrative chronicle of the reign of Louis VI (r. 1108–1137), uses the term in his glossing of Louis's campaigns in support of the church in France.[57] This process expressed a sacralization of the warfare conducted by the Capetians that added a further layer of symbolic imagery to distinguish a specific Capetian narrative of sacral kingship, and the arrogation of divine protection and sanction to Capetian political power.[58] Philip's taking up of the *oriflamme* played a major role in the fusion of crusading symbolism with the ideology of Capetian kingship; by the end of his reign the *oriflamme* had become a potent symbol of sacral monarchy tied indelibly to the act of and engagement with crusading.

The chronicle also highlights the public nature of the ceremony since crowds would gather to witness the king's departure, indicating that these ceremonies represented an opportunity for the public shaping of the royal image. For both Odo and Rigord, the public ceremonial display of royal piety and devotion to Saint-Denis represented a moment of continuity with the mythic past. Philip's imitation of his father's visit to Saint-Denis sought to commit an image of crusading legacy to the ideology of Capetian kingship. It is possible that Philip also sought to redeem his father's failed crusade: rather than denying the importance of Louis's legacy to his own interest in crusading, Philip's emulation of the visit to Saint-Denis confirmed him in the tradition of victorious holy warriors stretching back to the legendary Charlemagne.

56. This has been discussed by several scholars including, Anne Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 221n26; Firnhaber-Baker, *House of Lilies*, 78–79; Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition*, 30–31; Sivery, *Philippe Auguste*, 289, 303.

57. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 16–17; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 128. Suger's account indicates: "The king however, taking the standard, which pertains to the county of Vexin, which is subjected in fief to the church." Original Text: "Rex autem *vexillum* [my emphasis] ab altari suscipiens quod de comitatu Vileassini, quo ad ecclesiam feodatus est, spectat."

58. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1871), 261; Civel, *La fleur de France*, 135–136; Barthélemy, *La France des Capétiens 987–1214*, 287.

The reverence attached to Philip's actions provided an opportunity to clearly emphasize the legacy and ceremonial aspects of his leadership on the Third Crusade as emblems of royal authority. Rigord's account shows a monarch who was acutely aware of the importance of public ceremonial presentation. The prominent role of the *oriflamme* in crusading ceremonies facilitated a deliberate pattern of symbolic presentation that publicly demonstrated the martial piety of monarchical warfare. Philip, in claiming the *oriflamme* banner from Saint-Denis as part of his crusading preparations, reinforced a continuity of religiously sanctioned warfare undertaken by Frankish kings in the service of God and the realm.[59] The overt symbolism of the crusading ceremonies at Saint-Denis pointed to Philip's fundamental role in the process of fusing crusader rhetoric and symbolism to a narrative of Capetian legitimacy and royal authority.

The repetition of this crusading tradition placed the Third Crusade in a pattern of specifically Capetian crusading. A further example of this lay in the selection of the town of Vézelay as the location for the French and Anglo-Norman contingents to join forces and resupply before their departure for the Levant. Vézelay held great significance for Philip, as it was the town where his father Louis took the crusading vow alongside his most prominent vassals after hearing the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1090–1153) in 1146.[60] Philip was undoubtedly aware of the significance of Vézelay and this informed his insistence that Richard join him there before traveling to the Levant. Roger of Howden stated that:

> In the same month [October 1189], Rotrod, count de Perche, and other envoys of Philip, king of France, came into England, to Richard... to say that, at a general council held at Paris, the king of France... had made an oath, as had all the chief men of his kingdom who had assumed the cross, that, God willing, they would, without fail, be at Vézelay, at the close of Easter, for the purpose of setting out for Jerusalem.[61]

Here it is Philip, not Richard, who is presented as the instigator of the crusade and the key driver in beginning the journey to Jerusalem. It is clear from this passage that it took Philip's urging to formally launch the kings' crusade and it was only after the arrival of this embassy that Richard, according to Roger de Howden, traveled to Tours to take the pilgrim's staff and cross.[62] The symbolism of the Easter mass also echoed historical precedent since it was at the same time of year that his father Louis decided to take up the cross in crusade.

59. Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 15, 38; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55–56.

60. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 7; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis*, 388.

61. Translated by Henry T. Riley. Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 3: 19; Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 125–126.

62. Roger of Howden, 141.

The crusading armies would also have seen the physical reminder of Capetian leadership on the crusade. A church was built in the area around Vézelay in 1146, commissioned by the abbot of the diocese in order to commemorate the site's association with the crusading legacy of the Capetians. In his *Histoire de Louis VII* (late 1140s), Suger wrote that "the venerable abbot of Vézelay, because of the reverence of the Holy Cross which the king and his associates received... built a church in honor of the cross, in which the Lord worked many miracles, as was fitting for the people's faith."[63] The public actions of the king inspired both his fellow nobles to take the cross and embodied the ideal of a "most-Christian king" in a manner that layered Capetian sanctity with the journey to the Holy Land. Bringing Richard and the "chief men" of both kingdoms to a church where Louis VII had been named leader of the Second Crusade, in the presence and at the behest of the second Capetian monarch to take the cross, reinforced a clear sense that the Third Crusade was, like its predecessor, a principally Capetian endeavor.

## Philip Augustus at the Siege of Acre

After Richard and Philip departed Vézelay, they traveled separately to the Mediterranean coast before regrouping in Sicily. There, personal tensions flared and Philip ultimately left Sicily and arrived at the siege of Acre nearly a month before Richard, who remained encamped at Messina.[64] Given the urgency of the language in Gregory VIII's encyclical and the criticisms leveled at both Richard and Philip for their initial delays in leaving France, Philip's focus on traveling to Acre was more aligned with the ostensible priorities of the crusade while Richard's willingness to delay suggests the opposite.[65] The further delays to Richard's arrival at the siege

63. Original text: "Porro poncius, venerabilis Vizeliacensis abbas, propter reverentiam sancte crucis quam rex cum sociis accepit, in loco videlicet in declivo montis in quo consistorii predicatio fuit, hoc est inter Escuacum et Vizeliacum, ecclesiam in honore sancte crucis construxit, in quam populo fide recta conveniente Dominus multa miracula operates est." Suger, "L'Histoire du roi Louis VII," in *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger, suivie de L'Histoire de Louis du roi Louis VII*, ed. Auguste Molinier (Paris: Librairie des Archives nationales et de la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1887), 159–160.

64. These tensions covered a range of grievances between the two kings, including Richard's conflict with Tancred of Sicily over his sister Joanne's dowry, the succession to Angevin territories, Alix's marriage, and a fallout over a tournament held in Messina. The formal dissolution of Richard's betrothal to Philip's sister, Alix, also occurred during the kings' stay in Sicily. See Peter W. Edbury, "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Vermont: Ashgate, 1996), 104; Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. and trans. John T. Appleby (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson / Sons, 1963), 26; Sivery, *Philippe Auguste*, 111–112.

65. Richard's decision was largely due to his desire to sort out his familial and political affairs, including the question of his sister's dowry. See Guillaume le Breton: "When they had spent the winter months in Sicily, our king advised the king of the English that he should set out with him to render aid to the Holy Sepulchre as he had sworn. However, the English king would not; he remained in Sicily rendering aid to King Tancred in battles that he was engaged with on all sides." Original Text: "Qui cum jam quinque fuissent, / Mensibus hibernis Sicula in regione

of Acre ran contrary to the urgency of papal calls for the recapture of Jerusalem and suggested that Richard was, perhaps more so than Philip, unable to disentangle his dynastic obligations and interests from his crusading vows.

Philip, however, sailed directly for Acre and arrived, according to Muslim chronicler Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (c. 1145–1234), a prominent Islamic jurist and scholar who served under Saladin, as "a great man and respected leader, one of their great kings to whom all present in the army would be obedient."[66] The recognition of the power of Capetian ideology in this Mediterranean space highlights the fluidity of the medieval world, and the transregional awareness of Latin Christian and Muslim writers. The suggestion that "all present in the army would be obedient" to Philip also demonstrates how crusading provided an opportunity for the Capetians to translate theoretical feudal authority into reality. Ibn al-Athir (c. 1160–1223), a historian whose family had served Saladin's predecessor Nur al-Din and the Zengid dynasty of Damascus, described Philip as "the noblest of their kings in lineage, although his kingdom was not a great one."[67] Like Bahā' al-Dīn, he similarly acknowledged the pre-eminence of the Capetian dynastic mythos. The crusading movement provided an opportunity for Philip to further legitimize the Capetian claim to the throne and authority over other magnates, thus forming a critical foundation for the political and military successes later in his reign. Moreover, this movement would contribute significantly to the integration of territorial conquests later in his reign and underlie the exercise of sovereign authority beyond the traditional borders of the Capetian domain.

Philip's military leadership at the siege of Acre, even before Richard's arrival, is well-documented. The "Eracles" *Continuation of William of Tyre* recounts that "directly after his arrival he mounted a horse and ordered his crossbowmen and archers to shoot continuously so that no one could show a finger."[68] Rigord and Guillaume le Breton were, naturally, more effusive in their emphasis on both Philip's soldierly qualities and his long-term military contribution to the siege of Acre; the former wrote "Philip, king of France, with the help of

morati, / Anglorum regem monuit rex noster, ut una / Aggrediatur iter secum, Dominique sepulcro / Succursum prestet, sicut juraveret illi. / Noluit ille tamen; Siculis sed mansit in oris, / Auxilium prestans Tancredo in prelia regi, / Infestabatur quibus undique." Guillaume le Breton, "Philippidos," 2: 102. Ernoul, writing sometime in the early thirteenth century, criticized both Richard and Philip's delay and suggested that it helped Saladin reinforce after Hattin. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, 250.

66. Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 145; Bull, *Eyewitness and Crusade Narratives*, 209.

67. Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193. The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Hants: Ashgate, 2007), 386–387.

68. Edbury, "The Old French Continuation," 98. The "Eracles" appellation is a reference to the first line of the anonymous continuation of William of Tyre's *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* and is used to distinguish it from other versions of the document. It is here used to refer to the manuscript translated by Peter Edbury, the "Lyon Eracles."

God's faithful attacked the city of Acre so vigorously, breaking down the walls with his siege weapons and mangonels, so the enemies of the cross of Christ... were forced to surrender under a treaty."[69] Bahā' al-Dīn's account emphasizes the equal participation of both monarchs in combat even after their illness, with the author noting "the accursed king of England... fell seriously ill.... Furthermore, the king of France was wounded, but this only made them more determined and stubborn."[70] While the primary focus of Bahā' al-Dīn's writing is the struggle between Richard and Saladin, this passage highlights Philip's pivotal role as an active participant in the siege.

Philip had already shipped significant monies and materials to support the siege of Acre in advance of his arrival. Henry of Champagne (c. 1166–97), nephew to both Philip and Richard, had landed in the summer of 1190 with a number of catapults and siege engines, as well as several high-ranking nobles under Philip's command.[71] These men, including two of Philip's uncles Thibaut of Champagne and Stephen of Sancerre, had close familial ties to previous generations of crusaders and were understood to be part of the broader contingent of the royal commitment to the crusade. The trickle of supplies obscured the significant material contribution from Philip, but it is evident that his interest in the crusade was more than a cursory investment and again points to the fact that it was he, not Richard, who implemented the more immediate aid for the crusading armies at Acre.

Philip's military contribution to the crusade is also evident in Anglo-Norman accounts, though the writers tend to unflatteringly compare the French and English kings. Richard of Devizes, despite claiming that "even the king of the French himself did not act slothfully," nonetheless highlighted how much more effective Richard was as a commander, writing that the "burning mouth of the thirsty Philip" was due to his jealousy over Richard's conduct as a warrior.[72] The author of the *Itinerarium* acknowledged that Philip "had expended a great deal of effort and expense in that country, in storming the city. He had given aid and support to a great many people, while the very authority of his presence had brought about more quickly and easily the completion of that great undertaking."[73] Philip's material contribution to the

69. Original Text: "Philippus Rex Francie coadjuvantibus Dei fidelibus, in tantum civitatem Achon impugnavit, confractis muris ipsius civitatis cum petrariis et mangonellis suis, quod inimicos crucis Christi... cum ingenti armatorum copia, sub certa pactione ad deditionem coegit." Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 1: 115.

70. Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *History of Saladin*, 153. During the course of the siege, both Richard and Philip were afflicted by what contemporaries termed "arnoldia" which caused one's hair and fingernails to fall out —modern historians have identified it as a form of scurvy or dysentery. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 90.

71. Also accompanying them was Robert II, Count of Dreux (c. 1154–1218), Philip's cousin, and the bishop of Beauvais. A number of prominent English crusaders, including Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Ranulf Glanville, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, also arrived at Acre ahead of the two kings. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre*, 72–73; Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade*, 221.

72. Translated by Appleby. Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard*, 44–45.

73. Translated by Nicholson. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 223; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 237.

siege had clearly hastened the city's fall. The emphasis on the "authority of his presence" echoes the sentiment of Ibn al-Athir that Philip was "the noblest of their lineage," to whom command of the entire Frankish army was due given Philip's position as "king of the Franks."

Though Philip arrived at the siege prior to Richard, Anglo-Norman writers also suggested that Philip was incapable or unable to capture the city without the English king. Gervase of Canterbury wrote:

> The king of the Franks had ordered him [Richard] to come with haste, saying that the city of Acre was to be taken at once, unless it was delayed only by his absence. When, therefore, King Richard, having settled matters in Cyprus, arrived at Acre, he found the pagans still resisting in it manfully.[74]

Gervase's account implicitly highlights how it was Philip, not Richard, who was the driving force behind the primary goals of the crusade. A glimpse into the authority Philip was perceived to have, despite his comparative material shortcomings in the eyes of Anglo-Norman writers, is revealed where Gervase suggested that Philip "had *ordered*" [my emphasis] Richard to join him at Acre. Philip, upon realising that the siege was nearing a successful conclusion, sent notice to Richard for the two kings to rejoin their armies at Acre. Despite Philip's efforts, which Gervase highlighted earlier as a valiant show of force, the Muslim army was "resisting... manfully" and it was only Richard's arrival with his troops that turned the siege in favour of the crusaders. Gervase's inclusion of said missal once again emphasises that Philip consistently engaged with the crusade and that he attempted to shape the direction of the expedition through recourse to his position as the "king of the Franks" and the associations it had with broader crusading leadership.

By contrast, Guillaume le Breton claimed that French forces had already broken the walls of Acre before Richard's arrival, and suggested that Philip chose not to take the city so that both kings could equally share in the glory of victory. He wrote that:

> The Catholic king, until the English king was present, to whom he had promised himself to be a faithful ally while both were striving to serve in obedience to the cross, did not wish to rejoice alone in such a great triumph and waited for a partner with whom he could share the honour which the clemency of Christ had bestowed upon him alone.[75]

74. Original text: "Mandaverat enim rex franciae ut festinat veniret, dicens civitatem Accon jam jamque capiendam, nisi tantum per absentiam suam differet negotium. Cum igitur rex ricardus, dispositis rebus in cipro, pervenisset Accon, repperit adhuc paganos in ea viriliter repugnantes." Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1879), 2: 88.

75. Original Text: "At rex catholicus, donec rex Anglus adesset, / Cui fore se socium promiserat ipse fidelem, / Dum crucis obsequio servire studeret uterque, / Nolebat tanto solus gaudere triumph / Exspectans socium cui

Guillaume deftly subverted the tropes of glory and chivalric merit to Philip's advantage and highlighted Philip's commitment to the holy war. Philip here is presented as magnanimous in the vein of a chivalric ruler, deigning to share a triumph "that was his alone" with the absent Richard. The "clemency of Christ" is granted to the most-Christian king for his service on crusade and, in the appropriate Christian fashion, Philip chooses to share this with his allies rather than hoarding it to his name. Perhaps most tellingly, Guillaume indicated that Philip would honour and support Richard "while both were striving to serve in obedience to the cross," meaning that Philip was not obligated to assist Richard should the latter stray from this goal. The divergence in Philip's portrayal between Anglo-Norman and French sources suggests that the diminution of Philip's martial contributions to the Third Crusade stemmed more from anti-Capetian bias rather than a genuine appraisal of Philip's contribution to the expedition.

## The Fall of Acre and the End of Philip's Crusade

Acre would fall to the crusading armies in July 1191. Regardless of which ruler could lay claim to the greatest share in the victory, the successful conclusion to the siege did not prevent personal and political tensions from coming to a head, resulting in Philip's decision to leave the crusade and return to France later that summer. It is also possible that news had reached him from Paris of his son's illness, a situation made more dangerous by the fact that Philip had no other heirs. Philip himself was gravely ill, and were he to die on crusade as well, the Capetian dynasty would go extinct, triggering a major political crisis.[76]

Anglo-Norman authors presented Philip's decision as a calculated and premeditated attempt to take advantage of both Richard's absence from his Norman lands and the recent death of the Count of Flanders during the siege.[77] It cannot be denied that Philip profited significantly from the deaths of prominent Frankish lords which created space for the expansion of Capetian political and territorial control. The deaths of other prominent nobles during the Third Crusade would also create space for the elevation of Philip's "new men," many of whom had accompanied the French king on crusade, further emphasizing the extent to which crusading was a trans-Mediterranean phenomenon that explicitly shaped the personal and impersonal exercise

dimidiaret honorem / Quem soli sibi contulerat clementia Christi, / Gentis et invicte vis invictissima bello, / Servitio Christi multo conspersa cruore." Guillaume le Breton, "Philippidos," 2: 104–105. This is similarly the case in the *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr,* which emphasises Philip's sense of honour and companionship in his desire to share the glory with Richard. See Edbury, "The Old French Continuation," 99.

76. Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 126–127; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, 277; Catherine Hanley, *Two Houses, Two Kingdoms: A History of France and England, 1100–1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 302.

77. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 246, 256; Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard*, 47–48; Galland, *Philippe Auguste*, 91–95; Gillingham, *Richard I*, 225. Richard of Devizes also argued that Philip was jealous of Richard's greater wealth and military might, and this drove him to plot against Richard with John Lackland, Richard's brother.

of medieval governance.[78] Men like Barthelemy de Roye, Guillaume des Barres, Guillaume de Garlande, Henry Clement, and Dreux de Mello would proffer loyal service to the French king and his two immediate successors; they were intimately connected to the crusading service of the Capetians during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

When Philip departed Acre he left the bulk of his army and financial resources in the Levant under the command of Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy, though the monies provided would ultimately run short before the end of the campaign. This is attested by Richard of Devizes, who noted mockingly that "the king of the French sailed (or went back) home from Acre with a small force and left the flower of his army there to do nothing, under the command of the Bishop of Beauvais and the Duke of Burgundy."[79] While it is clear Devizes thought little of this gesture, Rigord similarly emphasized that Philip only took back with him three galleys, placing his own safe return at greater risk so that the rest of his army could continue the crusade.[80] According to the 'Eracles' *Continuation*, Hugh III became concerned that Richard would capture the city, with the duke claiming "great shame will it be to the king of France and great reproach to the whole kingdom, and they will say that the king of France had fled and the king of England has won Jerusalem, and never again will France be without reproach."[81] The conflation of Philip's honour and that of "the whole kingdom" is a telling sign of how the Capetian dynasty had interwoven itself into the story of Frankish crusading.[82] These expressed concerns suggest that a slight to Philip, as king of the Franks, would be a slight to the wider cultural community of Frankish lords. Burgundy's refusal to join Richard's siege of Jerusalem was as much a question of representing the public honour of the Franks as it was a decision of military strategy.[83] The argument that "never again will France be without reproach" further emphasizes this association. As noted in the *Continuation of William of Tyre,* Philip had left the duke of Burgundy to "act in his stead," and this meant the honour and reputation of the French kings were as much at stake as the stability of Outremer. Philip did not abandon the crusade but maintained a vested interest in the continued involvement of French knights in the crusade and the capture of Jerusalem, leaving his army and significant financial resources in his absence.

Challenging the claim of historians that Philip's early departure from the Third Crusade left a "permanent slur" upon his reputation, it is of note that Philip suffered no immediate backlash as a result of his decision. During his return journey, the French king halted in Rome and met with

78. Hollister and Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship," 900; Curveiller, *Philippe Auguste*, 77–80; Sivery, *Philippe Auguste*, 134–140.

79. Translated by Appleby. Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard*, 53

80. Rigord, *The Deeds of Philip*, 127. Philip's original army amounted to approximately 650 knights and 1,300 sergeants (men-at-arms), with associated foot-soldiers and support. For specifics, see Delaborde, *Recueil des Actes*, 354 no. 292; Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade*, 134–136.

81. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, 278–279; Edbury, "The Old French Continuation," 109–110.

82. Sivery, *Philippe Auguste*, 104–105.

83. Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 127; Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 420.

Pope Celestine III (r. 1191–98) who then granted a papal dispensation that absolved Philip of his crusading vow—this despite the social opprobrium tied to the failure to complete a pilgrimage. *The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick* (late 1190s) described Philip's encounter with Celestine as follows: "the pope... earnestly encouraged him with pious admonishment to work for the liberation of the land of the Lord. He also gave him presents and the gift of holy blessing, as his dearest son and a beloved pilgrim, and granted him... the kiss of peace."[84] While not openly condoning Philip's early return, the tenor of Celestine's rebuke indicates an acceptance of Philip's decision, rather than outright condemnation; the "pious admonishment" could also be interpreted as indication that Philip was expected, and encouraged, to return on crusade. Moreover, it evidences how Philip's crusading maintained and augmented the traditional royal French alliance with the medieval papacy. The language indicates both the close institutional relationship between the papacy and the Capetian monarchy, but also the shifting expectations around monarchical participation in the crusades.

The public ceremony that likely accompanied Philip's visit to Rome would have reinforced an understanding of Philip's place in a tradition of royal French crusading and a recognition of the position of the Capetians as the "most-Christian of kings." This is certainly how Guillaume le Breton presented the encounter, noting that "arriving in Rome, he [Philip] was received with the greatest honours by the Pope.... Afterward, he was celebrated with honours by the priests and the College of Cardinals."[85] Guillaume was keen to illustrate the respect owed to Philip, both as a successful crusader-king and as a Capetian monarch. Philip's decision to meet Celestine before his return to Paris maintained the close alliance of the papacy and Capetian monarchy that was evident during the Second Crusade and would continue during Philip's reign and the pontificates of both Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) and Honorius III (r. 1216–1227).

This is not to overlook the political situation that faced the papacy at the end of the twelfth century. Before the accession of Lothario di Segni as Pope Innocent III in 1198, a string of elderly, relatively weak pontiffs faced a series of political challenges—an aggressive Hohenstaufen dynasty advancing their claims to rulership over the Italian peninsula, spiralling internecine conflicts amongst some of the most powerful princes of Latin Europe, and the loss of the holiest city

84. Translated by G.A. Loud. G. A. Loud, trans., *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 122; Ansbert, *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*, ed. Josef Dobrovsky (Prague: Cajetanum de Mayregg, 1827), 112–113.

85. Original Text: "Qui, Romam veniens, celebri donatur honore / A Celestino papa, qui tertius Urbi / Nominis illius preerat, tangebat et ipsum / Tertius illustri regali sanguine stirpis." Guillaume le Breton, "Philippidos," 2: 107. Rigord also noted Philip's papal reception, writing that the king "passed through the city of Rome, visiting the tombs of the apostles and receiving the blessing of the pope." Original Text: "Cum paucis iter arripuit et transitum faciens per Romanam civitatem, visitatis Apostolorum liminibus et accepta benedictione a romano pontifice Celestino." Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 117.

in Christianity to the Muslims.[86] It is plausible that Celestine felt compelled to grant absolution to Philip in the face of a dire need for loyal allies, and that both pope and king were cognizant of the tangible benefits of a public display of reconciliation and pious devotion expressed in accounts of their meeting. Philip's failure to recapture Jerusalem would be softened by papal absolution and he could more effectively present himself as a Capetian crusader-king, while Celestine could count on the renewed fealty of the French kings to the cause of the papacy in the future. The fact remains, however, that Philip chose to visit the papacy and was honorably received in the aftermath of his departure from the Levant, which contrasts with Richard I's deliberate refusal to visit Celestine in Rome on his way to the siege of Acre in 1190.[87] The close relationship between the papacy and the French monarchy would come to play a major role in the reification of an ideology of Capetian crusading kings and was furthered by Philip's own actions during the Third Crusade.

## Conclusion

It is a mistake, therefore, to consider Philip II as the outlier in a lineage of committed crusader-kings. It is more accurate to say that Philip was a bridge between the crusading piety of his father and the zealotry of his grandson.[88] Philip balanced the reality of governance with the crusading obligations of a medieval monarch and did so in a manner which firmly incorporated crusading into the ideology of Capetian kingship. Philip, like his own father, had departed on crusade and proven himself a competent military leader and had received the blessings of the papacy.[89] Moreover, the crusade offered opportunities for the development of an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship and Philip clearly took advantage of this at every stage of the expedition to emphasize the sacrality of the institution. Philip's leadership and involvement in the Third Crusade augmented a tradition of royal crusading and strengthened a cross-Mediterranean community of Frankish lordship that set up later Capetian kings to more substantially integrate into a transregional economic and cultural sphere.

86. The period of 1185–1198 saw the accession and death of four popes: Urban III (r. 1185–1187), Gregory VIII (r. 1187), Clement III (r. 1187–1191), and Celestine III (r. 1191–1198). By contrast Innocent III, successor to Celestine, presided over the Holy See from 1198 to 1216, a period five years greater than that of his four predecessors combined. Consider also Rigord, who noted the "frequent deaths of popes." Original Text: "De frequenti transitu summorum pontificum." Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 1: 82; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 526.

87. Roger of Howden's *Annals* includes a letter sent from Richard while in the Levant which complained of Philip's early departure and criticised his papal reception. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, 221.

88. Richard, "Philippe Auguste, la croisade et le royaume," 412.

89. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre*, 162–163; Markowski, "Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?," 23; Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien*, 108.

Despite this, there is a need to look beyond the immediate events of the Third Crusade. One of the long-term consequences of the expedition was the reshaping of the northern European political landscape, as well as the establishment of an image of Philip as a bona fide crusading king, the latest in a venerable lineage of royal French crusaders. Far from the end of Philip's crusading career, the French king's return from Acre in 1191 had positioned the Capetian dynasty to more firmly associate the spiritual and material prestige of crusading with an increasingly strengthened ideology of sacrality; an ideology that underpinned concurrent developments in political and territorial rule. The Third Crusade scored a tangible victory at Acre due in large part to the military leadership and resources of Philip and his French forces; the city would remain the core of crusader Outremer until its fall in 1291 to the Mamluks, ending the crusader presence in the Levant.[90] The investment of the Capetian monarchy in the growth of cultural and political networks across the medieval Mediterranean would only grow more substantial during the reign of Philip Augustus and that of his successors.

While Philip did not actually go on crusade after 1190, he nonetheless figured prominently in papal plans for crusades in the thirteenth century. He exercised significant patronal authority over the shape of expeditions in the later decades of his reign, ensuring that Capetian-aligned magnates would establish social and economic networks across the medieval Mediterranean. Philip would also expend significant financial resources to support the Albigensian Crusade in Languedoc and even sent Prince Louis on two expeditions to fight in the south following the French victory at Bouvines in 1214.[91] He continued to maintain strong connections with Outremer, strengthening a tradition of Capetian patronage for its political leadership, so much so that he would play a pivotal role in the selection of both the king-elect of Jerusalem and the Latin Emperor of Constantinople in the 1210s.[92] This reinforced the Capetians' reputation as the natural protectors of Outremer and patrons of crusading, which augmented the sacral qualities of Capetian rulership.

Clearly, crusading represented a critical component of Philip's role as a Capetian monarch and in the propagation of a compelling dynastic ideology of sacral monarchy. Philip's participation in the Third Crusade was far more substantial that Anglo-Norman chroniclers presented, and his enthusiasm and commitment to achieving the stated goals of the crusade are evidenced by his urgings to Richard to depart for the Levant, and his leadership at the siege of Acre. The

90. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre*, 112–113, 168–70; Galland, *Philippe Auguste*, 86.

91. Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, 79–81; Cassard, *L'âge d'or Capétien*, 183–192.

92. Philip was consulted on the marriage of Maria de Montferrat, heir to the throne of Jerusalem; he advocated strongly for Jean de Brienne, a Champenois noble with close ties to both the Capetian monarchy and its ally, Blanche of Navarre the dowager-countess. Philip's cousin, Peter of Courtenay, would be chosen as Latin Emperor in 1216, and Philip was the key figure in the selection of Boniface of Montferrat (c. 1150–1207) as the leader of the Fourth Crusade in 1202. For the marriage of Maria, see: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du règne*, 100–101; Perry, *John of Brienne*, 40. For Philip and the Latin Empire see: Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade*, 82–83; Hélary, *La dernière croisade*, 22–23.

Ordinance of 1190 and the replacement of the great barons with his "new men" who had fought alongside him in the siege of Acre also speaks to the extent to which crusading materially shaped the practice, needs, and machinery of medieval governance. Far from being a social pariah afflicted with paranoia, Philip returned firmly embedded within a nascent tradition of Capetian royal crusading, one which flaunted the spiritual credentials of crusading alongside tangible military success.

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