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Perceptions of Women in the Narrative Histories of Crusading and the Latin East

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Perceptions of Women in Historical Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East

Abstract:

The prominent military and religious aspects of histories about crusading and the Holy Land have ensured that scholarship on the role of women has only recently started to appear. New studies have made profitable use of a wide variety of records, but historical narratives have been mistrusted as source material for women on account of stylised 'departure scenes', criticism of non-combatants on crusade and theories about sexual sin leading to military failure. This thesis, however, contends that attitudes towards women in these texts did not differ dramatically from their portrayal in other contemporary narratives. Perceptions of women were not entirely governed by lack of enthusiasm at women's involvement in the crusade movement. Similarly, the 'frontier' nature of society in the Latin East meant that aristocratic women enjoyed a relatively high profile in the narratives that were circulated in western Europe, and while they had a role in the historical explanation of military setbacks in the Holy Land, their portrayal was by no means consistently negative. It varied according to the family roles, wealth and social status which sometimes allowed women to transcend their gender. The interpenetration of 'fictional' literature and History during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries meant that authors of historical narratives borrowed heavily from a variety of genres and used a mixture of contemporary and traditional imagery to describe the women in their texts. 'Invented' female characters were also used by authors to represent their own ideas, exploiting perceptions about women held in common with their audience. This study analyses the representation of women by 'life-cycle stage'. It identifies common perceptions about daughters, wives, mothers and widows, and applies them to women in the narratives of crusading and the Latin East. It concludes that social status was inextricably linked to the portrayal of women as a gender, and that the power exerted by aristocratic women through family roles was a key factor shaping the disparate views of women in these texts.

Contents

Abbreviations.....	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 - Theory	5
Introduction.....	5
Literary Context.....	6
Description of Source Material.....	6
Gender, Medieval Sources and ‘Life-Cycle Stages’	10
Writing the History of Crusade and Settlement: Narratives and their Audience.....	14
Crusade Narratives and Chivalric Literature.....	19
Authorship	24
Textual Interdependence.....	24
Ecclesiastical Authors	29
Lay Authors	32
Women in the History of Crusading and the Latin East.....	36
Women as audience	36
Women’s involvement in the Crusade Movement.....	39
Medieval Perceptions of Women and Crusading.....	44
i) Ecclesiastical Perceptions.....	44
ii) Perceptions of Women and Warfare.....	46
iii) Perceptions of Nobility.....	50
Conclusion	53
Chapter 2 - Daughters	54
Introduction.....	54
Background.....	55
Daughterhood and Childhood	55
Traditional Views on Daughterhood: Education and Parental Nurture.....	56
Lineage and Inheritance	57
Betrothal	60
Virginity and the Cloister.....	61
Daughters in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East	64
Introduction.....	64
Daughters and Crusading.....	64
Education	67
Paternal Nurture.....	69
Lineage and Inheritance.....	75
i) Heiresses and the Royal House of Jerusalem	79
ii) Daughters of the Levantine nobility: inheritance, lineage and betrothal	90
Betrothals and International Diplomacy	93
Virginity, Captivity and the Cloister.....	102
Conclusion	111

Chapter 3 - Wives	112
Introduction.....	112
Background.....	113
Marriage: Tradition and the Reform Papacy.....	113
Extra-Marital Relations: Adultery and Prostitution	116
Wives, Power and Authority.....	118
Wives in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East	120
Introduction.....	120
Wives and Crusading: the ‘Canonical Quandary’	120
Departure Scenes	124
Wives as Crusaders.....	128
Wives, Power and Authority.....	131
Love and Marriage.....	137
Extra-Marital Relations.....	142
i) Aristocratic Adultery	142
ii) Crusading Armies and Prostitution.....	149
Separation.....	154
Wives and Captivity.....	164
Clerical Marriage and Concubinage	169
Conclusion	172
 Chapter 4 - Mothers	 174
Introduction.....	174
Background.....	175
Traditional Views on Motherhood.....	175
Pregnancy and Mothering	176
Mothers and Education	179
Regency and Maternal Authority.....	181
Mothers in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East	183
Introduction.....	183
Mothers and Crusading.....	183
The Virgin Mother	186
Pregnancy and Mothering.....	190
Mothers and Education	197
Regency and Maternal Authority.....	200
i) Crusading and Maternal Power	200
ii) Mothers and Regency in the Latin East.....	207
An Unusual Case Study: Kerbogha’s Mother.....	217
Conclusion	225

Chapter 5 - Widows	226
Introduction.....	226
Background.....	228
Traditional Views on Widowhood.....	228
Widows, Wealth and Political Authority	231
Remarriage and the Cloister.....	233
Widows in the History of Crusading and the Latin East.....	235
Widows and Crusading.....	235
Widows, Wealth and Political Authority	239
Remarriage.....	247
i) Remarriage in the context of Crusading.....	247
ii) Remarriage in the Latin East.....	251
Grief.....	266
Conclusion	273
Conclusion	275
Appendices	282
A Note On Translation.....	282
Appendix 1: Theory	282
Appendix 2: Daughters	284
Appendix 3: Wives	291
Appendix 4: Mothers	301
Appendix 5: Widows	309
Bibliography	316
Primary Sources.....	316
Secondary Materials	328

Abbreviations

AA: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in RHC Occ. 4 (1879), 265-713.

AA.SS: *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J Bollandus and G. Henschenius (Antwerp, 1643-); *Acta Sanctorum: Editio novissima* ed. J.Carnandet *et al.* (Paris, 1863-)

ATF: Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS 23 (1874), 631-950.

Ambroise: *The History of the Holy War; Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and trans. Marianne Ailes & Malcolm Barber, 2 Vols. (Woodbridge, 2003).

BB: Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in RHC Occ. 4, (Paris, 1879) 1-111.

CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*

DEL: *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell David (New York, 2001). 2nd Edition with new foreword by Jonathan Phillips.

Eracles: La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr 1184-1197, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, (Paris, 1982).

Ernoul: *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie, (Paris, 1871).

FC: Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1913).

GF: *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890)

GN: Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta Per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A, (Turnhout, 1996).

GP: Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. Peter Orth, (Hildesheim, 1994).

GW 'De Principis': Gerald of Wales, 'De Principis Instructione Liber', ed. George F. Warner in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* VIII, RS 21, 3:27, 299.

GW 'Itinerarium': Gerald of Wales, 'Itinerarium Kambriae' ed. James F. Dimock in *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, RS 21, (1868) 6.1-152.

Itinerarium: 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi' in William Stubbs ed. *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* 2 vols RS 38 (London, 1864), vol. 1.

Joinville: John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo et lettre a Louis X*, ed. and trans. Natalis de Wailly, (Paris, 1874).

Kinnamos: John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand, (New York, 1976).

MP: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richard Luard, RS 57, 7 vols, (London, 1872-83).

MGH SS: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, (Hannover, 1826-).

MGH Scr Rer Ger: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1871-)

OD: Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry, (New York, 1948).

OV: Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols, (Oxford, 1969-80).

PT: Peter Tudebode, *Historia De Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, (Paris, 1977).

RA: *Le Liber de Raymond D'Aguilers*, ed. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, (Paris, 1969).

RC: Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer, (Paris, 1924)

RGHF: *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris, 1869-1904).

RHC: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*

- Lois: *Assises de Jérusalem* 2 Vols. (Paris, 1841-3)

- Occ.: *Occidentaux*. 5 Vols (Paris, 1841-95).

- Or. : *Orientaux* (Paris, 5 Vols (Paris, 1872-96)

Rothelin: 'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin' in RHC *Occ.* 2 (1859). 489-639.

RR: Robert of Rheims, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in RHC *Occ.* 3 (1864) 717-882.

RS: Rolls Series (London, 1858-1891)

St. Ambrose: St. Ambrose, *De Viduis* in J. P. Migne ed. *Patrologia Latina* 16 (Paris, 1880), cols. 185-278.

SBO: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols, (Rome, 1955-77).

TF: Thomas of Froidmont, *Hodoeporicon et pericula Margarite Iherosolimitane*, 472-85 in P.G. Schmidt, ' "Peregrinatio Periculosa." Thomas von Friedmont über die Jerusalemfahrten seiner Schwester Margareta', in *Kontinuat und Wandel. Lateinische*

Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. U. G. Stache, W. Maaz, F. Wagner (Hildesheim, 1986), 461-85.

WC: Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Innsbruck, 1896)

WM: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors completed by R. M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1998-9).

WN: William of Newburgh. 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum', in Richard Howlett ed. *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols, RS 82 (London, 1884) vols 1-2.

WT: *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986)

Introduction

In the spring of 1188, Gerald of Wales accompanied Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury on a preaching tour to promote the Third Crusade. During his journey the archbishop encountered a nobleman called Arthenus, who, wavering over his decision to take the cross, wished to consult his friends first. The archbishop asked him if he wanted the guidance of his wife as well. Arthenus, shamed, took up the cross immediately, saying:

“This is man’s work we are undertaking, the advice of a woman is not required.”¹

The perception of crusading as ‘man’s work’ has lingered in historical tradition. Throughout successive generations of scholarly interest, the crusades have stayed firmly entrenched within the confines of military and religious history - areas that were dominated by men during the medieval period. Later historians were largely content to emulate their medieval counterparts by giving negligible attention to the role that women played in the crusade movement. In recent years, however, scholarship has shifted away from the military exploits of crusaders and the politics of Holy War to an increasingly panoramic view of the impact that crusading had on medieval society.² This has paved the way for new studies about the roles played by women on specific crusades or those who lived in settler societies of the Latin East, Iberia or the Baltic.³ In addition, Riley-Smith

¹ “Ad aggradiendum, ... opus virile, non est expetendum consilium muliebre.” GW, 48-9.

² For detailed assessments of the shifts in historical approaches to crusading, see Giles Constable, ‘The Historiography of the Crusades’, in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parvitz Mottahedeh ed. *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, (Washington, 2001), 1-22; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, (London, 1998), 99-126; Jonathan Riley Smith, ‘The Crusading Movement and Historians’, in Jonathan Riley-Smith ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, (Oxford, 1995), 1-12. For a recent assessment of crusade historiography from the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries see Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, (Aldershot, 2000), 1-38.

³ Works about women’s activities on crusade include Helen Nicholson, ‘Women on the Third Crusade’, *JMH* 23 (1997), 335-349; James M. Powell, ‘The role of women on the Fifth Crusade’, in B. Z. Kedar ed. *The Horns of Hattin*, (Jerusalem, 1992), 294-301; and Maureen Purcell, ‘Women Crusaders, a temporary canonical aberration?’, in L. O Frappell ed. *Principalities, Power and Estates: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Government and Society* (Adelaide, 1979), 57-67. For general assessments of noblewomen in the Latin East, see Bernard Hamilton, ‘Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)’, in D. Baker ed. *Medieval Women*, (Oxford, 1978), 143-74, and Sarah Lambert, ‘Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East 1118-1228’, in Anne Duggan ed. *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, (Woodbridge, 1997), 153-169. For Iberia, see Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, (Cambridge, 1989), and for the Baltic, see Rasa Mazeika, ‘“Nowhere was the Fragility of their

has established the importance of certain noblewomen in recruitment and finance for the early crusades,⁴ while Brundage has explored traditional ecclesiastical views on the situation of women in relation to crusading, marriage and prostitution.⁵ More recent contributions to the field include *Gendering the Crusades*, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen*, and Maier's brief historiographical overview.⁶ However, a comprehensive assessment of the portrayal of women in the major written histories of crusading and the Latin East has not yet been attempted; a *lacuna* that this thesis seeks to fill.

During the period in which crusading was at its height, historical writing was dominated by a predominantly male and ecclesiastical hierarchy, and reflected the views of a patriarchal social system. Accordingly, the portrayal of women in medieval history was indisputably shaped by gendered stereotypes, but these could encompass both moderate and extreme views. Crusade narratives in particular have been criticised for their negative attitude towards the female sex, a perspective thought to result from lack of ecclesiastical enthusiasm at their involvement in the crusade movement. The practical problems posed by non-combatants on crusade were a major concern, but women in particular became the focus of misogynistic fears about sexual activity and the spiritual purity of crusaders. As a result historians have tended to view narrative accounts as unreliable source material for the history of women. This thesis contends, however, that while chroniclers displayed inevitable gender bias, perspectives of women within these sources were by no means consistently negative, and espoused a wide spectrum of views influenced by factors other

Sex Apparent" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles', in A.V. Murray ed. *From Clermont to Jerusalem; The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, (Turnhout, 1998), 229-248, and Megan McLaughlin, 'The woman warrior; gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe', in *Women's Studies* 17 (1990), 193-209.

⁴ Jonathan Riley Smith, 'Family traditions and participation in the Second Crusade', in Michael Gervers ed. *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, (New York, 1992), 101-8; *The First Crusaders 1095-1131*, (Cambridge, 1997).

⁵ James A. Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade' in Peter Edbury ed. *Crusade and Settlement*, (Cardiff, 1985), 57-65; 'The Crusader's wife; a canonistic quandary', in *Studia Gratiana* 12, (1967), 425-41; 'The crusader's wife revisited' in *Studia Gratiana* 14, (1967), 243-251; 'Marriage law in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem' in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R.C. Smail eds, *Outremer; Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, (Jerusalem, 1982), 258-71

⁶ Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert eds, *Gendering the Crusades*, (Cardiff, 2001). Geldsetzer provides a particularly useful appendix of female crusaders. Sabine Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen*, (Darmstadt, 2003). Maier focuses on Margaret of Beverley and Catherine of Siena. Christoph T. Maier, 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: a survey', *JMH* 30 (2004), 61-82.

than sex. Crusading may have been viewed as an unequivocally masculine enterprise, but certain female crusaders and women in settler societies received praise for their character and activities, a contradiction that merits scholarly attention.

In the context of writing crusade history, the ideology of Holy War and the religious significance of events in the Latin East attracted ecclesiastical authors, some of whom exhibited ascetic or puritanical tendencies, but histories were also written for, about, and in some cases by, the lay nobility who were the driving force behind crusading armies. Many narratives of crusading were written or circulated as propaganda to encourage nobles and knights to take the cross, and in conjunction with contemporary ideas about the didactic purpose of history, often provided examples for prospective crusaders to follow. Histories chronicling events in the Latin East enjoyed a high circulation in western Europe, influencing opinions about the activities and morality of both crusaders and settlers. Where women appeared in narratives, they too represented a spectrum of models for behaviour according to gender, social status and character. To present a consistently negative portrayal of women was doubtless impossible because of the number of important aristocratic women who took the cross, supported crusaders financially, or cemented political alliances central to crusading diplomacy through marriage. This thesis contends that it is the complex links between crusade narratives and the nobility - crusade as a 'noble' pursuit - which helps to explain discrepancies between 'traditional' ecclesiastical views and perceptions of women in narratives of crusading and the Latin East.

This issue cannot be addressed by a simple attempt to recreate the experience of women's participation in crusading and settlement, but must focus instead on *perceptions* of women in order to use the narrative source material to its best advantage. Such an approach allows stories about women which have been dismissed as largely fictional to yield significant historical evidence, as well as those which can be corroborated with other types of source. The theory chapter will expand on these ideas, and establish the history of crusading within the context of contemporary literature and perceptions about noble morality and culture. The main body of research will be presented in four chapters focusing on the

portrayal of women as daughters, wives, mothers and widows, 'life-cycle stages' that represented the focal positions held by women in the family.⁷ Each of these begins with a brief background to traditional and contemporary thoughts on the role in question. Once key characteristics have been identified they will be applied to the source material and analysed in the context of crusading and settlement. By doing so this study will discover how crusade historians employed women in their narratives to inform, instruct, amuse and motivate their audience, as well as establishing how far their descriptions of women conformed to contemporary views. In this respect, narratives of crusading and the Latin East have not yet been exploited to their full potential as a source for medieval women.

⁷ See Theory, 13.

Chapter 1 - Theory

Introduction

The following chapter explains the thematic approach taken by this study. The first section aims to provide a literary context for perceptions of women at the time of the crusades and defines the narrative sources used in this thesis. It will consider traditional and contemporary influences in the writing of history, the role of gender in medieval texts, the cultural impact of crusading, and its development as a theme within a variety of medieval literary genres. The second section gives an overview of authorship and how this may have affected perceptions of women. The third will assess the particular problems posed by women to the historians of crusading and the Latin East, taking into account the role of women as audience, perceptions of social status, and their role as crusaders and settlers.

Literary Context

Description of Source Material

This thesis is based upon ‘historical narratives of the crusades and the Latin East’ and therefore it is necessary to provide a working definition of what these entail. As well as narratives, a wide variety of relevant charters, letters and legal records survive from Europe and the Levant. Ecclesiastical records, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew and Arabic sources, and considerable architectural and archaeological data are also available to the historian of crusade and settlement. While these other forms of evidence provide a great wealth of historical data, Bull argues that the historian of ‘types of history which are less event-centred, such as the study of social change, thought, and cultural patterns’ can ‘draw profitably on the precise framework’ of narratives.⁸ It would be hard to postulate any coherent picture of the cultural and social impact of crusading without those authors who chose to set down the events of crusade and settlement in a narrative historical format for posterity. The narrative source material, however, encompasses a large number of texts with divergent political, geographical and literary influences which varied considerably over the 200-year period in which crusading was at its height. They can be roughly divided into chronicles, *gesta*, *historiae*, genealogies, annals and hagiographical works, although such categories are essentially artificial and occasionally overlap. In some cases crusade narratives were written in epistolary form, such as *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, or the letters of Stephen of Blois to his wife, Adela.⁹

Not all of these sources are of sufficient length to provide detailed information on women, and accordingly this study is predominantly based on narratives that stand apart as specific *gestae* or *historiae*, usually limited to specific expeditions. Chronicles in which crusade accounts featured as part of a wider historical focus also provide original material on women and crusading, and these will be referred to where relevant. Information about

⁸ Marcus Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, (Woodbridge, 1999), 22.

⁹ Recent scholarship suggests DEL was ‘more than a simple report’, however. DEL, xx-xi. For Stephen’s letters, see Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, (Innsbruck, 1901), 138-40 and 149-52.

settler society in the Levant also appeared in crusade narratives and monastic chronicles, but the most detailed accounts were provided by William of Tyre and his continuators, which also circulated in the West. In order to offer a fair basis for comparison, this study must concentrate on those histories written from a Latin Christian perspective. Narratives by Christians of Greek or Syrian origin can be used for comparing historical evidence, but cultural, political and doctrinal differences, as well as alternative literary models, dictate that their views on women may depart too significantly from a Latin viewpoint to be beneficial to this thesis.¹⁰ This is also the case for Muslim sources. Within the confines of this study, it has been decided to focus on crusading to the Latin East, although work by Mazeika and Dillard has shown that there is future scope for a comparison with Baltic and Iberian crusades and settlements.¹¹ In terms of chronological restraints, the sources roughly correspond to the period in which a Latin settlement survived in the Levant: John of Joinville, who completed his history in 1309, is the most recent author to be considered in this study.

Authority and Tradition in Historical Writing

A discussion of 'truth' in historical narrative is necessary not only to define the body of crusade literature as a genre, but also to explain the focus of this thesis on perceptions rather than the reality of women's experience. The desire to record the exploits of crusaders was not confined to historical writing alone; legends sprang up about the heroes of crusade, engendering *chansons de geste* and romances that blurred the line between historical 'fact' and 'fiction'. The authors of medieval historical narratives often tried to set themselves apart from these other literary traditions, distinguishing themselves as imparting the 'truth' of events. However, the nature of narrative in itself demands that historians select evidence according to personal interest, recounting stories and anecdotes, and embellishing their text with descriptive detail in order to appeal to their audience. It is often within the anecdotes, descriptions and dialogue that are reconstructed by the imaginative skills of the medieval historian that women are given greater characterisation.

¹⁰ Unfortunately this means that the only female historian to provide a perspective on the crusades, Anna Comnena, cannot be given detailed consideration in this study.

¹¹ See Introduction, n. 3.

Historical narrative has existed in one form or another throughout human experience wherever events are retold, and its pitfalls as a vehicle for historical explanation are well known. In the first half of the twentieth century the *Annales* school mistrusted narrative as an empiricist or 'reconstructionist' form of historical explanation, and turned to more general sociological laws and theories applying to areas such as class and race. Post-modernists addressed the inadequacies of narrative and language itself as a medium for conveying historical 'truth', thus the skill of the historian lay in surmising what probably happened, complementing narrative sources (which were seen to be polluted by contemporary and ideological language) with statistical information where possible.¹² Others have questioned whether historical narrative is entirely the creation of the historian, or whether events themselves are the driving force behind the historian's 'emplotment', with narrative filling in the gaps.¹³

It is not the intention of this thesis to embark on a lengthy discussion of the metaphysical complexities of knowable reality, but it is necessary to consider the historical tools available for studying medieval women. A post-structuralist approach towards individual historical narratives can be used to assess gendered language, and to examine an author's conscious or unconscious use of narrative to impart his opinions, but this can also have a negative impact on the study of gender. Hoff argues that poststructuralism 'casts into doubt stable meanings and sees language as so slippery that it compromises historians' ability to identify facts and chronological narratives', reducing the experience of women to subjective stories.¹⁴ Mosher Stuard lauds the early historians of medieval women who were 'more at home with digging for the rich truffles of solid scholarship than airy parachuting after theory' but recognises that new theoretical approaches were and still are necessary to meet the 'challenge' of women's history.¹⁵ When considering a group of texts linked predominantly by subject matter, (crusading and the Latin East), contextual

¹² See Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, (London, 1997), 3-28.

¹³ For two different views, see Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore, 1987), 67-8 and David Carr 'Narrative and the Real World: an argument for continuity', *History and Theory* 25 (1986), 117-31.

¹⁴ Joan Hoff, 'Gender as a postmodern category of Paralysis', *Women's Historical Review* 3 (1994), 150.

¹⁵ Susan Mosher Stuard, 'The Chase after Theory: Considering Medieval Women', *Gender and History* 4 (1992), 143.

analysis is essential. To an extent, the historian can read from what is ‘unseen’ or ‘unheard’, but must at the same time consider what is deliberately intended. The military successes or failures of expeditions to the East and the ecclesiastical and secular politics of the Holy Land were crucial in stimulating and shaping the course of historical narratives, and women had a limited role in those kind of historical ‘events.’ Medieval authors were also guided by the perception of history as essentially didactic in purpose. Both of these factors suggest a more deliberate intervention by the historian when women were included in their narratives, but an intervention governed by contemporary conventions that must be taken into account.

The guidelines for producing reliable history were set down by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae*. It was truth, *veritas* that was the ultimate element distinguishing history from fable, and the eyewitness source as the deciding factor for historical truth in the narration of events.¹⁶ The importance of the eyewitness is crucial to understanding the interdependence of crusade texts during the medieval period, which also influenced portrayals of women.¹⁷ Authors also drew inspiration from classical sources, which were acceptable despite their pagan origins as long as they purported to be historical, and preferably eyewitness sources. The Bible and historical works of early church Fathers such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore, and St. Augustine were more respected historical models. Classical poetry was seen as corrupt and to be avoided,¹⁸ but poets such as Horace, Virgil, and Ovid influenced many medieval historians, especially in their portrayal of women.¹⁹

The unquestioning acceptance of traditional Christian sources and eyewitness authority by medieval historians has led to accusations that they were credulous and plagiarist, but this fails to recognise that they were writing within a tradition with different criteria for judging the value of historical sources. Plagiarism is a modern concept and was an

¹⁶Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, (Geneva, 1981), 10-11. See also Peter Damien-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Woodbridge, 1999), 68-72.

¹⁷ See below, 24.

¹⁸ Beer, *Narrative Conventions*, 10-11.

¹⁹ For example, see *Daughters* 163, and *Widows* 268.

accepted part of medieval historical writing.²⁰ The proliferation of anonymous histories and continuations of other works demonstrates that the events related, and the *veritas* provided by eyewitness evidence, were usually considered more significant than the author. The purpose of history was fundamentally didactic: William of Malmesbury asserted that history ‘adds flavour to moral instruction by imparting a pleasurable knowledge of past events, spurring the reader by the accumulation of examples to follow the good and shun the bad.’²¹ Perceptions of women in medieval history varied accordingly: as Stafford asserts, the ‘palette of images’ available to describe women was mostly Biblical and ranged from Mary to Jezebel, but their meanings could be ‘contradictory and ambiguous’ and ‘powerful women became images in themselves, dynastic saints - and sinners.’²²

Gender, Medieval Sources and ‘Life-Cycle Stages’

Medieval gender history has expanded rapidly in recent years, and is far removed from the few essays devoted to medieval women that were produced by Eileen Power in the early twentieth century.²³ Initially historians of medieval women focused on high-profile figures; the queens, noblewomen and abbesses and religious women considered important enough to feature in chronicles, charters and saints’ lives. Where possible, they referred to works of female authors, but these are scant indeed for the period in which crusading was at its height. During the twelfth century, the elusive lay author Marie of France wrote her celebrated *fabliaux* and *lais*,²⁴ but evidence of historical writing in western Europe is limited to the tenth century *Gesta Ottonis* by Hrotsvit of Gandesheim.²⁵ Some personal letters survive, but the correspondence of women was less often preserved than that of the men with whom they communicated. Of several letters that Baudri of Bourgueil wrote to

²⁰ Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade; A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, (Aldershot, 1997), 13.

²¹ WM, 151. William’s significance as a historian of the crusades has recently been revised in the new edition of Rodney Thompson, *William of Malmesbury*, (Woodbridge, 2003), 178-89.

²² Pauline Stafford, ‘The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries’, in John Carmi Parsons ed. *Medieval Queenship*, (Stroud, 1994), 144.

²³ See Eileen Power, *Medieval Women*, ed. M. M. Postan, (Cambridge, 1975).

²⁴ Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. and trans. Harriet Spiegel (Toronto, 1987), and Marie de France, *Lais*, ed. A. Ewert, (Oxford, 1944).

²⁵ She also wrote saints lives, plays and poetry. See *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. H. Homeyer, (Paderborn, 1970).

women at the convent of le Ronceray at Angers, only one reply survives.²⁶ Written examples from a female perspective are too few in themselves to provide a suitable basis for an assessment of the social construct of gender. Recent studies have developed interdisciplinary approaches and broadened their field of research to explore a combination of legal records, patronage, coins, and seals, for significant data about women.²⁷ However, for this period, the historian of women must still rely on male-authored works for information.

Historical chronicles in particular have often been mistrusted as a source for women. Jewell asserts that they ‘were mainly the product of religious houses, and of authors who had little personal experience of women and much exposure to anti-feminist texts.’²⁸ For this reason, scholarship on the social construct of gender has often focused upon the role of women in the more fictional works, usually the vernacular prose and poetry that developed around the noble courts. The assumption is that such works provide insight into more genuine ‘secular’ attitudes, bypassing the ‘misogyny’ of the ecclesiastics.²⁹ However, the pro-masculine ideology of the nobility combined with the all-pervading moral influence of medieval Christianity to influence both ecclesiastical and lay literature, providing guidelines for the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behaviour of men and women that were inter-related, and sometimes complementary. Crusade narratives were particularly representative of this overlap between these spiritual and lay values, as they espoused both ecclesiastical and chivalric ideals. It is the contention of this thesis that such narratives can therefore be used to bridge gaps between these genres as source material for women.

That is not to say that the authors of crusade narratives held tangibly different cultural values to other medieval writers. According to R. Howard Bloch ‘any essentialist definition of woman, whether negative or positive ... is the fundamental definition of

²⁶ Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric*, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1968), 1.217.

²⁷ For example, Susan M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth Century Anglo-Norman Realm*, (Manchester, 2003)

²⁸ Helen Jewell, *Women in Medieval England*, (Manchester, 1996), 130.

²⁹ For example, Penny Schine Gold bases her assessment of ‘secular image’ almost entirely on the portrayal of women in *Chansons de geste* and romances, although she expresses some useful methodological concerns about using such literature for historical purposes. Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth Century France*, (Chicago, 1985), 1-42

misogyny,' but he agrees that the use of such strong definitions is 'dangerous' as in the past 'they have worked to eliminate the subject from history.'³⁰ It is important to differentiate between those authors who simply vilified women, and those who made misogynistic assumptions but showed compassion, awareness of feminine concerns, and sometimes even admiration: those who Blamires calls 'profeminine'.³¹ During the period on which crusading was at its height McNamara claims that there was a 'gender crisis' or '*Herrenfrage*', when 'the gender system destabilised'. She interprets this as a result of the monastic influence over eleventh century reform, with the result that 'the newly celibate clerical hierarchy reshaped the gender system to ensure male domination of the new public sphere.'³² This may have promoted an increase in misogynistic literature, but Blamires shows that arguments in favour of women developed in parallel, engendering a polarisation of views throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³³

Furthermore, gender was not the only category of analysis for women. Men and women were unquestionably perceived to act in accordance with the physical and psychological traits associated with their gender, but social status, lineage, wealth, and the comparative virtues of noble birth and noble character were also fundamental. For women, sexual status was of key importance: legitimate wives and chaste women were contrasted with prostitutes and concubines. Most often, however, women were described in relation to men: as daughters, wives, mothers, widows, aunts, sisters and even more distant kin, in a manner consistent with male-oriented history. The importance of family roles in understanding the power and activity of medieval women was first outlined by McNamara and Wemple in the early 1970s.³⁴ The attributes of these family roles were often seen to transcend social boundaries in terms of wealth or nobility, and incorporated sexual status

³⁰ R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*, (Chicago, 1991), 6.

³¹ Blamires, *The Case for Women*, 9.

³² Jo Ann McNamara, 'The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050-1150', in Clare A. Lees, with Thelma Fenster and Jo Ann McNamara eds, *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, (Minneapolis, 1994) 3-29, 5 and 11

³³ Blamires, *The Case for Women*, 17, 9.

³⁴ Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family', *Feminist Studies* 1, (1973). Reprinted in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski eds, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, (Athens;GA, 1988), 83-101. For a recent revision see Jo Ann McNamara, 'Women and Power through the Family Revisited', in Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski eds, *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, (London, 2003), 17-30.

with terms such as wife and widow. Age was also used to describe women, but with a variety of connotations. The appellation of youth was sometimes applied to a daughter as yet unmarried, but wives and widows could also be termed young, presumably to imply that they were still capable of bearing children. Old age could be associated with women past childbearing age and widowhood, but both old and young could be criticised for acting in a manner inappropriate to their age. The concept of 'middle age' was less distinguishable: the term *matrona*, used to describe a respectable married woman, was perhaps the closest equivalent.

Evidently, a major difficulty in categorising women's lives by their role in the family is that they were neither mutually exclusive, nor denoted by specific boundaries of age. A woman could be a combination of daughter, wife, mother and even widow all at once. A widow who was young enough might remarry and begin the cycle again. In historical sources a woman was often described differently in comparison to the family member (or members) with whom an author chose to associate her, regardless of her own age or current situation. In order to combat some of these difficulties, this study will approach women in terms of 'life-cycle stages', focusing on their roles as daughters, wives, mothers and widows. All forms of social categorisation have their pitfalls, as individuals by nature consistently defy proposed societal 'norms', but the idea of life-cycle stages as a way of categorising the human experience has persisted since classical times with the concept of 'ages of man.'³⁵ Historians of women have sometimes adopted this method as it enables a discussion of the major criteria that affected the portrayal of women, especially their legal status and authority, while at the same time retaining the terminology used by medieval authors.³⁶ For the purposes of this study, such an approach enables the consideration of differing attributes and responsibilities perceived to be associated with each life-cycle stage even if it means assessing individual women in different ways, and provides a basic structure for the four main chapters.

³⁵ See Michael E. Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age; The Human Life-Cycle in Medieval Thought 1250-1350*, (London, 1989).

³⁶ See Stafford, 'Portrayal of Royal Women', 143-8.

Writing the History of Crusade and Settlement: Narratives and their Audience

The advent of the crusade movement and the subsequent recording of these expeditions coincided with a change in the perception of the past. This was engendered at least in part by the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance, characterised by the establishment of universities and new monasticism, and by a growing culture of literacy amongst the laity.³⁷ A new interest in the writing of history developed parallel to 'courtly' literature, both Latin and vernacular, but History was perhaps one discipline not governed by a revival of classical models. Classen remarks that attitudes to the tradition of Antiquity did not change markedly in the twelfth century: in his opinion only the Italian annalists (including Caffaro of Genoa) can be considered truly 'renaissance', in character.³⁸ Hollister describes 'a new interest in the naturalistic cause and effect' in historical writing, influenced by the philosophy of Abelard, which encouraged historians to place less emphasis on divine intervention and more on natural explanations.³⁹ However, narratives about crusading and the settlement the Holy Land were based on the fundamental premise that these events were proof of current divine intervention in human affairs: new 'events' worthy of record. Even the most pioneering historians of the Twelfth Century Renaissance who wrote about crusading were unlikely to interpret the movement as resulting from anything other than divine providence. Classical models influenced crusade narratives in a traditional rather than innovative sense, but the Twelfth Century Renaissance did increase education and the production of written history, bringing classical *topoi* to a wider audience.⁴⁰

The development of vernacular literature has often been linked to the beginning of a 'secular' literary culture identified with 'fictional' *chansons* and romances. This did not preclude the interest of the nobility in the forms of historical writing considered to be more 'credible': the number of family histories and genealogies grew rapidly during this

³⁷ For a recent interpretation see R.N.L. Swanson, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Manchester, 1999).

³⁸ Peter Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse; Visions of Past and Future', in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable ed. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, (Oxford, 1982), 415.

³⁹ C. Warren Hollister, 'Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in C. Warren Hollister ed., *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History 1995*, (Woodbridge, 1997), 9-10.

⁴⁰ See below, 21.

period.⁴¹ Lay literacy was on the increase, but it was not necessary for a noble to be a scholar in order to be a patron. William of Tyre described Prince Raymond of Antioch as a patron, even though he had but slight education.⁴² He admitted that King Amalric of Jerusalem was not as scholarly as his brother Baldwin III who had enjoyed reading. Still, Amalric preferred listening to histories rather than other texts, having a keen memory for what he was told.⁴³ Crusading itself has been seen as a stimulus to the writing of vernacular history, but Damien-Grint dismisses this idea, as none of the early examples mention the First Crusade. He asserts that crusading initially inspired *chansons de geste* in the vernacular – most historical narratives were written in Latin throughout the twelfth century.⁴⁴ When a group of lords in Northern France decided to commemorate their own deeds on the First Crusade, it was a vernacular poem that they commissioned – the *Chanson d'Antioche*.⁴⁵

The conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 was interpreted as a miraculous feat that deserved the attention of western scholars, and was an obvious stimulus for the numerous histories that followed. The crusade movement from its outset provided a unique combination of both temporal and spiritual values that proved attractive to both a lay and an ecclesiastical audience. Classen asserts that crusading demonstrated most fully the difference between the twelfth century history and the traditions of Antiquity, opening the way for 'new dimensions in *gesta*, in war, and in adventures undertaken for a holy cause.'⁴⁶ Crusading themes were also 'popularised' by preachers and troubadours such as Marcabru.⁴⁷ Crusade

⁴¹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth Century France*, (Berkeley, 1993), 11-54, Jean Dunbabin, 'Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy', in Paul Magdalino ed. *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth Century Europe*, (London, 1992), 1-14. See also Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), 32.

⁴² WT, 659.

⁴³ WT, 715, 865.

⁴⁴ Peter Damien-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth Century Renaissance*, (Woodbridge, 1999), 10-11.

⁴⁵ Lambert of Ardes asserts that Arnold II of Guines was left out by the '*Antiochene commendator cantilene*' because he did not pay as others did. Lambert of Ardes, *Historia Comitum Ghisnensium*, MGH Scriptores 24 (Hannover, 1879), 626. DuParc Quioc identifies this as the earlier author of the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Suzanne DuParc Quioc, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, 2 vols, [DHRC] (Paris, 1978), 2.92.

⁴⁶ Classen, 'Res Gestae', 414.

⁴⁷ See Simon Gaunt, Ruth Harvey and Linda Patterson, *Marcabru: a critical edition* (Cambridge, 2000); Michael Routledge, 'Songs' in Jonathan Riley Smith ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995), 91-111; For a useful overview, see Jack Lindsay, *The Troubadours and their world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, (London, 1976).

armies encompassed participants from a range of social backgrounds, but it was the nobility who were likely to be the most receptive audience to historical narratives on the subject of crusading. It was perceived as a noble and knightly pursuit, and its continued popularity demonstrated that the church had become proficient in appealing to the nobility, whose values were based on a blend of military and Christian ideals. Some historians identify the birth of chivalry as a moral code with the Peace of God movement.⁴⁸ Although chivalric codes of behaviour were heavily influenced by the martial nature of social bonds amongst the aristocracy, attempts by the Church to control violence in God's name determined morally acceptable conduct for knights, whether or not they chose to act within those confines. Accounts of Urban II's speech at Clermont echoed this desire to reform the unruly knighthood, entreating knights to cease fighting amongst themselves and take up the cross.⁴⁹ The sermons of Jacques of Vitry specifically addressed the sins of knights, and with the development of the Military Orders, Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae* demonstrated that the church could incorporate knightly violence in a way that did not undermine spiritual purity.⁵⁰ Such authors reflected the need for restraints on the knighthood, but the enthusiastic response and popularity of crusading indicates that this social group also had genuine spiritual concerns. Therefore even propagandist religious literature in favour of crusading can be seen to reflect the values of lay knights and nobles as well as those of the Church.

How far were crusade narratives involved in active propaganda for the movement? Menache asserts that 'the crusades contribute the most spectacular example of medieval political communication in actual practise.'⁵¹ The majority of scholarship on crusading propaganda has focused on evidence for preaching; sermons, encyclicals, letters and popular songs,⁵² but the specific role of narratives in disseminating crusading ideas is rather more ambiguous. Krey has suggested that the histories of Robert of Rheims, Guibert of Nogent, Baudri of Bourgueil and possibly Peter Tudebode were influenced by a

⁴⁸ David Carlson, 'Religious Writers and Church Councils', in *Study of Chivalry*, 143.

⁴⁹ FC, 136-7; GN, 113; RR, 728; BB, 14.

⁵⁰ St Bernard, 'Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae militiae', SBO 3.213-39.

⁵¹ Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei; Communication in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1990), 123.

⁵² *Ibid*, 98-123, Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) and Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, (Cambridge, 2000).

deliberate propaganda drive surrounding Bohemond's visit to France in 1106.⁵³ In a new translation of Robert, Sweetenham has argued that his text was intended to justify the First Crusade and 'presented a platform for future action'.⁵⁴ Edgington has shown how the manuscript tradition of Albert of Aachen's *Historia* may have been linked to St. Bernard's preaching tour of 1146-7.⁵⁵ Powell has explored the way in which the success of the First Crusade in particular was disseminated into popular culture and used to encourage others to crusade.⁵⁶ Fulcher of Chartres explicitly stated in his prologue that he wished to inspire people to leave their wives and families and take the cross, or to provide alms and prayers for their crusading forbears. This was his aim whether the history was read or recited from memory, suggesting that he was targeting a lay audience.⁵⁷ Bishop Oliver of Paderborn, who wrote the *Historia Damiatina*, preached the crusade both before and after the expedition in which he took part.⁵⁸ All of these authors firmly adhered to the fundamental principles behind the crusade movement itself, whether justifying the successes or failures of a specific expedition.⁵⁹ The medieval perception of history as a didactic tool meant that many authors could not only use narratives to encourage others to take the cross, but to provide models of good and bad behaviour on crusade which were crucial to ensuring the successful outcome of a divinely ordained expedition.

Where information is available, the authors of narratives of crusading were usually from noble backgrounds. Of the sources used in this thesis, only John of Salisbury and William of Tyre are thought to have originated from non-noble stock.⁶⁰ In William's case, far from

⁵³ August C. Krey, 'A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', in Louis J. Paetow ed. *The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, (New York, 1928), 70-5.

⁵⁴ *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham, (Aldershot, 2005), 6-7.

⁵⁵ Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St. Bernard and the Second Crusade', in Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch eds, *The Second Crusade; Scope and Consequences*, (Manchester, 2001), 54-70.

⁵⁶ James M. Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140 –ca. 1300', in Michel Balard ed. *Autour de la Première Croisade*, (Paris, 1996), 127-141. For a literary perspective, see D.A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades, 1100-1300* (Geneva, 1988).

⁵⁷ FC, 115.

⁵⁸ See introduction, Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans John J. Gavigan, (London, 1948), 3,9,10.

⁵⁹ There were some objections to crusading on pacifist grounds, but these were few and far between. E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274*, (Oxford, 1985), 208-216.

⁶⁰ See *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1097-1291) ed. R. Röhricht, 2 vols, (Innsbruck, 1893), 1.142 no. 531. See also Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*,

providing a 'common' perspective, he was a champion of royal authority in the East. Lay authors such as Villehardouin and Joinville were noble and wealthy enough to have been educated. Monastic writers such as Guibert of Nogent were known to have come from a noble background. A participant in the German contingent of the Second Crusade, Otto of Friesing was half-brother to the king, Conrad III. Even where evidence for the social status of authors does not exist, the close links between the nobility, local churches and monastic houses in the machinery of medieval government and patronage meant that ecclesiastical authors were familiar with courtly culture. Several of the ecclesiastics who wrote about crusade expeditions took part in them, and show considerable understanding of the martial world of the knight through their experience with crusading armies. Raymond of Aguilers, who went on crusade as a canon of Le Puy in the circle of Bishop Adhémar was also chaplain to Count Raymond IV of Toulouse. His history was ostensibly written for the bishop of Viviers, but he states that he undertook the writing of it jointly with a knight, Pons of Balazun, who died at 'Arqah'.⁶¹ His history of the First Crusade placed particular emphasis on the spiritual importance visions and portents, but he was also concerned to authenticate the Holy Lance and support his lord Raymond against Bohemond of Taranto during the power-struggle at Antioch.⁶² Raymond's account showed that even with the strongest religious overtones, crusade narratives could demonstrate lay concerns. Some clergy were even involved in the fighting, despite the restrictions on clerical violence imposed by eleventh century reformers. The priest Raol, who Livermore convincingly argues is the author of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, related in a charter that 'I...expelled the infidels with my own bow.'⁶³

The secular aspects of crusade narratives did not preclude their appreciation by a monastic audience - monks and their patrons were largely of noble origin, and local institutions were often involved in raising money to finance crusading. A number of accounts were

(Cambridge, 1988), 14. John of Salisbury was reticent about his background, Brooke suggests that he may have been the son of a married canon of Old Salisbury. See Christopher Brooke, ed. Michael Wilks, 'John of Salisbury and his World', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, (1984), 3.

⁶¹ RA, 35-6.

⁶² See Colin Morris, 'Policy and Visions. The case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in John Gillingham and J.C. Holt eds, *War and Government in the Middle Ages; Essays in honour of J. O. Prestwich*, (Cambridge, 1984), 33-45.

⁶³ Harold Livermore, 'The Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', in *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990), 4.

ostensibly written for ecclesiastical patrons. Guibert's history was dedicated to Bishop Lysiard of Soissons.⁶⁴ Orderic Vitalis records that his *Ecclesiastical History* was prompted by Abbot Roger of Le Sap, and was later encouraged by Abbot Warin of Saint-Évroul.⁶⁵ Chibnall suggests he intended it for 'monks of knightly class familiar with warfare and *chansons de geste*', but also for secular knights 'in the hope of moderating their brutality and directing their swords to the service of God'.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the lack of a 'common' perspective from the lower levels of society dictates that surviving sources may give a distorted reflection of the cultural impact of crusading by focusing so heavily on the nobility. However, the well-attested popularity of crusading amongst rich and poor alike suggests that both social groups were attracted by the same ideals.

Crusade Narratives and Chivalric Literature

Ecclesiastical authors also wrote, influenced and borrowed from chivalric literature, which has encouraged some historians to question its value as a source for lay culture. Barber asserted that if the authors of poems were clerics, due allowance should be made for 'clerical attitudes', but if they were jongleurs 'the poems are more valuable to us as witnesses of knightly society and its ethics'.⁶⁷ Such a division fails to recognise the close relationships of literary influence that extended both ways between church and laity, especially in the discipline of history which relied on political figures (including important ecclesiastics) for its subject matter. Many 'fictional' texts including *chansons* were written by clergy, but such works were 'intended for popular consumption and reflected popular tastes'.⁶⁸ Of the First Crusade historians, at least two are well known to have composed poetry for the courts, Guibert of Nogent and Baudri of Bourgueil.⁶⁹ Nor can lay and ecclesiastical values be divided on mere stylistic grounds such as the difference between poetry and prose. Historical narrative had been cast in epic verse since classical times, and

⁶⁴ GN, 77-8.

⁶⁵ OV, 1.38.

⁶⁶ OV, 1.38.

⁶⁷ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, (Ipswich, 1974), 54.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Riley Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, (London, 1986), 9.

⁶⁹ Guibert admits a brief flirtation with poetry in his *Monodiae*. See Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. Edmond-René Labande, (Paris, 1981), 134. For Baudri's poetry see *Les ouvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil*, ed. P. Abrahams (Paris, 1926).

several accounts of crusade expeditions were written in verse, such as that of Gilo of Paris, or Ambroise. Guibert of Nogent openly discussed his deliberations over whether to cast his *Dei Gesta Francorum* in verse or prose,⁷⁰ and Fourth Crusade historian Gunther of Pairis produced a version of Robert of Rheims' *Historia Iherosolimitana* as an epic poem called *Solinarus* in 1186.⁷¹ It was Bishop Eustorge of Limoges who commissioned the *Canso d'Antiocha* in the early twelfth century.⁷² Even when sources were written in prose, some drew from poetic narratives, or interspersed their histories with lines of poetry, as did Raoul of Caen. Robert of Rheims and Gilo of Paris are thought to have shared a further lost source, a history written in Latin hexameters, and Sweetenham asserts that the *chansons de geste* were 'by far the dominant literary influence' in Robert's work.⁷³ There were complex relationships between crusade narratives and specific *chansons*, for example the strong links between Albert of Aachen and the *Chanson d'Antioche*.⁷⁴ Ambroise the poet is credited as being the main source for the IP2 text of the *Itinerarium*, even though both are thought to have been eyewitnesses to the Third Crusade.⁷⁵ The use of verse in historical narrative does suggest that it was written for performance, possibly at court, and was therefore accessible to those nobles who were less likely to be literate, including women.

Ultimately, *Chansons* and romances were not necessarily more or less representative of lay values than histories of crusading, particularly when it comes to perceptions of women. Considering the wide-reaching popularity of the movement, it was inevitable that participants, especially the leaders of the First Crusade, would find their way into more 'fictional' literature as legendary heroes. Godfrey of Bouillon was said to have descended

⁷⁰ GN, 79-84.

⁷¹ See introduction, Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, trans. Alfred J. Andrea (Philadelphia, 1997), 7-8.

⁷² See *The Canso d'Antiocha: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. L.M. Paterson and C.E. Sweetenham, (Aldershot, 2003).

⁷³ Gilo of Paris, *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, ed. and trans. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1997), lx. Sweetenham, 61.

⁷⁴ See Edgington, 'Albert', 23-37.

⁷⁵ *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica* 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), 62. Mayer divided the text into two sections IP1 and IP2. The longer IP2 was believed to be a compilation of Ambroise and the author's own eyewitness account. Mayer produced a new edition of the IP1 text, which ends with the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1190. See Nicholson, 6-15. Nicholson, *Chronicle*, 12-14. Ambroise, 2.12-13.

from a swan, and this story along with *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Chanson de Jerusalem* were amalgamated into what has become known as 'the epic cycle of the crusades', comprising two different cycles from the twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries.⁷⁶ The *chansons* demonstrate a close association with the 'factual' historical narratives, but their portrayal of women has generally been banished to the realm of the 'fictional'.⁷⁷ Historians have recently challenged the idea that romance 'replaced' *chansons de geste* as the favoured literature at court in the late twelfth century, arguing that *chansons* continued to be popular throughout the period in which romance was at its height.⁷⁸ In any case, History was a common component of both. Ainsworth emphasises that the *roman breton* and the *roman d'antiquite* in particular desired to impart both classical and recent history to an audience unfamiliar with Latin sources, entertaining them at the same time.⁷⁹ Therefore, despite the proffered distinctions between *historia* and *fabula*, the influence of 'fictional' literature on crusade narratives should also be considered.

Women did feature more prominently in romance texts than the martial *chansons*, thus it is questionable how much influence *amour courtois* had on the perceptions of women in later crusade narratives. Obviously one could not expect to see the same extensive love allegory of the late twelfth and thirteenth century, but Morgan asserts that 'as the material of crusade history proved itself so eminently suitable for a romance-reading audience, so too its style and techniques became more akin to those of romance.'⁸⁰ Her work on the popularity of the Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre over the Acre version in French compilations overtly suggests that Rothelin simply supplied a 'more readable narrative', and that compilers recognised the need to entertain, as well as teach their audiences. She asserts that

⁷⁶ See Alfred Foulet, 'The Epic Cycle of the Crusades', in Kenneth M. Setton ed. *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols (Madison, 1969-89), 6.98-115. See also Trotter, *French Literature and the Crusades*, 107-125.

⁷⁷ Susan Edgington, 'Sont çou ore les fems que jo voi la venir?' Women in the *Chanson d'Antioche*', in *Gendering the Crusades* 154-162.

⁷⁸ See introduction, Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance; Political Fictions*, (Oxford, 1995), 1-21.

⁷⁹ Peter Ainsworth, 'Legendary History: *Historia* and *Fabula*', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis ed. *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, (Leiden, 2003), 401-2.

⁸⁰ M.R. Morgan, 'The Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre', in *Outremer*, 255.

...the nature of their work, compared with that of their predecessors, suggests that their readers were not taking the crusades as seriously as an earlier generation had done. What had formerly been an aspect of current events was now a literary *topos*, a central thread around which to weave multicoloured patterns.⁸¹

A brief example of the crossover of contemporary feminine *topoi* is evidenced by Rothelin's mention of the Amazons' home country as *Femenie*, a place which also featured in a twelfth century historical romance linked to Eleanor of Aquitaine, the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure.⁸² As well as the *Estoires d'Oultremer et de la Naissance de Salahadin*, Morgan describes how the *Estoire d'Eracles* had come to be seen as a collection of stories, and with it, perhaps, William of Tyre's work.⁸³ The blend of literary styles can also be seen in the 'miracle stories' given by Ambroise and the *Itinerarium*, and perhaps even earlier with Orderic Vitalis' inclusion of the story of Melaz, daughter of Malik-Ghazi.⁸⁴ Spiegel asserts that by 1200, *chansons* and romances, while still popular for entertainment, no longer satisfied the lay appetite for history and were gradually being replaced by vernacular prose as 'the preferred form of history.'⁸⁵ This is supported by the increase in vernacular prose histories of crusading in the thirteenth century, written by lay participants or continuators of William of Tyre. Like the use of verse, vernacular prose suggests that authors intended to reach a wider noble audience, including women who were less likely to be learned in Latin. However, a stylistic change to prose did little to permanently differentiate perceptions about women in narrative history from those in romances and *chansons*, as the example of the *Estoire d'Eracles* shows. In fact, prose became the popular style for romances from the early thirteenth century.⁸⁶

Separating any medieval narratives into those displaying 'lay' ideals of the nobility and 'religious' ones is misleading. The didactic messages of proper knightly behaviour in

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 252-4.

⁸² Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex; Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts*, (Indianapolis, 1997), 116-8 and Rothelin, 503.

⁸³ Morgan, 'Rothelin continuation', 255.

⁸⁴ See *Daughters*, 72.

⁸⁵ Spiegel, *Past as Text*, 179.

⁸⁶ Ainsworth, 'Legendary History', 415.

crusade narratives are no more restrictive than those found in chivalric literature. *Raoul de Cambrai*, for example, is a warning against the dangers of excessive violence, pride, and most crucially, abusing the feudal bond between lord and vassal.⁸⁷ It could be said that both types of literature were important for imposing moral restraints on the most dangerous element in society, the warriors. While crusade narratives predominantly featured examples of knighthood approved by the church, *chansons de geste* and romances also focused on proper social behaviour. They could even form an active part in the propaganda for crusading. The author of the *Itinerarium* records how crusaders celebrated the arrival of King Richard at Acre, by 'singing popular songs', or reciting 'epic tales of ancient heroes' deeds', as an incitement to modern people to imitate them - a testament to the didactic power of these genres.⁸⁸ Conversely, criticism of crusaders in historical narrative, whether they were accused of going for wealth or glory, betraying fellow Christians or consorting with prostitutes, also represented the social 'reality' of lay participation in crusades. There is no definitive idea of what constitutes 'chivalric literature', but if it can be said to consist of texts which represented knightly views and concerns, there is a strong case for including narratives about crusading within it.

⁸⁷ See *Raoul de Cambrai* ed. and trans Sarah Kay, (Oxford, 1992).

⁸⁸ *Itinerarium* 3:2, 202.

Authorship

It is not easy to generalise about the motives of crusade chroniclers. Each had unique perspectives or personal agendas in terms of patronage, bias, justification and propaganda, and all of these factors may have influenced their opinion of women. There is not space within the scope of this thesis to give detailed background information for each author, but this section will address how they may have been influenced in their perceptions about women by issues such as textual interdependence, their social origins, patronage and education. It aims to show that histories of crusading and the Latin East cannot be universally described as more misogynistic than other forms of medieval literature.

Textual Interdependence

The propensity of medieval authors for borrowing extensively from other sources often makes it difficult to assess individual agendas. If a text influenced the development and spread of the crusade idea it might also have influenced attitudes to women's involvement. For the most part, deletion of information suggested that it was considered inconsequential or incorrect whereas its inclusion *verbatim* implied tacit approval - additions indicated personal knowledge, opinion, or access to external sources. Nicholson views this kind of plagiarism as 'evidence...of how the crusaders themselves saw crusade and how they developed the account of the crusade which they would have eventually retold in Europe.'⁸⁹ It would be impractical to discuss the intricate details of the relationships of each text within this study, but the most influential should be given at least cursory attention.

From the time of the First Crusade, medieval historians often relied heavily on the limited eyewitness accounts available. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* has been the focus of considerable debate, but is still widely believed to be the earliest and most influential

⁸⁹ Nicholson, *Chronicle*, 14.

historical narrative for the First Crusade.⁹⁰ There is still plenty of room to debate that primacy, but France thinks it unlikely that there was some kind of 'Ur-*Gesta*' as the Hills suggest. He acknowledges that the *Gesta* cannot be proved to depend on any other written source but asserts that those authors who drew from the *Gesta* should not subsequently be undervalued.⁹¹ Similarly, Bull warns against assuming that the *Gesta* was 'a piece of raw and reliable reportage', on the grounds of literary style and lay authorship, as on closer examination it is not necessarily more valuable than other contemporary histories.⁹² Sometimes sources were used at second or third hand, causing further complications. Baudri of Bourgueil based his First Crusade history on the *Gesta* and it enjoyed some popularity, with seven or eight manuscripts surviving from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was to him, rather than the *Gesta*, that Orderic Vitalis turned for an account of the First Crusade.⁹³ The reinterpretation of a text could also become more influential than its source - Robert of Rheims' *Historia* was predominantly based on the *Gesta* but manuscript tradition suggests that his history had by far the widest circulation of First Crusade narratives. Hiestand gives a total of 94 manuscripts, 39 dating from the twelfth century.⁹⁴

William of Tyre's *Chronicle* was the fullest and most influential account of events in the Levant during the twelfth century. Born in the Levant but trained and educated in Europe, William wrote with both an eastern and western audience in mind, creating a didactic history to generate sympathy and support for the Holy Land.⁹⁵ This work was so successful that it was translated for a French audience and had several continuators, both in Latin and

⁹⁰ See GF 39-92, for a thorough discussion.

⁹¹ John France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and their Sources*, 59; 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth Century sources for the First Crusade', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), 29-30.

⁹² Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 5. Beer uses the *Gesta Francorum* as an example of the triumph of the authority of the eye-witness over stylistic content. Beer, *Narrative Conventions*, 23-34. France, 'Use of the Anonymous *Gesta*' 29-30.

⁹³ OV 5.xiii.

⁹⁴ Rudolph Hiestand, 'Il Cronista Medievale e il suo pubblico: Alcune osservazione in margine alla storiografia delle crociate' *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'università di Napoli* 27 (1984-85), 227.

⁹⁵ See Edbury and Rowe, William of Tyre, 25, 107-8, 171-3.

Old French. Davies, however, was pessimistic about the possibility that much of William's initial aim, to encourage aid for the Holy Land, survived in these popularised texts. He asserts that his western audience was probably attracted more by the 'chinoiserie' of William's history - 'he would have been horrified to find that his book was treated as escapist literature.'⁹⁶ Of the French continuations, the most well known groups of manuscripts are published as the *Estoire d'Eracles*, the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, the *Estoires d'Oultremer et de la Naissance Salahadin*, and a further series of manuscripts with continuations after 1232, including the Rothelin continuation.⁹⁷ There is a further Latin continuation written in approximately 1220 which demonstrates the influence of the *Itinerarium* and Roger of Howden, but also contains some original material.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, these continuations are largely anonymous, and often compilations of composite authors in differing manuscripts, but some details about their agendas can be ascertained.

The *Chronique d'Ernoul* commenced with the foundation of the Latin states in the East and was apparently independent of William of Tyre, although highly condensed by comparison for the period in which they overlap - it is often referred to as the *abrégé*. The author may have been a squire of Balian of Ibelin, and is the main narrative source for the kingdom of Jerusalem after William ended his history in 1184 until 1187: Ernoul's influence over the

⁹⁶ R.H.C. Davies, 'William of Tyre', in D. Baker ed. *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1973), 74.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the relationship between these manuscripts, see M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, (Oxford 1973). For a list of extant manuscripts, see J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist', in *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90-95. A comprehensive edition of the *Eracles* based on the large number of extant manuscripts has yet to be published. The majority of references to the *Eracles* continuation throughout this thesis will be to the Lyon Manuscript, published as *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr 1184-1197*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, (Paris, 1982). This is not only the most recently edited text of the continuation, it gives a more detailed account for the period of 1184-87 than other *abrégés* of Ernoul, although Edbury disagrees with Morgan's assertion that the Lyon manuscript was closest to the original work of Ernoul. It has also recently been translated as *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, trans. Peter W. Edbury, (Aldershot, 1996). References to the *Eracles* translation of William of Tyre are from *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: texte français du xiii^e siècle, revu et annoté*, ed. Paulin Paris (Paris, 1879-80). The most recent edition of Ernoul is *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie, (Paris, 1871). See also *Estoires d'Oultremer et de la Naissance Salehadin*, ed. Margaret A. Jubb, (London, 1990). References to the Rothelin continuation and Acre continuation are both to be found in *RHC Occ. 2* (Paris, 1859), and translated in *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: the Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*, trans. Janet Shirley, (Aldershot, 1999).

⁹⁸ Published as *Die Lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch (Leipzig, 1934).

chronicle after this date has been questioned.⁹⁹ In some cases it is possible to demonstrate that compilers of William's continuators exercised individual preference in deciding which text to follow, as in the case of the Rothelin group of manuscripts already discussed.¹⁰⁰ The *Estoire d'Eracles* is markedly similar in content to those manuscripts attributed to Ernoul for the period in which they overlap but Hamilton asserts that additional material in the *Eracles* is independent of the Ernoul continuation and the *Estoires d'Oulremer*, and was probably derived from oral sources.¹⁰¹ A close examination of the text by a group of scholars has revealed that the *Eracles* author also made individual contributions to his translation of William of Tyre. Pryor and his colleagues have established that *Eracles*' audience was unquestionably the nobility, as he was 'far less religiously and morally oriented', removing many of the classical, biblical, and patristic references, and simplifying William's narrative and dating system.¹⁰² The number of extant manuscript attest to William's popularity - Colin Morris asserts that both William and his continuators were being read by the 'higher aristocracy' in the thirteenth century.¹⁰³ William wanted to encourage successful military aid for the Holy Land, which in his opinion relied upon the morality of its lay participants and settler society in the East. Furthermore, the *Eracles* text, although more secular in tone, did not lack ecclesiastical influence of its own: the author was 'almost certainly' a western cleric who had visited the Latin East some time after 1180.¹⁰⁴

It is uncertain exactly when the *Eracles* author undertook his translation and revision of William's history; it was probably between 1205 and 1234. Even if only twenty years had elapsed between the authorship of the two texts, extremely significant events such as the

⁹⁹ Peter W. Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French continuations of William of Tyre', in B. Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Rudolph Hiestand eds, *Montjoie; Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Aldershot, 1997), 143. See also John Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in *idem*, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century*, (London, 1994), 147.

¹⁰⁰ See above, 21.

¹⁰¹ Bernard Hamilton, 'The Old French translation of William of Tyre as an historical source' in Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips eds, *The Experience of Crusading: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, (Cambridge, 2003), 2.110-12.

¹⁰² John Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report' in *Horns of Hattin*, 272-77.

¹⁰³ Colin Morris, 'Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095-1250', in *The Crusades and their Sources*, 196.

¹⁰⁴ Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre', 277-283.

battle of Hattin, the Third Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople had propelled crusading into a new era. If the *Eracles* account lacked the emotive and moral tone of William's history their temporal perspective and objectives must also be considered. William began writing his history in the reign of King Amalric I of Jerusalem to celebrate the success of a dynasty which had established a firm hold over the Holy Land, but as he continued his work he viewed with increasing pessimism the political developments around him to the extent that he almost considered abandoning his work shortly before his death.¹⁰⁵ In comparison the *Eracles* author wrote with hindsight of the loss of Jerusalem and two further crusade expeditions that had failed to redeem it, and thus his account lacked the urgency of William's appeal, although a desire to motivate crusaders cannot be ruled out. In the course of translation the author rendered William's history into a style more reminiscent of 'a prose version of a *chanson de geste*', encouraging the nobility of his day to emulate the glorious deeds of noble forefathers.¹⁰⁶ As Hamilton asserts, the *Eracles* account was particularly well known in the aristocratic courts of northern Europe in the thirteenth century, and may have influenced future leaders of crusade expeditions such as Richard, earl of Cornwall and Louis IX of France.¹⁰⁷

In contrast, other sources were less widely circulated. Odo of Deuil's narrative only exists in one manuscript, as does *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and the history of Robert of Clari. Odo's narrative seems almost unique - it seems that the failure of the Second Crusade in the Latin East made contemporaries less inclined to write about it in any detail, although crusades in Iberia and against the Wends enjoyed more success.¹⁰⁸ The controversial Fourth Crusade also drew criticism, despite its military success. McNeal has suggested that Robert of Clari's account only survived 'by accident', as it was saved from obscurity when a monk from Corbie copied it into a volume comprising other Old French texts.¹⁰⁹ In a society where information was still predominantly transmitted orally, the number of

¹⁰⁵ WT, 1062-3.

¹⁰⁶ Pryor, 'The Eracles and William of Tyre', 273.

¹⁰⁷ Hamilton, 'Old French translation', 112.

¹⁰⁸ See Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* 46 (Hanover, 1912), 65. For a more detailed assessment see Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213-279.

¹⁰⁹ Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (Toronto, 1996). First published 1936, 7-8.

extant texts can never be a truly accurate gauge of the influence of a manuscript, but it can be tentatively suggested that an exceptionally high number indicates how attuned to contemporary values and tastes certain crusade narratives were.

Ecclesiastical Authors

It might be expected that the cloister affected the writing of monastic authors in a number of ways, especially with regards to gender. As educated men they had a wide frame of literary reference, and as celibates they may have been more inclined to idealise or vilify women, resulting either from lack of personal contact or the extensive literary *topoi* that they had access to. Education was not exclusive to the monasteries, however - Raymond of Aguilers demonstrated a high standard of learning and was well versed in church liturgy.¹¹⁰ Stylistic differences between religious and secular ecclesiastics might also be expected. One of the main problems for those authors who remained within the cloister was how to create authoritative history - according to Isidore's guidelines - using eyewitnesses. Authors who had participated in crusades regularly asserted their presence in order to uphold the legitimacy of their version of events. Ambroise's repeated claims of being an eyewitness have led to him being considered his own source.¹¹¹ Similarly, Robert of Clari ended his history by asserting his truthfulness and reliability as an eyewitness 'as he bears witness who was there and saw it and heard it.'¹¹² Those historians who were not eyewitnesses to events had to justify their authority to write in terms of literary skill. Guibert of Nogent asserted that God would place within him the truth of events. He justified his re-working of the *Gesta Francorum* by emphasising the religious import of crusading:

Just as the style of orators plainly ought to be adapted to the import of the events, so martial facts should be related with a harshness of speech, [and] that which pertains to the divine should be brought forth at a more temperate pace.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ RA, 13-20.

¹¹¹ Ambroise, 1.1.

¹¹² RC, 109; app. 1.1. Trans. McNeal, 128.

¹¹³ GN, 80; app. 1.2.

He also expressed concern that scholars would not value his history because he was not an eyewitness, and therefore emphasised his use of the *Gesta* and of other sources to cross-reference its veracity.¹¹⁴ Other authors took care to cite sources, both written and oral, to justify their presentation of evidence as reality and showing awareness of the pitfalls in their approach. William of Malmesbury wrote:

I guarantee the truth of nothing in past time except the sequence of events; the credit of my narrative must rest with my authorities. But whatsoever I have added out of recent history, I have either seen myself or heard from men who can be trusted.¹¹⁵

William is known to have sought additional information from others, another means for cloistered historians to add original material to their chronicles. Crusaders travelled from all over Europe and often relied on monastic support for raising funds and aid on the journey to the Holy Land, thus despite ostensible confinement to the cloister monastic authors could still have some personal experience of crusaders. Historians known to have conversed with returning crusaders include Ralph of Coggeshall, and Matthew Paris.¹¹⁶ Monks could also travel for information; Orderic Vitalis appears to have travelled to several monasteries, including Cluny in 1132, and he is known to have consulted the cathedral library in Rouen.¹¹⁷ It seems that even monastic vows were not a bar to eyewitness evidence. Monks, like women, were discouraged from taking the cross, but several took part in crusades and wrote their own accounts. Some monks were also ordained priests: Bishop Otto of Friesing had been a Cistercian abbot at Morimond before taking up his more celebrated position, and he was severely criticised by Ralph Niger for participating in the Second Crusade.¹¹⁸ Ekkehard of Aura was a monk from Corvey who took part in

¹¹⁴ GN, 80, 166.

¹¹⁵ WM, 17.

¹¹⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (1875), xiii-xiv. Matthew's contacts included the crusader Richard, earl of Cornwall, the Scottish master of the Temple and the bishop of Beirut. See Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 13-17.

¹¹⁷ OV 1.27

¹¹⁸ Ralph Niger, *De Re Militari et triplici peregrinationis Ierosolimitanae* ed. Ludwig Schmutge (Berlin, 1977), 79-80.

the 1101 crusade, returning to his monastery in Italy in 1102.¹¹⁹ Odo of Deuil was a monk and later abbot of St. Denis, but accompanied King Louis VII of France on crusade as royal chaplain.¹²⁰ It seems likely that this was a common pattern for monks who went on crusade; some were given special dispensation to take part in pilgrimages, but most returned to their monasteries.

It might also be expected that historians working from a monastery had to rely more heavily upon sources authored by crusaders, but ‘plagiarism’ was not confined to the cloister. Even eyewitness participants appear to have followed the customary practice of borrowing from other accounts, especially the *Gesta Francorum*, and this did not necessarily preclude originality. France considers the work of Raymond of Aguilers to be ‘an original and equally valuable record of the First Crusade’,¹²¹ on account of Raymond’s ‘very different preoccupations’ and he asserts that the author saw the *Gesta* merely as ‘a useful *aide mémoire*.’¹²² Roger of Howden, a royal clerk in the court of Henry II, was present on the Third Crusade until he left Acre with the French contingent in 1191. He revised his own account written contemporaneously to events, the *Gesta Regis*, into a larger *Chronica* on his return.¹²³ Even those who did not take part in crusading could still provide relevant eyewitness material of their own. Baudri of Bourgueil and Robert of Rheims were at the Council of Clermont; Gerald of Wales aided the recruitment of the Third Crusade and might have participated in the expedition had it not been for the death of Henry II in 1189.¹²⁴ John of Salisbury was at the papal curia both during and after the time of the Second Crusade, but this enabled him to witness the return from the Holy Land to Italy of the king and queen of France in 1149.

¹¹⁹ RHC Occ. 5. ii-v

¹²⁰ For a recent assessment see Jonathan Phillips, ‘Odo of Deuil’s *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a source for the Second Crusade’ in Marcus Bull, Norman Housley, Jonathan Phillips and Peter W. Edbury eds, *The Experience of Crusading; Western Approaches*, (Cambridge, 2003), 1.80-95.

¹²¹ France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*’, 59.

¹²² *Ibid.* 57-8.

¹²³ Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden on Crusade’, 142-9.

¹²⁴ Peter W. Edbury, ‘Preaching the Crusade in Wales’, in A. Haverkamp and H. Vollrath eds, *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996), 232.

Contact with women was undoubtedly restricted, especially for monastic authors, but this did not prevent women from influencing their perception of gender, evidenced by Guibert of Nogent's account of his relationship with his mother.¹²⁵ The cloister was seemingly no boundary to Baudri of Bourgueil, who wrote 'surprisingly passionate' verse, and is known to have corresponded with several young women at the convent of Le Ronceray at Angers where he taught them composition and urged them to write to him in verse.¹²⁶ Ultimately, ecclesiastical authors of crusade narratives had much in common with their lay counterparts; all demonstrated established Christian viewpoints and were either born into or wrote for the noble class whose interests they upheld. Although the moral and didactic purpose of crusade history dictated that people were exemplified as heroes and villains, the crossover of popular and literary culture in history suggests that despite variations in political agenda, conventions about the relatively peripheral matter of gender would be recognised and accepted by the audience at which it was aimed: the nobility.

Lay Authors

The possible effects that lay authorship may have had on perceptions of women in crusade narratives must also be considered. Would it be possible to expect a less stylised portrayal of women, or perhaps a narrower frame of literary reference? Were lay-authored accounts of crusading considered to be of inferior quality? Although they could not challenge its authority as an eyewitness source, contemporary historians criticised the literary style of the *Gesta Francorum*; both Guibert of Nogent and Robert of Rheims cite this as the ostensible reason for producing their own histories of the First Crusade.¹²⁷ This very fact has, alongside other evidence, induced historians such as Hagenmeyer to consider the anonymous *Gesta* to be the work of a layman.¹²⁸ Morris has argued that it was composed by a cleric hailing from a different academic tradition, but this idea has not been

¹²⁵ See Mothers *passim*.

¹²⁶ RHC *Occ.* 4.iii.

¹²⁷ Guibert of Nogent states that he took up the project with a vow to correct a previous work in his introduction; GN, 80. Robert of Rheims asserted that he was writing his history because his abbot had asked him to improve the style of an existing history, and because he had been an eyewitness to the Council of Clermont. RR, 721. Both are thought to have been referring to the *Gesta*.

¹²⁸ GF, 6-7.

universally accepted.¹²⁹ There is, however, scope to suggest that the *Gesta* is in fact a far more complex, and indeed well designed, piece of literature than at first suspected. Wolf asserts that 'there is nothing unsophisticated about the way in which the author transformed a complex body of historical data about an unusual military expedition into a highly coherent and consistent narrative about a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.'¹³⁰ This in turn suggests that the author's depiction of women may also be more sophisticated than appears at first glance, especially in the case of Kerbogha's mother.¹³¹

Lay authors may have had closer contact with women than ecclesiastics, but they were still subject to ecclesiastical influence in their writing whether in terms of their own education, or their own personal piety, as they were usually sufficiently motivated to become crusaders themselves. Church control over literary education meant that if aristocratic children destined for a role in lay society were educated, it was usually under ecclesiastical guidance, often alongside brothers or sisters who were intended for a religious life.

It is probable that most lay authors dictated their histories. Beer suggests that Villehardouin's continued use of the term 'sachiez' to reinforce the truth of his argument is consistent with the narrative tradition he inherited and possible evidence that he dictated the history.¹³² McNeal asserts that Robert of Clari's language is such as may have been used in dictation by an unlettered knight.¹³³ In support of her case for lay authorship, Hill argues that the *Gesta Francorum* was not 'remodelled' extensively by a clerk, but that the author 'shows a tendency to slip into stylised refrains reminiscent of the chansons de geste' and intended to create 'a tale of heroic deeds and not...a scholar's chronicle.'¹³⁴ The appearance of textual anomalies and apparent set-piece speeches in the *Gesta* has

¹²⁹ Colin Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history', *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), 55-71. For criticism of this argument, see France, 'Use of the Anonymous *Gesta*', 30.

¹³⁰ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 'Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*', in *JMH* 17 (1991), 208.

¹³¹ See Mothers, 217.

¹³² Beer, *Narrative Conventions*, 45.

¹³³ McNeal, 12.

¹³⁴ See the introduction to *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill, (London, 1962), xv.

even led some to suggest that these were interpolations by a subsequent author, although modern scholarship tends to disagree with this view.¹³⁵ Standards of scholarship could indeed vary widely between lay historians. Robert of Clari was less learned than and had an inferior vocabulary to Villehardouin.¹³⁶ Even so, as Clanchy points out, the modern historian must be wary of equating literacy with civilisation: the lay authors who dictated their histories demonstrated a degree of education and an interest in history.¹³⁷

Like ecclesiastical narratives, whether through patronage or enhancing the reputation of their place of origin, each lay author had his own agenda. Caffaro was glorifying the Genoese, Villehardouin was defending the actions of the Fourth Crusaders, and Joinville was writing a semi-hagiographical history of the newly canonised Louis IX. Robert of Clari is credited with providing a genuine perspective on the Fourth Crusade as a member of the lower aristocracy who wished to record his crusading experience for posterity. According to Noble, the character of the work, while not always strictly factually correct, provides a 'less calculated or calculating' account than some of the other 'drier' or more politically motivated chronicles of the Fourth Crusade.¹³⁸ Relying on stylistic features can be misleading, however. The poet Ambroise was traditionally believed to be a professional jongleur, largely because he had extensive knowledge of contemporary French poetry but not Latin literature. Ailes and Barber have recently argued to the contrary that he must have been an educated cleric, in minor orders at least,¹³⁹ but he made a conscious decision to use sources suitable for appealing to a noble audience. The work is written in 'a brisk, simple style with a relatively small vocabulary, suitable for recitation.'¹⁴⁰ The *Itinerarium*, in the course of converting Ambroise into a Latin prose chronicle, included more traditional and classical references which also influenced its portrayal of women,¹⁴¹ but ultimately their

¹³⁵ Morris 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history', 64.

¹³⁶ McNeal, 12.

¹³⁷ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edition, (Oxford, 1993), 7.

¹³⁸ Peter Noble, 'Villehardouin, Robert de Clari and Henri de Valenciennes: Their different approaches to the Fourth Crusade', in *The Medieval Chronicle*, 209.

¹³⁹ *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte par Ambroise*, ed. and trans. Gaston Paris, (Paris, 1897), vi-xii. Ambroise, 2.2.

¹⁴⁰ Nicholson, *Chronicle*, 15.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 14-15.

interpretation of history and the didactic purpose for which they wrote remained markedly similar.

Women in the History of Crusading and the Latin East

Women as audience

Having demonstrated that crusade narratives reflected noble values and interests despite ecclesiastical influence, the next step must be to consider whether the women portrayed in crusade narratives were intended to provide guidance for a female audience. Would women have had access to such histories through oral means, or even have been able to read them? Evidence about literacy amongst women is limited before the late medieval period, but certain high profile figures referred to in the sources for this study are associated with literary education such as Queen Matilda of England, Matilda of Tuscany, Ida of Lorraine, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, Adela of Blois and Eleanor of Aquitaine. A key indicator of women's literacy was the patronage and ownership of books.¹⁴² Duby even claimed that women's involvement in learned culture was 'more precocious, more extensive, than that of males in the secular aristocracy'.¹⁴³ Like the aforementioned case of Prince Raymond of Antioch, however, patronage was not definitive proof of the ability to read and write. There was also a division between traditional Latin literacy and the vernacular literature flourishing at the courts, but some aristocratic women of the twelfth century were literate in Latin. Queen Mathilda was educated at the convent of Romsey and composed Latin letters to Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, and both Melisende of Jerusalem and crusader Margaret of Beverley are thought to have owned Latin Psalters.¹⁴⁴

Female patrons were interested in historical texts as well as courtly and religious literature. In addition to the verse composed by Baudri of Bourgueil for Adela of Blois, praising her patronage and her own composition, Hugh of Fleury dedicated a Latin history, the

¹⁴² See Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, 149-87.

¹⁴³ Georges Duby, 'The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience and Patronage', in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 258.

¹⁴⁴ See Lina Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life Between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500*, (New York, 1963) and Lois L. Huneycutt "Proclaiming her dignity abroad": The Literary and Artistic Network of Mathilda of Scotland, Queen of England, 1100-1118' in June Hall McCash ed. *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, (Athens: Georgia, 1996), 155-174. For the Melisende Psalter see *Daughters*, 68. See also TF, 481.

Historia ecclesiastica, to her.¹⁴⁵ Ferrante asserts that men writing for women in power were more likely to emphasise other women in authority for didactic purposes ‘accepting them as a normal, indeed essential part of history.’¹⁴⁶ Queens held a prominent role in Joinville’s history which was possibly influenced by the fact that Jeanne, Queen of France and Navarre, commissioned it. Joinville told how the queen ‘begged me most earnestly to have a book written for her containing the pious sayings and good deeds of our King, Saint Louis,’¹⁴⁷ but she died in 1305, four years before its completion. The author’s dedication was addressed instead to Louis, son of Jeanne and King Philip IV of France, and underlined the didactic purpose of his work:

...I send it to you, so that you and your brothers - and whoever else may hear it read - may take some good examples from it, and put them into practice, thus winning yourselves favour in the sight of God.¹⁴⁸

Queen Mathilda was the patron of William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, but like Jeanne she did not live to see its completion, dying in 1118. Copies were sent to three recipients accompanied by different letters of dedication.¹⁴⁹ One of these went to her daughter the Empress Mathilda, and explicitly stated that the chronicle followed a tradition of didactic historical writing for both kings and queens:

...in order to provide them with a sort of pattern for their own lives, from which they could learn to follow some men’s successes, while avoiding the misfortunes of others, to imitate the wisdom of some and look down on the foolishness of others.¹⁵⁰

The inception of the history derived from Queen Matilda’s desire for knowledge about her kinsman St. Aldhelm and his lineage, as well as to make the kings of England better

¹⁴⁵ Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women; A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, (London, 1995), 240.

¹⁴⁶ Ferrante, *Glory of Her Sex* 106. For a useful overview of women’s patronage of narrative history, see 68-106.

¹⁴⁷ Joinville, 2; app. 1.3. Trans. Shaw, 163.

¹⁴⁸ Joinville, 10; app. 1.4. Trans. Shaw, 165.

¹⁴⁹ WM 2.6

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 1.6-9

known, to 'bring her credit', and 'to be both useful and honourable to our foundation.'¹⁵¹ William's history therefore epitomised the traditional conventions of twelfth century historical narrative in using history for the glorification of a particular person, a dynasty, and the religious house associated with it. The letters of dedication also gave no indication that it might be unusual for a woman to be interested in History.

The courtly literature linked to women also contained strong historical elements. As Ferrante asserts:

The taste for historical narrative with more than a touch of the exotic carries into the romances; indeed, the romances seem to reflect influences from almost all the early histories in French and from some of the Latin histories composed for women as well.¹⁵²

Eleanor of Aquitaine has often been associated with the patronage of courtly culture, following on from a tradition at the Poitevin court begun by her grandfather William IX. In terms of historical romances, she has been linked to the *Roman de Brut* and the *Roman de Rou*, and the more classical *Eneas*, the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman de Troie*, although Broadhurst has recently challenged her role as an active patron.¹⁵³ Eleanor's controversial relationships with her two powerful husbands meant that she developed a relatively poor image in contemporary histories that focused on the activities of male royalty, although most truly scathing accounts were written after her lifetime.¹⁵⁴ She may have promoted herself through patronage of art and courtly literature because at this stage it was not possible within the confines of conventional historical narrative for a woman to glorify herself at the expense of the male kin around her. Limited female patronage may account in part for the lack of feminine role models in historical narratives of crusading and the Latin East, but this did not prevent women's appearance in such sources. For the most part, generalised 'departure scenes' or warnings about the consequences of sexual sin

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 1.8-9

¹⁵² Ferrante, *Glory of Her Sex*, 111.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 112-118. See Karen Broadhurst, 'Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patrons of Literature in French?', *Viator* 27 (1996), 53-84.

¹⁵⁴ See *Wives*, 146.

were directed at men, but there is evidence to suggest that some authors at least expected a female audience. In order to examine this more fully it is first necessary to consider the ways in which women became involved in the crusade movement.

Women's involvement in the Crusade Movement

Crusading impacted on women's lives whether they stayed in Europe, took the cross, or lived in settler populations. There is comparatively little evidence about individual women who took part in the crusades in comparison to men, but as a group they are widely recorded as being present from the very first expedition.¹⁵⁵ Purcell asserts that it is inaccurate to talk of women as crusaders in the twelfth century, as no women were granted legal status as *crucesignatae* until the following century.¹⁵⁶ It has been argued, however, that there was no specific crusade terminology even for male crusaders until the thirteenth century,¹⁵⁷ and there are several accounts of women taking the cross alongside men in public ceremonies.¹⁵⁸ There is no reason to suggest that women who were signed with the cross and endured the penitential hardships of pilgrimage to Jerusalem alongside men considered themselves any less entitled to the spiritual benefits on offer - even if they did not take up arms.

In accordance with historical conventions, individual female crusaders who were named in crusade sources were predominantly noble. They usually accompanied male relatives as stipulated by the Church, although some appear to have travelled without a designated guardian. Of nine women known to have joined the Fifth Crusade, only two may have

¹⁵⁵ The only account devoted solely to a single woman's crusading experience is Thomas of Froidmont's *Hodoeporicon*. First Crusade narratives that emphasised large numbers of female participants include Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita, de oppresione, liberatione et restauratione Jerosolymitanae ecclesiae*, in *RHC Occ.* 5, (Paris, 1895), 18; GN, 330; AA, 272.

¹⁵⁶ Purcell, 'Women Crusaders', 57.

¹⁵⁷ James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, (Wisconsin, 1969), 10.

¹⁵⁸ Eleanor of Aquitaine took the cross directly after her husband at Vézelay according to the 'Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici VII', in RHGF 12.126. Count Baldwin of Flanders took the cross with his wife Marie, see wives, 129. Eleanor, countess of Montfort (1240), and Beatrice of Flanders (1267) are also known to have taken the cross in public ceremonies. Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, (London, 1998), 75.

gone without family.¹⁵⁹ Thomas of Froidmont's account of the adventures of his sister Margaret of Beverley in the Holy Land makes no mention of a male companion.¹⁶⁰ Although there is little individual information about the lower class women who took part, some of their activities and functions are recorded. A passenger list from a crusade ship in 1250 records that forty-two of the three hundred and forty-two common people en route to the Holy Land were women, twenty-two of whom had no male chaperone.¹⁶¹

Kinship ties with male crusaders may have influenced a woman to take the cross, but individual motivation cannot be ruled out. Spiritual rewards such as the remission of sins were attractive to all Christians, and piety was fundamental in the decision to take the cross. The First Crusade included a nun from Trier, and a woman who followed her goose on crusade, believing it to be imbued with the Holy Spirit.¹⁶² It was the goal of Jerusalem and the dual nature of the crusade as an armed pilgrimage that gave women the necessary 'canonical loophole' to take part in a military expedition.¹⁶³ Throughout the medieval period, women and men took part in pilgrimages to shrines all over Europe such as Rome, Compostela, and Jerusalem itself.¹⁶⁴ Such penitential journeys were open to all sinners who wished to show their contrition. Jerusalem was the paramount pilgrimage centre through its association with Christ, and the journey there was perceived to be the most exacting, and therefore the most rewarding. There were precedents of female pilgrims to the East from as early as 326 when the Empress Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, travelled to the Holy Land.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹Powell, 'Women on the Fifth Crusade', 299.

¹⁶⁰ TF, 472-85.

¹⁶¹ Benjamin Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade', *Studi Medievali*, (1972), 272.

¹⁶² AA, 327-8, 295. Guibert of Nogent described the mistress of the goose as a poor woman, and was critical of her credulous followers, as was Ekkehard of Aura. GN, 331; Ekkehard of Aura, 5.19.

¹⁶³ Constance M. Rousseau, 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)', in *Gendering the Crusades*, 32-3.

¹⁶⁴ For a useful overview see Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage 700-1500*, (Basingstoke, 2002), 89-98.

¹⁶⁵ See Mothers, 190.

According to Webb securing an appropriate escort was one of the main problems facing female pilgrims.¹⁶⁶ Customarily, women accompanied parents, husbands, or sons on pilgrimage, although in some cases large groups of widows travelled together.¹⁶⁷ Before the innovation of crusading, pilgrims were not supposed to carry arms, but now large numbers of armed and unarmed pilgrims could travel to the Holy Land together, as an army sanctioned to fight by the Pope, and considered to be destined by God to succeed. This must have reduced some concerns for the safety of women on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, although it was still recognised to be a dangerous venture. Following the success of the First Crusade, a continued Latin presence in the Holy Land meant that the pilgrimage was more achievable for women. A settler population provided familial links with the West, and organisations such as the Templars were founded with the intention of protecting pilgrims. One woman who went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim outside a major crusade expedition was Ermengarde, countess of Brittany. She had acted as regent for her husband both during the First Crusade, and when he subsequently joined a monastery. She took the veil in Dijon in 1130, but around 1132 her half-brother King Fulk of Jerusalem invited her to visit the Holy Land. In her mid-sixties she took the opportunity to travel to the East, spending some time in Nablus and at the nunnery of St. Anne's in Jerusalem, and returning to Brittany before 1135.¹⁶⁸

As non-combatants women, along with the old, the infirm and children, were often criticised for causing logistical problems, using up supplies and slowing the pace of armies, but they also fulfilled practical functions. They helped with manual tasks such as clearing rubble and filling in ditches.¹⁶⁹ Women were praised by the author of the *Gesta* for bringing refreshments and encouragement to First Crusaders at the battle of Dorylaeum.¹⁷⁰ Ambroise recounted that women brought water for the crusade host as they marched by, weeping and praying for the safety of the army.¹⁷¹ Albert of Aachen relates how, at the

¹⁶⁶ Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 92.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 93.

¹⁶⁸ Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 8.

¹⁶⁹ GN, 264; *Itinerarium*, 101-2. See also Wives, 130.

¹⁷⁰ GF, 200.

¹⁷¹ Ambroise 1.7 lns 386-406. While the curiosity and support of locals in bringing water is mentioned in the *Itinerarium*, he does not specify that they were women. *Itinerarium* 150-1.

siege of Jerusalem in 1099, women and other non-combatants helped to transport materials to weave the panels of a siege engine, presumably an activity at which they were skilled.¹⁷² Prostitution evidently took place and was heavily criticised,¹⁷³ but other activities for women ranged from washing clothes to lice picking.¹⁷⁴ On the Fifth Crusade, statutes maintain that women were entitled to a share of booty, and both Christian and Muslim women were employed grinding corn, while the women of the camp maintained markets for fish and vegetables, and probably tended to the wounded and sick.¹⁷⁵ On the Fourth Crusade, women in the army were also entitled to a share of booty, demonstrating that their contribution to crusade expeditions was recognised.¹⁷⁶

Narratives of crusading most often described women as the victims of warfare, and they were consistently associated with booty, and military success or failure. Friedman has explored variations on the phrase ‘all the men were killed and the women and children taken captive’ which frequently appears in crusade narratives. Based on Praver’s comparison of the *Assises de la cour de Bourgeois* and the Provençal *Lo Codi*, Friedman notes that in the Latin kingdom, heirs to property were beholden to ransom parents and children of either sex, rather than just a son or father.¹⁷⁷ She interprets this as supporting the notion that women were more likely to be taken captive than men, but demonstrates awareness that the phrase was also a *topos* following biblical style.¹⁷⁸ Enslaving women often made more economic sense than holding them for ransom, as they usually commanded a lesser sum than their male counterparts. In Balian of Ibelin’s negotiations with Saladin on the surrender of Jerusalem, a woman was valued at a third, and then half the price of a man.¹⁷⁹ In Europe, the practice of hostage-taking for diplomatic or economic purposes had been customary for some time, where it came to be closely associated with ideals of knighthood and the proper conduct of warfare. In any form of

¹⁷² AA, 468.

¹⁷³ See wives.

¹⁷⁴ Ambroise, 1.92, lns 5688-91

¹⁷⁵ Powell, ‘Women on the Fifth Crusade’, 300.

¹⁷⁶ RC, 96.

¹⁷⁷ Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies; Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom Of Jerusalem*, (Brill, 2002), 166. See *Assises de la cour de Bourgeois*, RHC Lois 2.170 and Joshua Praver, *Crusader Institutions*, (Oxford, 1980), 445, 449.

¹⁷⁸ Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies*, 162-186.

¹⁷⁹ *Eracles*, 68-9.

medieval warfare the personal safety of female hostages could never be assured, but with the added dimension of religious conflict, their position was even more precarious.¹⁸⁰ Both male and female captives could be subject to physical torture, and women were often assumed to have been raped as a result of captivity. Women, as non-combatants, could survive capture through their economic value for ransom or slavery rather than through any chivalrous ideal; men represented a military threat and were more likely to be killed unless there were particular benefits to holding them hostage.

In terms of settler society, Hamilton notes that the survival rate of women to men in the Latin East dictated that power was often delegated to women. He suggests that they 'provided continuity to the society of Outremer' by intermarriage with crusaders from the West, which is undoubtedly true of the high nobility.¹⁸¹ The importance of aristocratic marriages to the settler society cannot be over-estimated; they were crucial in cementing political alliances between Latins from the West and the Levant, Greeks, Armenians and Syrians.¹⁸² The uncertain nature of frontier society also dictated that in the absence of male guardians, some women had the opportunity to act as feudal lords and could contribute directly to the military defence of the Holy Land, endorsing military expeditions, defending sieges, and paying and provisioning troops.

Women who remained behind also helped to provide for the Holy Land by acting as reliable regents or financing crusaders. Some crusaders sold land to family members, including women, in order to raise funds for the expedition. In the aftermath of these expeditions, crusaders often returned home with severe debts, which their families were then expected to help pay.¹⁸³ Epstein asserts that women gave more charitable donations to the crusades than men in medieval Genoa, although this was the pattern for most charitable donations, possibly because a woman's property was often moveable wealth.¹⁸⁴ Women also supported crusading by giving money and endowments to the newly

¹⁸⁰ Yvonne Friedman, 'Women in Captivity and their Ransom during the Crusader Period', in Michael Goodrich, Sophia Menache and Sylvia Schein eds, *Cross-cultural convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays presented to Aryeh Grabois on his 65th birthday*, (New York, 1995), 77.

¹⁸¹ Hamilton, 'Women', 143.

¹⁸² Phillips, *Defenders*, 19-20.

¹⁸³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 149-50.

¹⁸⁴ Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958-1528*, (Chapel Hill, 1996), 118.

established military orders.¹⁸⁵ By 1200, Innocent III in his papal bull *Quod super his* asked women to pray collectively for the success of crusade expeditions, and offered spiritual benefits if they donated cash or financed a knight instead of going on crusade.¹⁸⁶ Even the spiritual support of specific holy women could be influential. Philip of Flanders is known to have written to Hildegard of Bingen for her advice on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land in 1177.¹⁸⁷

Marie of Champagne, daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine, provides an excellent example of how a noblewoman's life and practice of authority could be affected by crusade expeditions. She had been betrothed to her husband Count Hugh in 1153, after he had accompanied her parents on the Second Crusade. When Hugh decided to return to the Holy Land in 1179 she acted as regent for him. He died shortly after his return in 1181, and thereafter Marie acted as regent until the accession of her son Henry II in 1187. Even after Henry reached his majority she was required to function as regent because of the crusades.¹⁸⁸ In 1190 her son Henry of Champagne took part in the Third Crusade, and his unforeseen marriage to Isabella of Jerusalem meant that he stayed in the East until his death in 1197.¹⁸⁹

Medieval Perceptions of Women and Crusading

i) Ecclesiastical Perceptions

Authors of crusade narratives had two main reasons for avoiding the subject of women. Firstly, a crusade expedition was by nature a military undertaking. Women were eclipsed by the martial feats of men that writers celebrated in their histories, and were customarily marginalized to the roles of onlooker or victim. Secondly, women were actively discouraged from crusading by the Church. Robert of Rheims recounted that Pope Urban

¹⁸⁵ See Alan J. Forey, 'Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987), 63-92.

¹⁸⁶ See Brundage, 'Crusader's Wife', 434.

¹⁸⁷ Miriam Rita Tessera, 'Philip Count of Flanders and Hildegard of Bingen: Crusading against the Saracens or Crusading against Deadly Sin', in *Gendering the Crusades*, 77-93.

¹⁸⁸ See also Mothers, 185.

¹⁸⁹ Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne', 81-5. .

II discouraged female participants, as well as the sick and aged, at the Council of Clermont, 'for such are more hindrance than help, a burden rather than a benefit.'¹⁹⁰ Women were only to take part if they accompanied husbands, brothers or legal guardians and they were subsequently discouraged from taking the cross in later crusade encyclicals. In the thirteenth century, Innocent III's decision to allow women spiritual benefits for financing knights was undoubtedly designed to reduce non-combatant numbers on expeditions as well as raise cash, but it did at least recognise women's desire to contribute to the crusade effort.¹⁹¹

From an ecclesiastical perspective, women created a dilemma because they were entitled to prevent husbands from taking the cross through the marriage vow (in the twelfth century at least), but if they went on crusade they might slow the army and worse, tempt crusaders into sexual sins which would lead to the loss of God's favour.¹⁹² Riley-Smith has observed that 'one of the most clear and straightforward messages of the sources for crusading' was that 'women were inhibitors', although he agrees that in practice women may well have been encouraging the crusade effort.¹⁹³ Maier asserts that the authors of model crusade sermons such as Jacques of Vitry and Odo of Châteauroux also portrayed women as an impediment to crusading, accusing them of either 'actively trying to stop their husbands from taking the cross or being, together with children, the reason why men did not want to go on crusade.'¹⁹⁴ Various canonists and chroniclers reflected the practical concern that non-combatants caused severe logistical problems, but this included the young, the aged, and the sick and was therefore not gender specific. Others worried about prostitution and miscegenation with indigenous 'pagan' women. Siberry has demonstrated that sins were seen to be ultimately responsible for military defeats during the crusades, and relations with women were often at the root of that sinfulness.¹⁹⁵ The licit and illicit nature of sexual activity on crusade and in settler society will be returned to in the chapters on daughters and wives, but sometimes women were simply

¹⁹⁰ RR, 729; app. 1.5.

¹⁹¹ For papal attitudes towards women and crusading, see Rousseau, 'Home Front and Battlefield', 31-44.

¹⁹² See *Wives*, *passim*.

¹⁹³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 97-8.

¹⁹⁴ Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, (Cambridge, 2000), 65.

¹⁹⁵ Siberry, *Criticism*, 69-108.

believed to be a disruptive influence. The *Itinerarium* blamed the riot in Sicily in October 1190 on the actions of a hot-headed woman. On being offered an unsatisfactory price for bread, she ‘attacked the man with a stream of abuse, barely restraining herself from hitting him with her fist or pulling out his hair’, and this inflamed other citizens into a riot.¹⁹⁶

ii) Perceptions of Women and Warfare

The links between love and prowess in chivalric culture meant that women were often portrayed as admiring the martial expertise of knights.¹⁹⁷ This convention was reflected even in the earliest crusade histories. Both Peter Tudebode and Guibert of Nogent, taking their cue from the *Gesta Francorum*, mentioned the support received from Christian women who watched the progress of crusaders from the walls of Antioch, and how they applauded secretly.¹⁹⁸ The *Chanson de Jérusalem* asserts that women encouraged the crusaders in battle by reminding them of their ‘heavenly reward’.¹⁹⁹ Robert of Clari described how ladies and maidens watched the battle between the emperor and the crusaders commence from the walls and windows in Constantinople, admiring the Franks:

And they were saying to one another that our men seemed like angels, they were so beautiful, because they were so finely armed and their horses so finely accoutred.²⁰⁰

Evidently he was unlikely to have been privy to the conversations of the ladies on the walls, and faced with the prospect of attack by a hostile force, the good looks of their enemies can hardly have been foremost in their minds. This image, however, fits in with the courtly conventions of the tournament and women’s approval of male prowess,

¹⁹⁶ *Itinerarium*, 158; app. 1.6. Trans. Nicholson, 159. See also Ambroise 1.10-11, lns. 627-640. The riot is also mentioned by Ralph of Diceto, ‘Ymagines Historiarum’, in W. Stubbs ed. *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, RS 68 (London, 1876), 2.85, and Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 51 (London, 1868-71), 3.56, but no mention is made of the woman selling bread.

¹⁹⁷ Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford, 1999), 219-225. See also David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing the Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), ch. 12 ‘Noble Women: The View from the Stands’.

¹⁹⁸ GF, 284; PT, 76; GN, 192.

¹⁹⁹ *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Nigel Thorp [The Old French Crusade Cycle] (Tuscaloosa, 1992), 6.112

²⁰⁰ RC, 49; app. 1.7. Trans. McNeal, 75.

probably because Robert was a lay knight from northern Europe steeped in chivalric tradition. He also employed the disapproval of women as a shaming device; the same ladies criticised the emperor for cowardice when he withdrew back into the city.²⁰¹ The charge of effeminacy was commonly used by Latin authors to imply cowardice, most famously against the Greeks,²⁰² but also against errant crusaders. Henry of Huntingdon accused Count Stephen of Blois of fleeing ‘like a woman’ from the siege of Antioch in 1098.²⁰³

Authors of crusade narratives sometimes employed female characters in masculine roles within their texts to highlight male chivalric ideals, but it is unlikely that women acted as warriors on crusades. *Fragilitas sexus* was the conventional description applied to medieval women to explain their exclusion from warfare, and they were also sometimes described as unfit to bear arms.²⁰⁴ Crusade narratives supported this view: the *Itinerarium* records that women encouraged their male relatives to go on the Third Crusade, but regretted that they could not take part ‘because of the weakness of their sex’.²⁰⁵ There are occasional mentions of women fighting during crusade battles and especially during sieges, but these cannot always be verified. William of Tyre, in writing his account of the assault on Jerusalem, tells how ‘women, forgetful of their sex and unmindful of their inherent fragility, were presuming to take up arms and fought manfully beyond their strength.’²⁰⁶ This story does not appear in the historical narratives of contemporary eyewitness, but it is in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*.²⁰⁷ Rare images of female warriors do appear in conjunction with crusade texts, but often borrowed heavily from the realms of classical fiction. One Greek source for the Second Crusade tells of female warriors ‘more mannish than Amazons’ in the German contingent, bearing lances and weapons astride their horses, and

²⁰¹ RC, 51.

²⁰² See Matthew Bennet, ‘Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?’, in *Gendering the Crusades*, 18.

²⁰³ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenaway, (Oxford, 1996), 436-7.

²⁰⁴ See Michael R. Evans, “‘Unfit to Bear Arms’: The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade”, in *Gendering the Crusades* 44-58 and Mclaughlin, ‘The woman warrior’, 193-209.

²⁰⁵ *Itinerarium*, 33; app. 1.8.ii. Nicholson (see page 48) translates this as the ‘fragility of their sex’, but significantly *ignavus* could be interpreted as cowardice, or an un-warlike nature.

²⁰⁶ WT, 403; app. 1.9.

²⁰⁷ *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, 108-9, and 112. William may have found support for this story in Albert of Aachen. He mentions that women were present in the crowd who stormed the city walls after they had been breached. AA, 468 and AA, 478.

dressed in masculine clothes.²⁰⁸ The *Chanson d'Antioche* mentioned a battalion of women at the siege of the city but they are absent from other eyewitness sources: Edgington asserts that it and the battalion featured in the *Chanson de Jérusalem* were intended as humorous episodes.²⁰⁹ Eyewitness Muslim sources for the Third Crusade also recorded Frankish women dressed for battle, but Nicholson asserts that such accounts must be treated with caution, since representations of female warriors were sometimes used by authors to criticise either the weakness or barbarity of an enemy.²¹⁰

There are a few examples of Christian women taking up arms in Latin sources which seem a little more authentic. Thomas of Froidmont described his sister Margaret of Beverley garbed in a breastplate and impromptu helmet, carrying water to soldiers on the walls at the siege of Jerusalem and being wounded by a stone missile.²¹¹ One particularly gruesome Third Crusade account tells how women used knives to slit the throats of prisoners taken from a captured galley at Acre, their feminine weakness prolonging the pain of their dying enemies.²¹² During the Fifth Crusade women stood armed guard over the camp and killed the Muslims who fled from a failed attack on Damietta.²¹³ Within the constraints of this thesis it has not been possible to make detailed reference to the sources for the Albigensian crusade, but it is notable that there are several accounts of women operating siege engines against crusaders, and even a female castellan at the siege of Lavaur in 1211, Giraude de Laurac.²¹⁴ Authors may have emphasised women's involvement as a means of discrediting heretical movements, but women were known to play important roles in such sects - especially the Cathar heresy.²¹⁵ In Spain, Ermengarde, viscountess of Narbonne, led her troops to aid the siege of Tortosa in 1148, although Bennet questions how far her generalship extended.²¹⁶ Mazeika has also highlighted

²⁰⁸ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: the Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry M. Magoulias, (Detroit, 1984), 35.

²⁰⁹ Edgington, 'Sont çou ore les fems', 157.

²¹⁰ Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', 338-340.

²¹¹ TF, 478-9.

²¹² *Itinerarium*, 33.

²¹³ Powell, 'Women on the Fifth Crusade', 300

²¹⁴ Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege*, (Woodbridge, 1992), 135-7.

²¹⁵ Malcolm Barber, 'Women and Catharism', *Reading Medieval Studies* 3 (1977), 45-62.

²¹⁶ Bennet, 'Virile Latins', 26-7.

instances of settler women fighting to protect Christian settlements in the Baltic.²¹⁷ If women did fight, it was only at times of extreme desperation and in the absence of suitable male warriors, and they were praised for it in masculine terms.²¹⁸ When women became involved in fighting, they were encroaching on a male role that was fundamental to the construct of medieval masculinity. Fighting women could demonstrate chivalrous qualities, bravery in particular, but in order to keep masculinity intact, women had to be seen as transcending their own gender. Conversely the men who failed to take the cross or demonstrated cowardice were reduced to womanly status. The *Itinerarium* mentions how wool and distaff were sent to those men who were too cowardly to take up the cross; 'hinting that if anyone failed to join this military undertaking they were only fit for women's work'.²¹⁹

As crusade propagandists used chivalric ideas to appeal to the values of knights, so they used the *fragilitas sexus* that purportedly prevented women from taking up arms themselves to encourage knights to provide them with protection. The Church had long attempted to forbid knightly violence against not only ecclesiastics, but other members of society who could not defend themselves; the poor, widows, orphans and women in general. The abuse of helpless Christians in the East was a common theme even in the earliest calls for crusade, and sometimes the suffering of women was used specifically in order to appeal to the chivalric sensibilities of the nobility in the West. Raymond of Aguilers recounted the abuses perpetrated against the Christian women of Tyre.²²⁰ Robert of Rheims' version of Urban's speech emphasised how women were defiled at the hands of the Turks: 'What can I say about the evil rape of women, of which it is worse to speak than to be silent?'²²¹ The nature of religious warfare, however, meant that attitudes towards Muslim women differed. Those who died at the hands of crusade armies were sometimes perceived as victims, but most authors considered their deaths to be justified and even exaggerated the extent of the slaughter.

²¹⁷ Mazeika, 'Women Warriors', 229-248.

²¹⁸ See below

²¹⁹ *Itinerarium*, 33; app. 1.8.i. Trans. Nicholson, 48. Cf. Sarah Lambert 'Crusading or Spinning' in *Gendering the Crusades*, 1-15

²²⁰ RA, 129-30.

²²¹ RR, 728; app. 1.10.

iii) Perceptions of Nobility

Noblewomen, like noblemen, were judged by their actions as well as their ancestry. Their political roles as patrons and intercessors made them worthy of comment in narrative histories, but they were unable to achieve honour on the battlefield like their male counterparts. The difficulty in defining the 'noblewoman' therefore largely stems from the association of nobility with warfare. How far the nobility were associated with the 'knightly class', and by what point the two become indistinguishable (if at all) has stimulated much historical debate. The twelfth century seems to have been a benchmark for nobles adopting knightly ideals; Keen asserted that chivalry was inextricably associated with both martial and aristocratic values and from the mid-twelfth century it 'frequently carries ethical or religious overtones.'²²² The 'orders' model of society which associated the nobility with their military role (*orantes, pugnantes, laborantes*) and the limited legal rights that women enjoyed has led some to question the perceived place of women in medieval society; Shahaar described them as comprising a 'Fourth Estate.'²²³ However, contemporary historians such as Orderic Vitalis saw women functioning perfectly well within the those three socio-economic groups.²²⁴ The term 'nobility' itself encompassed a variety of implications beyond its military association. It was applied to an economic or land-owning 'class', to bloodline and noble descent, and it was used as a descriptive term to embody the range of values associated with 'noble' conduct.²²⁵

Despite claims that patrilineal inheritance was marginalizing women from power during this period, there is evidence to suggest that a noblewoman's lineage remained fundamental to family dynasties and helped to establish her 'nobility' – especially when

²²² Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, 2. For further definitions, see Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, 'Modern Views of Medieval Chivalry, 1884-1984', in *Study of Chivalry*, 41-89.

²²³ Shulamith Shahaar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, (London, 1991).

²²⁴ Marjorie Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 105.

²²⁵ See Crouch, *Birth of Nobility* and idem., *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300*, (London, 1992), 3; Chickering, 'Introduction', in *Study of Chivalry* 1-38, and Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry* (Cambridge 1996), 21.

she did not have access to the battlefield as a means for social advancement.²²⁶ The noblewoman also had clearly defined duties that revolved around roles in the family. As a daughter she was expected to be obedient, and as a wife she managed the household: she had an obligation of maternity to provide an heir, and to care for her children's interests in the absence of her husband. Certain qualities were desirable at all stages, chaste behaviour and moral fibre usually represented by piety. In terms of active participation in the ruling 'class', noblewomen were restricted in their control of property, but could exert power in a number of ways. Some women did experience a degree of autonomy in land-ownership, usually heiresses and widows, but this was dependent on their age and political situation. More often, women fulfilled important roles as intercessors with male kin and extended patronage through their own circles of influence. The crucial function of marriage in medieval diplomacy meant that noble women often had the opportunity to play an important role in political events. In fact, their significance in this area often meant that they were involved in arranging matches between families. Parsons asserts that 'noblewomen's unique participation in matrimonial politics did afford them opportunities to claim power and to achieve some degree of self-realisation.'²²⁷

The nobility as a social group shared certain legal privileges with their titles but medieval society was not the static hierarchical system that the 'orders' model would suggest. While birthright and inheritance of land were increasingly vital components to nobility, rulers were still able to confer and take away titles for personal or political reasons, and relationships of patronage could dramatically affect social mobility. In this period of increased prosperity, the wealthy were able to buy land and titles. A fortunate crusader could improve his social position either by conquest or marriage, but this social fluidity worked both ways: the fortunes of war could reduce knights to foot soldiers and dispossess established nobility.²²⁸ High death rates amongst the male aristocracy in the Latin East allowed for a high degree of social mobility, but military events were not the only factors that affected status; disease and famine could strike all levels of society,

²²⁶ See *Daughters passim*.

²²⁷ John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet evidence 1150-1500', in *Medieval Queenship*, 65.

²²⁸ See GF, 6 for the author being one of these. See also GN,168-9.

although wealth could alleviate their severity. William of Tyre recounts how famine in Antioch during the First Crusade reduced some of the nobility to beggary, while others chose to starve rather than behave in a manner beneath their status.²²⁹ Both Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* tell of nobles reduced to eating grass during the famine at the siege of Acre.²³⁰ There were also accounts of nobles stealing bread rather than asking for charity, ashamed to beg in public because they came from noble stock.²³¹ For any noblewoman, risk of capture and the question of sexual integrity could become real threats to her social status. Similarly, in the Latin East, even disinherited heiresses could attract a marriage partner through their claim to land, but as the situation deteriorated titles alone were not always enough to secure a woman's fortune.

²²⁹ WT, 315.

²³⁰ Ambroise, 1.68-9, lns. 4251-6; *Itinerarium*, 127.

²³¹ *Itinerarium*, 130-1; Ambroise, 4273-304.

Conclusion

Despite their religious and military subject matter, the sources which record the history of crusading and the Latin East during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were subject to a wide variety of literary influences, both ecclesiastical and lay, and their perceptions of women varied accordingly. Ecclesiastical authorities may have attempted to prevent women from taking the cross, and many authors of narratives gave nominal acceptance to these ideas, but there was a dichotomy between the idea of women's involvement in crusading and the practical reality of their presence on crusade expeditions - their role in 'historical' events. Even if the church had successfully persuaded women to stay in the West, the economic opportunities provided by a crusade army meant they would attract camp followers as they travelled, in a manner consistent with medieval warfare. For the most part, the criticisms applied to non-combatants were not extended to individual noblewomen who took the cross, as long as they adhered to correct modes of behaviour. They usually accompanied their male kin who would take part in the fighting, and could provide financial support to the crusade army, rather than draining its resources. Whether they took part in an expedition or not, noblewomen and their families were identified with the aristocratic audience at whom the crusade message was aimed, and authors seemingly found no inherent contradiction in portraying women as a gender as 'inhibitors', but recognising certain noblewomen as enablers. Both gender and social status or 'class' are useful historical tools but they do not suffice by themselves to provide an adequate interpretation of perceptions of women in the narratives of crusading and the Latin East. This study must now turn to more detailed accounts of individual women and assess how their portrayal developed progressively through their life cycle stages.

Chapter 2 - Daughters

Introduction

The aristocratic focus of crusade narratives made it inevitable that evidence about daughters was heavily weighted towards the lineage, inheritance, and betrothal of young noble women. To a lesser extent, their character and training were also discussed. This chapter will focus predominantly on unmarried aristocratic daughters, but heiresses will be discussed both before and after wedlock in matters pertaining to their birthright. Dowry was critical to a woman's social position and will be considered here in reference to the negotiations preceding marriage, although it will also feature in later chapters on wives and widows. Sexual status was also a measure of daughterhood - the term *virgines* was sometimes used to describe young unmarried women instead of *filiae* or *puellae*. This term could also apply to celibate women of any age, however. Many entered convents after married life and were not technically virgins, but as Wogan-Browne remarks, 'the relations between 'technical' and 'spiritual' virginity are constantly and revealingly negotiable.'²³² Women religious will be discussed here in relation to the issue of virginity because of its association with daughterhood, but those who were known to have entered monasteries after marriage will be considered in the relevant chapters. The following section will briefly explore traditional views about daughters that medieval authors drew from classical and biblical writings, as well as the social conventions which influenced them during the time of the crusades. To begin, some of the general historiographical problems raised by the study of childhood and the life-cycle stage of daughterhood must be considered.

²³² Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture; Virginity and its Authorisations* (Oxford, 2001), 41.

Background

Daughterhood and Childhood

Schulz asserts that there are two main paradigms present in the historiography of childhood; those who believe that the concept of childhood was essentially a modern historical phenomenon and did not exist in medieval terms,²³³ and those who saw childhood as a natural occurrence, ‘governed by immutable laws’.²³⁴ It is a problem that also affects the study of gender. Basic biological differences govern both men and women, but one cannot apply universal or timeless qualities to either sex. Gender identities are combined with criteria that are subject to change; thus imposing modern values in lieu of evidence will not suffice. A very few descriptions of parental nurture do not prove that perceptions of daughterhood remain unchanged, nor can the dearth of existing evidence be taken to mean that daughters were completely disregarded within medieval society. Women seldom appeared in official documents before they were married unless they were entitled to an inheritance, and accordingly many historical studies have been weighted towards heiresses, wives, and widows, although recent attempts have been made to address this imbalance.²³⁵ Male domination of medieval literary culture meant that most young women were only deemed worthy of attention when they were of marriageable age, and in this context they attracted both appreciation and criticism.²³⁶

There were three specific stages of childhood according to most authors: *infantia* covered the period up to age seven, then came *pueritia*, which lasted until fourteen for boys, and twelve for girls. Daughters were considered to mature earlier because of classical ideas

²³³James A. Schulz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages 1100-1350* (Philadelphia, 1995), 2, 3, 8-9. For an example of this view, see Philip Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* English trans. Robert Baldick (London, 1962), 33. Other recent publications on childhood include Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, trans. Chaya Galai (London, 1990); Danièle Alexandre Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages; Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries* trans. Jody Gladding (Notre Dame, 1999); and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, 2001).

²³⁴Schulz considers Shahar’s work to be an example of this approach. *Ibid.* 2, 5-6.

²³⁵ See Katherine J. Lewis, Noel James Menuge and Kim Phillips, eds, *Young Medieval Women*, (Stroud, 1999) and Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens; Young Women and Gender in England c. 1270-c.1540*, (Manchester 2003).

²³⁶Schulz, *Knowledge of Childhood*, 258.

about their physical imperfection, thus twelve was the canonical age of marriage for girls, although many married later. After *pueritia* came *adolescentia*, which lasted until adulthood, but there was no specific age denoting the transition.²³⁷ Marriage was usually a sign of maturity for both men and women, but the age of partners varied widely over economic and social boundaries. Aristocratic daughters might be married as early as seven or eight, but women of lesser status often had to work for their dowry, raising the age of marriage. Although this diversity is problematic for the historian of the adolescent woman, particularly when male ‘youth’ was more obviously structured, Phillips asserts that there was a definable period of adolescence for women – maidenhood. This was ‘understood by many as the “perfect age” of woman’s life and was therefore an important ideal of femininity.’²³⁸ During adolescence children of both sexes took on roles more strongly defined by gender, but a degree of information and opinions about their earlier lives can be ascertained.

Traditional Views on Daughterhood: Education and Parental Nurture

The participation of noblewomen in literary culture suggests that some, at least, received scholarly training, but this was not a priority in the education of daughters. Aristocratic women were largely trained in practical arts that they would need on marriage: skills for managing the household and providing hospitality. Girls were normally instructed orally: according to Phillips, reading literacy only existed where it ‘supplemented oral culture.’²³⁹ Convent schooling was the choice of the elite, because it provided for spiritual welfare as well as safeguarding the chastity and reputation of its pupils, but medieval parents tended to spend less on educating daughters and sent them away from the family home less frequently than boys.²⁴⁰ The emphasis on practical skills meant that literature about the education of daughters developed slowly, and even then writers such as Vincent of Beauvais championed the moral aspects of educational pursuits for women over the

²³⁷ Shahar, *Childhood*, 22. See 264-5 n. 3 for a comprehensive assessment of medieval texts referring to these stages of childhood.

²³⁸ Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, 17, 7.

²³⁹ Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, 62.

²⁴⁰ Shahar, *Childhood*, 221.

intellectual.²⁴¹ Obedience was the key characteristic required of daughters, thus discipline and training were to form an important role in providing this.

Patriarchal society and religious doctrine at the time of the crusades demanded that children of both sexes honour and obey both father and mother. Most mothers were involved in childcare, at least in the early years, but practices such as wet-nursing and fostering, as well as educational training outside the household sometimes limited that role. Noble fathers were rarely involved with their daughters until arranging their marriage, and even then women usually assisted in this process.²⁴² Contemporary beliefs about the nature of women and lust exacerbated parents' fears about protecting their daughters. Based on classical ideas about physiology, early Christian teaching considered women to be more inclined towards physical passion than men, as they were driven by their lack of innate heat to reproduce,²⁴³ which made guarding adolescent girls all the more vital. The book of Ecclesiasticus suggests:

You have sons? Train them and care for them from boyhood. You have daughters? Guard their bodies and do not show a joyful face to them.²⁴⁴

Such traditional sources present a bleak view of the relationship between parent and child, but must be treated with caution as it is impossible to say whether they were representative of medieval experience. It is certain, however, that medieval society was strongly affected by the bonds of kinship, through both male and female lines.

Lineage and Inheritance

On marriage, a woman became subject to her husband in patriarchal society, and her role as a wife was perceived to supersede her previous status as a daughter. The predominance

²⁴¹ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The education of the English Kings and aristocracy 1066-1530*, (London, 1984), 106.

²⁴² For example, see *Daughters*, 95.

²⁴³ Aristotle, 'Historia Animalium' trans. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson in *The Works of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1910) 4.608b.

²⁴⁴ Ecclesiasticus, 7:25-26.

of husband-wife relations over the parental link, while sanctioned by church doctrine, did not always work in practice. Wives often remained in contact with their parents and siblings after marriage, playing a diplomatic role between families.²⁴⁵ When a match foundered, parents or kin would often intervene, especially if the union had not produced children. Wives were sometimes criticised for influencing husbands to extend patronage to their own relatives, thus elevating their position as daughter in one family over their role as a wife in another. Some women continued to be described as daughters even after marriage as medieval historians continued to emphasise both maternal and paternal ancestry, despite arguments that there was a growing trend for patrilineal inheritance.²⁴⁶ This followed the Biblical and Roman practice of listing ancestors, and was also evidenced by the growing popularity of genealogical histories reflecting contemporary ideas about the importance of noble birthright.²⁴⁷ As a result of eleventh century church reforms, there was a drive to proscribe relationships within the prohibited seven degrees,²⁴⁸ placing further emphasis on the interconnections between maternal and paternal family lines. Often a woman was described as a daughter of a particular family without referring to her personal name, demonstrating that lineage provided an aristocratic woman with her status and identity, and that was perceived to be far more important than individuality.

In terms of inheritance, daughters of the nobility were valued, but medieval authors usually assumed that parents preferred sons.²⁴⁹ Louis VII famously remarked that before the birth of his first son, Philip in 1165, 'we have been terrorised by a multitude of daughters.'²⁵⁰ Louis IX's wife reputedly employed William of Auvergne to tell her husband of the birth of their first child, Blanche, because she was afraid he would be angered by having daughter instead of a son.²⁵¹ A son and heir was most desirable to fulfil

²⁴⁵ See Hugh M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs; The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire 1154-1216*, (Philadelphia, 1993), 108.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Mothers, 181.

²⁴⁷ Dunbabin, 'Discovering a past', 3.

²⁴⁸ See Wives, 114.

²⁴⁹ Shahar, *Childhood*, 43-5.

²⁵⁰ *Monuments historiques*, ed. J. Tardif, (Paris, 1866), 300, Letter 588; app. 2.1.

²⁵¹ Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques, Legendes et Apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de La Marche, (Paris, 1877), 388 n.1.

military commitments, but rivalry amongst too many male kin could endanger the smooth transition of power. Daughters, on the other hand, were necessary to the creation of alliances with other families. Disputes and negotiations were often sealed with a marriage arrangement as an insurance policy. The arrival of a daughter was only a real disappointment when a male heir was desperately needed.

It has been argued that great changes were occurring in the systems of inheritance in the period prior to the First Crusade whose impact was still being felt while crusading was at its height. According to Herlihy, from the beginning of the eleventh century bilateral inheritance was in decline, and the exclusion of women meant that the daughter was 'treated as a marginal member of her father's lineage.'²⁵² In Duby's study, *The Knight the Lady and the Priest*, the lay aristocracy and the priesthood were seen to preserve their ruling power by deliberately excluding women from inheritance.²⁵³ Leyser, however, called Duby's approach to daughters 'somewhat phallogentric', arguing that not all women were 'at the mercy of their violent men folk, and could only seek refuge or endure captivity in nunneries'.²⁵⁴ The idea that a trend towards patrilineal primogeniture in land holding marginalized aristocratic women from power has been challenged on two counts – firstly that a defined period of transition from indiscriminate agnatic and cognatic inheritance to primogeniture cannot be clearly identified, and secondly that such a view fails to take into account the difference in constructions of female power based on life-cycle roles.²⁵⁵ In any case, lords were usually reluctant to leave their lands and possessions to more distant relatives, and where there was no suitable male heir, daughters did inherit. Contemporary administrative developments such as commuting feudal services for cash aided an heiress to fulfil her landholding obligations, but legal rights for women in such situations were still limited. Parents, guardians or feudal lords usually made arrangements

²⁵² David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge Mass., 1985), 82.

²⁵³ See Georges Duby, *The Knight the Lady and the Priest*, trans. B. Bray, (New York, 1983).

²⁵⁴ Conrad Leyser, 'Custom, Truth and Gender in Eleventh Century Reform', in R.N. Swanson ed. *Gender and the Christian Religion*, (Woodbridge, 1998), 79.

²⁵⁵ For criticisms of the notion that primogeniture became *de rigeur* in France from the early eleventh century, see Theodore Evergates, 'Nobles and Knights in Twelfth Century France', in Thomas N. Bisson ed. *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1995), 17-28 and Constance Bouchard, 'Family Structure and Family Consciousness among the French Aristocracy in the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries' in *Francia* 14 (1986) 639-58. See also Johns, *Noblewomen*, 2-3, 195.

for an heiress to marry as soon as possible. As a result, heiresses were often married underage, and while this provided a certain amount of political stability, problems could ensue if the match later proved unsuitable to wider dynastic ambitions. Once married, her husband assumed control of her inheritance excluding such lands as she held for her dower, but marriage also signalled a woman's 'entrée' into public life and her exercise of public power in a variety of forms.²⁵⁶ In general, heiresses had little freedom of choice in partner and had an obligation of marriage and maternity to produce an heir for their lands. However, an heiress might also be permitted to remain a widow after the death of her husband if she already had a minor heir whose interests might be compromised by her remarriage.

Betrothal

Marriage and the protocols by which it was arranged underwent profound changes during this period. There was a new emphasis on the mutual consent of both partners although most marriages were still arranged by parents or elders to benefit the wider family. The issue of consent may have afforded some autonomy to the marriage-partners, but it made the crime of abduction much more difficult to establish. Any question over a daughter's sexual continence, whether voluntary or through rape, could seriously affect her value as a bride, and penalties were accordingly severe for both men and women.²⁵⁷ The betrothal, effectively a statement of intent to marry, was not unique to this period, but its customs developed rapidly alongside other measures to protect the interests of the two families involved in a marriage.²⁵⁸

For the nobility, betrothals could take place very early, and young women might be brought up in the court of their intended to familiarize them with the way of life they would enter into upon marriage. Once a suitable marriage partner was selected, negotiations established the exact terms of the match. A dowry, the gift of the bride's

²⁵⁶ Johns, *Noblewomen*, 2.

²⁵⁷ See James Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, (Chicago, 1987), 47, 107, 119.

²⁵⁸ See *Wives*, 114.

family, could take different forms from hard cash to property. Cash was usually preferred, but it would usually be invested to provide a regular income and as surety for the bride's family should the marriage dissolve or fail to produce offspring.²⁵⁹ The marriage arrangements usually entailed some form of dowry for the bride in case her husband died. In Europe the groom's family sometimes also gave a *morgengaben*, or 'morning gift', but during the period of the crusades there was a general decrease in this practice, thus it increasingly fell to the bride's family to provide a competitive dowry to attract a suitable husband.²⁶⁰ Depending on a daughter's age, a certain amount of time could elapse between the betrothal negotiations and the wedding itself. During that period, contracts were often broken if a more suitable alliance arose, which could lead to legal complications.²⁶¹ Although dowry had no official place in canon law, if it was not forthcoming after a marriage, some of the nobility argued that they had a legitimate case to dissolve the union.

Virginity and the Cloister

The Church championed celibacy as a means to salvation, but this was at odds with the requirements that a society based on kinship had for daughters, namely, their use in marriage alliances. The enforcement of clerical celibacy during the tenth and eleventh centuries excluded the possibility of exercising influence over the church through a priestly husband. Lay women of sufficient means could patronise the church for spiritual benefits, but women attracted to a devout life were for the most part relegated to a cloistered role. Convents usually housed daughters of the nobility, many of whom entered nunneries at an early age,²⁶² although others entered convents as discarded wives or widows, having discharged their duties to the family. Some daughters rebelled against an impending marriage, but medieval authors only approved this when it involved a commitment to chastity, as in the case of Christina of Markyate.²⁶³ Despite their

²⁵⁹ Theodore Evergates 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne' in Theodore Evergates ed. *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, (Philadelphia, 1999), 91-2.

²⁶⁰ See Diane Owen Hughes 'From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe' *Journal of Family History* 3 (1978), 262-96.

²⁶¹ Evergates 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne', 91.

²⁶² Margaret Wade Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life; A small sound of the trumpet*, (London, 1986), 29.

²⁶³ Georges Duby, *Love in Twelfth Century France*, trans. Jane Dunnett, (Oxford, 1994), 25. See also *The Life of Christina of Markyate, a Twelfth Century Recluse*, ed. and trans. C. H. Talbot, (Oxford, 1987).

disobedience, medieval chroniclers usually applauded the courage of such women; they were seen to rise above the weakness of their gender and triumph over the demands of the flesh, becoming idealised examples of virginity. Accordingly, most ecclesiastics encouraged leniency for those women with a genuine monastic vocation. During the fifth century St Jerome had written at length on the benefits of virginity and detriments of marriage. Virginity was the holiest state to which a woman could aspire. It was through the miraculous conception of Jesus in the womb of the Virgin that the curse laid upon Eve at the Garden of Eden was lifted. The idea of temptation through Eve and redemption through Mary was a common motif about the nature of women in medieval society.²⁶⁴

The Virgin Mary was perhaps the most important symbol of medieval womanhood, and while she is often associated with the imagery of motherhood and authority, her virginity also had crucial significance. Phillips has argued that, despite motherhood and living into old age, and even in images of her death, assumption and coronation as queen of heaven, Mary was continually portrayed at that period of life in which she was seen to have achieved perfection: maidenhood.²⁶⁵ The rise of her cult during the central Middle Ages undoubtedly had repercussions for the shaping of imagery for adolescent women. Other religious role models provided for daughters included the virgin martyrs; chaste women who died for the Christian faith, sometimes as a result of refusing marriage or sexual intercourse. Saint Foy, whose cult flourished at the monastery of Conques during the tenth and eleventh centuries, was a particularly striking example of a female child martyr, and in her *passio* much emphasis was placed on her youth and beauty.²⁶⁶ Saints' lives were very popular and considered to be suitable as didactic texts for young women.²⁶⁷ Such texts were heavily concerned with the issue of chastity, and highlighted the contradictory societal requirements that daughters faced. They were considered to be available for marriage from age twelve, but had to remain chaste until their marriage took place: Phillips argues that it was exactly this 'peculiar mixture of sexual availability and

²⁶⁴ For example, St. Jerome 'Letter to Eustochium' in J. P. Migne ed. *Patrologia Latina* 22 (Paris, 1877), cols. 394-425.

²⁶⁵ Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, 49-50.

²⁶⁶ *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, ed. Auguste Bouillet, (Paris, 1997).

²⁶⁷ For a recent study, see Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives*.

virginity' that characterised the 'maiden'.²⁶⁸ Thus, in accordance with these social and literary conventions, most of the individual daughters mentioned in crusade narratives were young women on the eve of marriage.

²⁶⁸ Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, 7.

Daughters in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East

Introduction

The second part of this chapter will assess how the conventions and influences outlined in the previous section influence the narratives of crusading, incorporating some minor adaptations to accommodate the nature of the source material and to preserve a coherent structure. For example, when considering the issue of parental nurture the primary focus will be the relationship between father and daughter – ‘paternal nurture’. This is for two reasons; firstly, to avoid extensive repetition of the subject matter when motherhood is considered in chapter four, and secondly because accounts of the relationship between fathers and daughters often highlight more effectively the gender characteristics of men and women. The categories from the previous section have also been further sub-divided where appropriate. For example, the source material is weighted heavily towards the inheritance and lineage of daughters in the Latin East, therefore they have been discussed in a separate category and sub-divided by social status. A further section has been added to cover the role of those daughters who did not stand to inherit lordship but whose betrothal negotiations were crucial to international diplomacy, especially in marriages arranged between the nobilities of Byzantium, western Europe and the Latin East. These differences aside, the structure will complement that of the preceding section, following a brief introduction to general views about daughters and crusading.

Daughters and Crusading

The daughter is possibly the most elusive female character in narratives of the crusades. Many chroniclers attested to the fact that women of all ages were present on crusades, but when children were mentioned their gender was not often specified. For most daughters the journey was considered too dangerous, and some featured prominently in ‘departure scenes’,²⁶⁹ although wives and sons were usually the focus.²⁷⁰ If a daughter was of suitable

²⁶⁹ AA, 271, 501; WT, 140.

²⁷⁰ See Wives, 124.

age, a betrothal or marriage might be arranged before leaving. Count Hugh of Vermandois gave his daughter Isabel (Elisabeth) in marriage to Robert, count of Meulan before setting out in 1096.²⁷¹ Other daughters were entered into convents.²⁷² Some daughters and young women evidently did take the cross – many crusade narratives describe ‘young women’ and ‘girls’ accompanying armies travelling to the East, but these should be treated with a certain amount of caution. Different groups of women, described by age, social status or family role, often appeared in formulaic lists of ‘types’ of crusaders. This was at least in part a literary convention for demonstrating the popularity of an expedition: the variety of crusaders reflected the sheer magnitude of the response. Crusading was seen to reach across social boundaries, rich and poor, young and old, male and female, and authors used its universal appeal to emphasise its miraculous nature and divine origin.

The presence of young women on crusade was also used to indicate that an expedition lacked moral purity. Guibert of Nogent criticised William IX of Aquitaine for bringing a ‘crowd...of young girls’ with him on the ill-fated 1101 crusade.²⁷³ The duke already had a reputation for debauchery enhanced by his disputes with the papacy and the erotic courtly verse attributed to him.²⁷⁴ William’s troops were decimated near Heraclea, thus in Guibert’s view the duke was duly punished for his licentious ways. Peter the Hermit’s followers attracted similar criticism:

...as they did not in any way turn from fornication and unlawful relationships there was excessive revelling, continual delight with women and girls who had set out for this same frivolous purpose, and boasting most rashly about the opportunity offered by this journey.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ OV 5.30-1. Orderic may have been mistaken in his date for this marriage, however. According to Grocock and Siberry, Robert was married to Humberga of Le Puiset. See Gilo of Paris, 127, n. 6, and Widows, 267.

²⁷² For arrangements pertaining to families in charters left behind by the First Crusaders, see Riley Smith, *First Crusaders*, 135-9.

²⁷³ GN, 313; app. 2.2.

²⁷⁴ See Lindsay, *The Troubadours*, 3-24.

²⁷⁵ AA, 291; app. 2.3. Translated in *Historia Hierosolymitana* ed. and trans. Susan Edgington, (Oxford, Forthcoming: 2005).

Peter's contingent, famously known as the 'Peasants' Crusade' came to a disastrous end at Nicaea in late 1096, and the failure of this divinely ordained expedition could only be explained in terms of the moral turpitude of most of its participants. Other popular movements such as the so-called Children's Crusade of 1212 demonstrate that young women as well as men were motivated to take the cross for spiritual reasons.²⁷⁶ Recent scholarship suggests that these crusaders were not in fact children, but rural poor lacking in the social status afforded by wealth or marriage, and influenced by preachings of apostolic poverty.²⁷⁷ Contemporary chroniclers stressed that the crusade included women and girls, as well as boys and young men. The Ebersheim chronicle told how 'everyone that heard [the message], both boy and girl, having left their parents received the sign of the cross' and asserts that the host was made up of 'an infinite number of servants, maids and virgins'.²⁷⁸ Other commentators described 'boys and girls, not the younger ones but also adults, married and virgin'.²⁷⁹ Bearing in mind what Dickson calls the 'mythistorical fame' of the Children's Crusade, it is unsurprising that over the course of time the story was gradually re-interpreted by chroniclers, and the presence of young women was used to question the authenticity of participants' spiritual motivation.²⁸⁰ The annalist of Marbach was critical of the movement from the outset, and described with a certain satisfaction the miserable homecoming of the few who returned:

Thus consequently deceived and confused, they began to return...turning back barefoot and famished, having been made objects of derision to everyone,²⁸¹ for very many of the girls had been raped and had lost the flower of their virginity.²⁸²

²⁷⁶ For an assessment of source material for the Children's Crusade, see Peter Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212' *JMH* 3 (1977), 282-89 and Gary Dickson, 'The Genesis of the Children's Crusade (1212)', in *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West: Revivals, Crusades, Saints* (Aldershot, 2000) 1, n.1.

²⁷⁷ Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade', 295-300.

²⁷⁸ *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH SS 23, (Hanover, 1874), 450; app. 2.4.i and 2.4.ii.

²⁷⁹ *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. H. Bloch, MGH *Scr. Rer. Germ.* 9, (1907) 82; app. 2.5 For references to boys, girls, men and women taking part, see *Continuatio Annales Admuntenses 1140-1250* ed. W Wattenbach, MGH SS 9, (1851), 592; Ogerius Panis *Cafari et continuatio Annales Ianuensis, 1198-1219* ed. K Pertz MGH SS 18 (1863), 131; and Johannes Codagnelli, *Annales Placentini Guelfi* ed. O. Holder-Egger MGH *Scr. Rer. Germ.* 23, (1901), 42.

²⁸⁰ Dickson, 'Genesis', 7.

²⁸¹ Cf. Lamentations, 3:14.

²⁸² *Annales Marbacenses*, 82-3; app. 2.6.

Another chronicler remarked ‘many girls who had marched out virgins, were returning pregnant.’²⁸³ Criticism of the movement may have stemmed from its lack of official status as a crusade, because ‘no one encouraged or proclaimed it.’²⁸⁴ Its failure served to reinforce that it was not divinely ordained, and as Dickson asserts, the Children’s Crusade became ‘a cautionary tale, a homily against future recurrences.’²⁸⁵ Women, older and younger were undoubtedly involved in this large-scale popular movement, but their role was ultimately reduced to a dishonourable sexual fate, illustrating the dangers that awaited flighty young women who took the cross against the advice of the Church.

Education

Details about the education of daughters were not a priority to the authors of crusade narratives. Any brief references to schooling were usually limited to the tutor or institution to whose care a young daughter was entrusted. Arnulf of Chocques, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem, began his career as a tutor to the nun Cecilia, a sister of Robert Curthose.²⁸⁶ Robert had apparently promised Arnulf a bishopric in reward for his duties, so the education of a noblewoman could elicit lucrative patronage.²⁸⁷ This information, however, comes at the beginning of Guibert of Nogent’s scathing account of Arnulf’s iniquitous rise to power, and it is possible that Guibert intended to insult him by suggesting that his mediocre educational skills were only suitable for the teaching of women.²⁸⁸ Ranulf of Higden asserted that Berengaria of Navarre, wife of Richard the Lionheart, was ‘beautiful and learned’, and this was borne out by Ambroise’s recollection that the daughter of Isaac Comnenus was sent to her for tutelage, although he did not specify that this was of a literary nature.²⁸⁹

²⁸³ *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, 450; app. 2.4.iii.

²⁸⁴ *Chronicae regiae Coloniensis continuatio prima*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS. 24, 17; app. 2.7.

²⁸⁵ Dickson, ‘Genesis’, 3.

²⁸⁶ GN, 290.

²⁸⁷ GN, 290-1.

²⁸⁸ Guibert described him as ‘Not dull in dialectical learning, although he had made the least use of grammatical texts,’ GN, 290; app. 2.8.

²⁸⁹ Ranulf of Higden, *Polychronicon* ed. J. Lumby, 9 Vols. RS 41 (1882), 8.106; app. 2.9. Ambroise, 1.34, lns. 2086-9.

Although there was a literate culture in the Latin East, Runciman asserts that the frontier nature of society in Outremer, with its language barriers and constant warfare, made it impossible to found Latin schools of any established reputation.²⁹⁰ It is well known that William of Tyre, one of the most celebrated historians of the twelfth century, received much of his training in Bologna and Paris, and this enabled him to become tutor to the future King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem.²⁹¹ In common with western practices, noble daughters in the East were sometimes educated in convents. William tells us that Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem spent her early years in the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany, and was brought up by her aunt, the Abbess Yveta, youngest sister of Melisende.²⁹² Melisende's gift of books to the convent at Bethany suggest that there was a degree of literacy at the convent, and prayers written for a woman in the Psalter attributed to her patronage imply that she may have been literate in Latin.²⁹³ Anna Comnena's history, while undoubtedly unique for its time, shows that it was acceptable for a Byzantine noblewoman to be educated to a high degree.²⁹⁴ Perhaps intermarriage between Latin and Byzantine high nobility influenced cultural attitudes towards the education of daughters.²⁹⁵ In terms of upbringing, William of Tyre stressed that Theodora, wife of Baldwin III had been 'nurtured in the innermost sanctum of the Imperial palace,' thus in both aristocratic societies, seclusion was important, if not always in a convent.²⁹⁶ A literate education, however, had no place in the criteria that made a daughter attractive for marriage, and was superseded by other qualities such as virginity, lineage, wealth and beauty.

After the fall of Acre, Pierre Dubois, writing in 1306-7, thought educated young women could be instrumental to the recovery of the Holy Land. He proposed that they could be trained in theology and logic, and then given as wives to Oriental Christians and Muslims,

²⁹⁰ Runciman, 3.489-92.

²⁹¹ Hans Eberhard Mayer 'Guillaume de Tyr à l'École' in *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences arts et belles lettres de Dijon* 127 (1988), 257-265.

²⁹² WT, 962.

²⁹³ WT, 710. For an assessment of the Psalter see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098-1197* (Cambridge, 1995), 137-163.

²⁹⁴ Laiou suggests that literacy amongst the women of the Byzantine aristocracy was increasing during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Angeliki E. Laiou, 'Women in Byzantine Society' in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, 91.

²⁹⁵ William of Tyre refers to the influence of Eastern wives, presumably including Armenian and Byzantine women. See *Wives*, 137.

²⁹⁶ WT, 843; app. 2.10

converting them to Christianity. In support of the effectiveness of his plan, he cited the biblical example of Solomon, who despite his reputation for wisdom was convinced by his wives to turn to idolatry. Education was to be a key factor in his plans: girls should attend schools to learn languages and basic doctrine to communicate Latin Christian ideas, but not only were they to focus on men, they could learn medical skills in women's ailments to gain the confidence of prospective female converts.²⁹⁷ Such a vision may not have been a realistic one, but it acknowledged that non-combatant women could contribute to the cause of Christianity in the East, especially as the possibility of a military solution receded.

Paternal Nurture

Medieval views on the parental care of a father for a daughter are reflected by an anecdote concerning Count Joscelin I's journey back to Edessa after his escape from imprisonment at the hands of the Turk, Belek, in 1123. Fulcher of Chartres recorded how an Armenian peasant and his family led Joscelin to safety, accompanied by a small daughter.²⁹⁸ He asserted, rather unconvincingly, that Joscelin carried the child as they rode in order to pretend to others that she was his own, as proof that he had hope of descendants. Fulcher described Joscelin's inability to care for the crying child:

...nor was there a wet-nurse present, who could suckle her or calm her with lullabies. On account of this he thought about deserting in fear the companion so harmful to him and advancing more safely alone.²⁹⁹

Joscelin was probably concerned that the noise would draw attention to him during his flight, but the anecdote supports the notion that noble fathers were unaccustomed to handling their children, who were commonly given to nurses. Joscelin persevered with this most difficult task, however, as he did not wish to offend the peasant, and later

²⁹⁷ Pierre Dubois, *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte: Dalla "Respublica Christiana" ai primi nazionalismi e alla politica antimediterranea*, ed. Angelo Diotti (Firenze, 1977), 153-5.

²⁹⁸ FC, 684. For the full account see 683-6.

²⁹⁹ FC, 685; app. 2.11

rewarded him with money and an ox for his protection.³⁰⁰ In Orderic Vitalis' *Historia*, the peasant was a Saracen, and they travelled to Antioch, not Tell Bashir. Joscelin wanted to travel in disguise, and so exchanged clothes with the peasant, who pretended to be the count for the rest of the journey. The young girl was described as six years old and the Christians took turns to carry her amongst themselves: she was a part of Joscelin's subterfuge. According to Orderic, the peasant was later rewarded not only with baptism and riches, but also by the betrothal of his daughter to a Christian knight.³⁰¹ Orderic thus developed the story to indicate that Christian rulers in the East attracted Muslims to their faith through exemplary lordship, and could raise the social status of those who had served them well, as long as baptism took place. The peasant helped Joscelin because he had lived more happily amongst the Christians than the Turks, and it was this attraction to the Frankish way of life and Christian religion that earned him a great reward.³⁰²

A further example of paternal care for a daughter comes from a rather unexpected source. Despite being portrayed as a deceitful and corrupt ruler, Isaac Comnenus (1184-91) of Cyprus was credited by the *Itinerarium* for genuinely loving his daughter.³⁰³ Apparently, when Isaac heard that she had been captured, 'he was so overwhelmed with violent grief that he almost went out of his mind.'³⁰⁴ She is described as 'his only daughter... on whom his spirit depended'³⁰⁵ and on being allowed to see her after she had been taken hostage, he was overjoyed, 'and he hugged her affectionately and kissed her insatiably again and again, while his tears flowed copiously.'³⁰⁶ The description was possibly intended to ridicule Isaac in accordance with perceptions of the Greeks as effeminate, but public expressions of emotion were considered appropriate for men in certain circumstances, usually in mourning or penitence.³⁰⁷ The emperor's daughter was his only heir and in Richard's hands was a symbol of his lost power, but Isaac was also portrayed as genuinely concerned for her personal safety. Such accounts make it hard to accept that daughters

³⁰⁰ FC, 685-6.

³⁰¹ OV, 6.114-7.

³⁰² Cf. the story of Melaz, below.

³⁰³ 'Her father loved her more than any other creature.' *Itinerarium*, 202; app. 2.12. Trans. Nicholson, 193.

³⁰⁴ *Itinerarium*, 202; app. 2.13. Trans. Nicholson, 193. Ambroise 1.33 lns. 2018-23.

³⁰⁵ *Itinerarium*, 202-3; 2.14.

³⁰⁶ *Itinerarium*, 203, trans. Nicholson, 194. Ambroise 1.33, 2053-6.

³⁰⁷ See Widows, 268.

were unwelcome or unimportant children as a rule. Unfortunately for the emperor Richard sent Isaac's beloved daughter back to France with his own wife and sister, where she married Raymond VI of Toulouse in 1199.³⁰⁸ Her story did not end there, however. She had evidently separated from Raymond by 1202 as she took part in the Fourth Crusade with her new husband, whom Geldsetzer asserts was probably Thierry, an illegitimate son of Count Philip of Flanders.³⁰⁹ Ernoul tells how he had married her in Marseilles with the intention of pressing her claim to Cyprus, and they travelled direct to Syria with the Flemish fleet to present themselves to King Aimery of Jerusalem and demand her inheritance, whereupon they were summarily dismissed.³¹⁰

Despite ideas about the obedience of daughters, some did flout the authority of their parents, especially after they married. One who received severe criticism as a result was Alice of Antioch. The consequences of her actions for her role as a mother and widow will be dealt with in the following chapters, but Alice was also portrayed as a disobedient daughter. On the death of her husband Bohemond II in 1130, she openly challenged the authority of her father King Baldwin II (1118-31), by claiming the principality of Antioch.³¹¹ This was the first of three attempts to gain the city. As a feudal lord it was the king's duty to protect the interests of the legitimate heir, Bohemond's daughter Constance, but in William of Tyre's account he was portrayed as a father chastising his daughter. When Baldwin appeared at the gates of Antioch with an army Alice was unable to maintain her support, and fearful of his judgement she took refuge in the citadel while negotiations took place.³¹² According to William, it was the familial bond that prevailed; the king was angry, but on account of paternal affection he was persuaded to be lenient. At the instigation of advisors, Alice presented herself before her father 'prepared to accept his judgement', and showing due obedience.³¹³ Her father even allowed her to keep the important dower lands of Latakia and Jabala, although this was apparently an attempt to induce her not to make a further challenge. Baldwin still felt unable to trust Alice or the

³⁰⁸ Ernoul, 269 and Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3.228. She was Raymond's fourth wife, following his short-lived marriage to Joanna of Sicily. Ambroise 2.61 n. 161.

³⁰⁹ Geldsetzer, *Frauen*, 191.

³¹⁰ Ernoul, 352-3.

³¹¹ For full details of this early bid for power see WT, 623-5.

³¹² WT, 624.

³¹³ WT, 624; app. 2.16

Antiochene aristocracy, so he made the nobles of Antioch swear an oath of fealty to Constance; ‘For he feared the malice of his very own daughter, lest she attempt to cause the aforementioned minor to be disinherited, just as she had done previously.’³¹⁴ Accordingly, William asserted that it was only after her father’s death that Alice was confident enough to try and seize Antioch again.³¹⁵

Another example of rebellion against parental power is the legend of Melaz, to which Orderic Vitalis devoted a considerable amount of attention.³¹⁶ It is generally accepted that Bohemond of Taranto was captured by the Danishmend, Malik-Ghazi in 1100 and spent several years as a hostage in Niksar before his release in 1103, which, according to Albert of Aachen, was secured through Bohemond’s own negotiations and by payment of a ransom of 100 000 bezants.³¹⁷ The *Miracula Sancti Leonardi*, written before 1111, which recorded Bohemond’s pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Leonard near Limoges in 1106, attributed his escape to the intervention of the saint and a Christian wife of Malik-Ghazi.³¹⁸ Orderic, writing *circa* 1135, asserted that it was Malik-Ghazi’s daughter Melaz who helped the prince to escape. Chibnall proposes that Orderic may have heard the story from one of Bohemond’s retinue, perhaps at the wedding of Bohemond and Constance of France.³¹⁹ Unfortunately there is no corroborative evidence to support Orderic’s assertion that Roger of Salerno married a Turkish princess – if he had it would surely have been counted amongst the recriminations against him for the disaster at the Field of Blood in 1119.³²⁰ The story of Melaz does not appear in any other contemporary sources, but the theme of a Muslim princess falling in love with a Christian captive later developed into a literary *topos* of Old French poetry, suggesting a link with oral narrative culture. Orderic’s version may be the earliest written example of its kind, but it is rather different in tone to

³¹⁴ WT, 625; app. 2.17

³¹⁵ See WT, 636.

³¹⁶ OV, 5.358-79.

³¹⁷ AA, 610-12.

³¹⁸ *Miracula Sancti Leonardi* in AA.SS. Nov. 3 160-8. See also Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c. 970-1130*, (Oxford, 1993), 242-48.

³¹⁹ OV, 5.359, n.3.

³²⁰ See *Wives*, 143.

the rest of his history, containing extensive dialogue and literary devices suggesting that he may have been using an alternate source.³²¹

The name Melaz, translated literally from the Greek, μέλας means 'black' or 'swarthy',³²² but otherwise Malik-Ghazi's daughter was described in fairly conventional terms for a noblewoman. De Weever has demonstrated that these conventions also existed where the heroine of a *chanson de geste* is a Saracen woman; 'the poets invariably fall back on the literary tradition of the ideal heroine in its appropriate rhetorical and linguistic rigidities', thus 'whitening' her.³²³ She was beautiful, wise, and wealthy, and the only factor that distinguished her significantly from a Christian daughter was the authority she held in her father's household.³²⁴ This was justified in Orderic's eyes, however, as her disobedience to her father was not a crime but an example of divine intervention. God had aided Bohemond 'through the wit and help of the daughter of the enemy', and Orderic compared her with biblical heroines such as Judith and Bithiah.³²⁵ Like Kerbogha's mother in the *Gesta Francorum*, Melaz championed the superiority of the Christian faith over the Muslims.³²⁶ In this case, however, the extent of her belief led her to convert, repudiating her father and his beliefs; 'the religion of the Christians is holy and honourable, and your religion is full of vanities and polluted with all filth.'³²⁷ She was initially attracted to the religion through her admiration of Frankish military prowess, in accordance with western courtly conventions.³²⁸ Orderic was keen to emphasise that she retained her virtue and her relationship with Bohemond was not portrayed as a sexual one. He did assert, however, that she 'loved the Franks', and the way he described her introduction to the Christian

³²¹ See F.M. Warren, 'The enamoured Moslem princess in Orderic Vitalis and the French epic', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 29 (1914), 341-58. De Weever briefly refers to Warren's article but does not consider the role of Melaz in Orderic's history; a decision presumably governed by disciplinary restraints. Jacqueline de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters; Whitening and Demonising the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (London, 1998), 36.

³²² The Greek derivation of the name has led Warren to suggest that the story was of Syrian or Byzantine origin, although it may have been influenced in part by Spanish epic poems such as *Mainet*, and the early Old French version of the *Prise d'Orange*. *Ibid.*, 345-6, 349-351.

³²³ Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, xii.

³²⁴ OV, 5.358. See also Warren, 'Enamoured Moslem princess', 356-7.

³²⁵ OV, 5.358-9, 5.376-7.

³²⁶ See Mothers

³²⁷ OV, 5.368-9

³²⁸ This is very similar to the ideas he expresses through another female Muslim character, Fatima, sister of Belek. See Mothers, 221.

faith was reminiscent of physical fulfilment: in ‘subtle discourse’, she learnt by ‘constant discussion interspersed with sighs.’³²⁹

Her womanly wisdom and cunning were displayed when she tricked her own father and devised the plan for Bohemond’s release. The prince’s role was reduced to that of a warrior following directions. Her father, on discovering her treachery, called her a ‘shameless harlot’ and referred to the Franks as her lovers, but Bohemond, seeing her distress, duly came to her rescue. The reward that Melaz received for her efforts was marriage, and unusually, she was given a choice of spouse. This was because her father initially offered her to Bohemond, but Orderic wanted to portray Bohemond as a reluctant bridegroom, more concerned with the fight against the infidel and duty to God than marriage, thus she was persuaded to take Roger of Salerno instead. Orderic conveniently ignored the fact that shortly after his release from captivity, Bohemond married the daughter of Philip I of France.

Continuing Orderic’s theme of proper noble behaviour, the Franks are continually praised as true to their word throughout this episode, and this is particularly evident when they had surrounded their captor, but did not attack because they had sworn an oath to Melaz. Orderic described how ‘all looked towards her, waiting for what she might command’ and that she held command over the Franks ‘like she was their lady’.³³⁰ She was greatly afraid of the wrath of her father, but armed with her new honourable friends, and perhaps most crucially, her new faith, she was able to defy his authority, and was considered justified in doing so. Her conversion is treated rather more seriously than Orderic’s portrayal of the daughter of Yaghi-Siyan, who was bitterly upset on her release from captivity because she would no longer be allowed to eat pork.³³¹

³²⁹ OV, 5.358-61

³³⁰ OV, 5.366-7.

³³¹ OV, 5.372-3.

Lineage and Inheritance

Lineage and rights of inheritance were crucially important to historians of the crusades and the Latin East when describing individual women. Excluded from the military or administrative channels that enabled men to rise in rank, a woman's position within the aristocracy largely stemmed from birth. A crusader's marriage to a daughter of high lineage could help to raise the profile of crusading and the settler society in the Levant and galvanize support from the nobility of western Christendom. After his visit to the shrine of St. Leonard in 1106 Bohemond of Taranto married Constance, the daughter of King Philip I.³³² Many chroniclers recorded this event and consistently referred to her pedigree - Bohemond was considered to have made an excellent marriage for himself. Guibert of Nogent aimed to capitalise on the link between the royal house and Bohemond's heroic status to enhance French prestige:

Since his family hailed from Normandy, which constitutes a part of France, he will most assuredly be considered to be Frankish on account of this, because he had now obtained by marriage the daughter of the King of the Franks.³³³

The marriage was yet another achievement of a great hero, and formed part of his publicity drive to encourage crusaders to join the expedition he had planned for 1108. Countess Adela of Blois provided the wedding feast for her fallen husband's comrade in Chartres, and Bohemond's appeal for crusaders was timed directly after this event - presumably the nobles attending the wedding were his target audience.³³⁴

Chroniclers often mentioned the familial bonds between crusaders and the Levantine nobility in order to preserve and cultivate those dynastic links, and to promote crusading. In discussing the line of Fulk V of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, William of Tyre emphasised

³³² FC, 482-3. Her marriage to Hugh of Troyes had been annulled.

³³³ GN, 106; app 2.18 He later refers to this marriage as 'obscuring the base origins of his ancient ancestors' GN, 138; app. 2.19.

³³⁴ OV, 6.73.

his important connections in the West.³³⁵ Fulk's daughter Sibyl married Thierry of Flanders, and they and their son Philip were well known crusaders to the Holy Land in William's time - Amalric I had even named his first daughter after her aunt, Sibylla.³³⁶ When the Latin kingdom was in crisis in 1184-5, it was to Fulk's grandson, Henry II of England, that Patriarch Eraclius' mission appealed for aid.³³⁷ Dynastic links to First Crusaders were particularly significant, both to the royal house and the baronage who wished to assert the legitimacy of their positions. When a crusader married into a well-established Levantine family it brought him great prestige. William of Tyre listed amongst the significant achievements of crusader Reynald of Marash his marriage to the daughter of the count of Edessa, Agnes of Courtenay.³³⁸

Inter-relations between the nobilities of the Latin East and the West were not without problems, however. For practical reasons, heirs from the West were sometimes unable to take on an inheritance in the East, either because of economics, commitments at home, or even the delay entailed by the journey to the Levant, as demonstrated by Eustace of Boulogne's failure to prevent his cousin, Baldwin of le Bourcq, from taking the throne of Jerusalem in 1118.³³⁹ Some families who had settled in the eastern Mediterranean also had claims to fiefs in Europe, and became embroiled in political disputes there. Joinville recounted how a dispute arose between the French baronage and Count Thibaut IV of Champagne. Queen Alice of Cyprus, daughter of Isabella of Jerusalem, became a focal point for Thibaut's enemies in their disputes with the count and his allies between 1230 and 1234.³⁴⁰ She had a claim to his inheritance as the elder daughter of Henry II of Champagne, the elder brother of Thibaut's father, and she was induced to visit France in 1233. In return for peace, Joinville asserted, Louis IX had to provide her with estates worth two thousand *livres* a year, as well as a together with a lump sum of forty thousand

³³⁵ WT, 633. See above - Thierry travelled to the Holy Land four times, once with his wife, and Philip was specifically targeted by an appeal, (WT, 926) and travelled to the Holy Land on crusade in 1177. WT, 980-7 and 994-6.

³³⁶ WT, 869.

³³⁷ Roger of Howden, 'Gesta Henrici Secundis', 335-7.

³³⁸ WT, 772.

³³⁹ WT, 550. See Alan V. Murray, 'Baldwin II and his nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38, (1994), 61-2.

³⁴⁰ See Richard, *Saint Louis*, 42-7.

livres.³⁴¹ However, he failed to mention that Louis also profited from the 1234 settlement which enabled him to increase his power over Thibaut's lands.³⁴²

In terms of the inheritance of daughters, most histories of crusading and the Latin East gave precedence to the royal house of Jerusalem, as even western chroniclers were always interested in the dynamics of succession to the ruling house of the Holy City. There are a few examples of daughters from western aristocracies whose inheritance featured in relation to histories of crusading: Matilda, Countess of Tuscany was one such, but like many heiresses, Mathilda's political life did not really take shape until after her marriage and widowhood.³⁴³ Eleanor of Aquitaine was possibly the most influential Western heiress of the twelfth century, and her roles in the Second and Third Crusades drew considerable attention. As an heiress Eleanor's birthright bought her some freedoms, but 'marriage re-emphasized her sex which...relegated her to the position of Lady in relation to her Lordly husbands.'³⁴⁴ Her activities as a wife and mother were perceived to supersede her role as a daughter, but it was the importance afforded to her as an heiress, and her dynastic links to Prince Raymond of Antioch, which affected the course of the Second Crusade, and had serious ramifications for her first marriage.³⁴⁵

Another reason for the high profile of Levantine heiresses in crusade texts was the fact that inheritance by daughters occurred with regularity in frontier society where lords and knights were often lost on the battlefield. Accordingly, succession laws in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were inclined to treat women differently to those in the West. According to Philip of Novara, there was an early *assize* that enabled women to inherit; a decision that Praver argues provided an added incentive and assurances to prospective settlers:

³⁴¹ Joinville, 50. See Joinville 46-50 for a full account of the affair.

³⁴² Richard, *Saint Louis*, 46.

³⁴³ See *Widows*, 237.

³⁴⁴ John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, 'Lady and Lord: Eleanor of Aquitaine', in Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons eds, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, (Basingstoke, 2002), xiv.

³⁴⁵ See *Wives*, 144.

The knight who had devoted his life to the service of king and country was assured that if chance did not grant him a male heir, he could leave to his daughter the fief he had acquired through hardship and danger. He was thus more strongly attached to his new country.³⁴⁶

As the Latin occupying force was relatively small, female succession to property and land was a crucial part of the transmission of power throughout the Levant. In order to provide the greatest manpower per area of land, knights were prevented for a time from holding more than one fief. According to Philip of Novara, this meant that even if there were a male heir, a woman could inherit if he was unable to perform the necessary service for that fief.³⁴⁷ Thus daughters did on occasion challenge male siblings for the right to inherit, but inevitably the daughters of the Latin nobility were obliged to marry and remarry, in order to provide stability to the succession of power. During Amalric's reign in the second half of the twelfth century, partible inheritance was enforced if there was more than one female heir, again with the intention of maximising the feudal levy available to the crown. This rule did not apply to the major baronies, or the royal house of Jerusalem, and to an extent created a two-tier system of government, preserving the power of the established noble families.³⁴⁸ Still, marriage to an heiress with a claim, even one not in possession of her lands, could attract a suitor who had the means to take back his prospective wife's inheritance. This gave legitimacy to a knight's territorial ambitions, and thus dispossessed women were often married to crusaders in order to give men from the West an incentive to fight and reclaim lost land. Most importantly, it encouraged them to settle and contribute to the permanent feudal levy that was so crucial to the continued survival of a Latin presence in the East. The importance of lineage was underlined by the case of Agnes of Courtenay. Like Isabella I of Jerusalem, she had four husbands,³⁴⁹ even though her inheritance was decimated by the fall of Edessa in 1144. She benefited little from the death of her first husband, Reynald of Marash, at Inab in 1149, nor when the remains of

³⁴⁶ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 25.

³⁴⁷ Philip of Novara, *Livre*, RHC Lois 1.559-60.

³⁴⁸ For the assize referring to the partition of inheritance between brothers and sisters, see *ibid.* 1.542.

³⁴⁹ Reynald of Marash, Amalric count of Jaffa, Hugh of Ibelin and Reynald of Sidon.

her inheritance was sold off to the Byzantine Empire in 1150.³⁵⁰ She did receive a cash pension for this, which provided ready finance for military activity and patronage, but she lacked the landed wealth which would increase a patrimony. Nonetheless, she was still considered to be a desirable marriage partner at that time by both Hugh of Ibelin and Amalric, brother of King Baldwin III and then count of Jaffa.³⁵¹ Ultimately it seemed that lineage was her key attraction, but by the time she married Reynald of Sidon other factors had increased her appeal - she was the mother of a king, and had gained extensive dower lands from her third husband Hugh of Ibelin.

i) Heiresses and the Royal House of Jerusalem

Marriage to heiresses from the indigenous Christian population was quite fundamental to the establishment of a Latin aristocracy in the East from the outset. In 1098 Baldwin of Boulogne, later King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, married the daughter of an Armenian noble called Taphnuz, who was a son of Prince Roupen of Armenia.³⁵² The power given to Baldwin by this marriage was emphasised by Albert of Aachen; 'he made the whole land and region tributary to him.'³⁵³ Taphnuz was said to occupy many fortresses and defences in the mountains to which he appointed Baldwin his heir.³⁵⁴ While such marriages were the customary way to secure titles to land, there were alternatives: Baldwin had already gone through an adoption ceremony to inherit the city of Edessa. Fulcher of Chartres asserted that the duke of Edessa chose Baldwin as his heir 'for he had neither son nor daughter'.³⁵⁵ Had there been a female heir, she would probably have been married to Baldwin.³⁵⁶ There were other aristocratic Armenian daughters who married crusaders – not all were heiresses but instead brought large cash dowries that helped the settlers to

³⁵⁰ See Widows, 167.

³⁵¹ See Bernard Hamilton, 'The Titular Nobility of the Latin East: The Case of Agnes of Courtenay', *Crusade and Settlement*, 198. See Wives, 160.

³⁵² Sometimes called Tafroc. Murray associates this with Thathoul, lord of Marash. Alan V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099-1125* (Oxford, 2000), 182.

³⁵³ AA, 393; app. 2.21, trans. Edgington.

³⁵⁴ AA, 361. See also WT, 453.

³⁵⁵ FC, 210; app. 2.20. See also WT, 235.

³⁵⁶ Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Études sur l'histoire de Baudouin Ier Roi de Jérusalem', in *Melanges sur L'Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1984), 51.

fulfil their military commitments.³⁵⁷ At this early stage of settlement in the East, marriages with existing Christian communities were therefore crucial to cement alliances in a largely hostile environment.

No account of inheritance by women in the Latin East could be complete without considering the problems posed by succession to power of daughters in the royal house of Jerusalem. Evidently these were high profile women and have been discussed in detail by various historians. This chapter, however, will attempt to focus specifically on perceptions about their role as royal daughters and heiresses in the relevant narratives. William of Tyre and his continuators provide invaluable evidence about the lineage and legitimate royal succession of both kings and queens, although the throne of Jerusalem was also of interest to western chroniclers. The question of inheritance in Jerusalem is complicated by the fact that the kingship began as elective, a practice imported from the west, but also reflecting the cooperative nature of the leadership of the First Crusade. Friction between the barons of the kingdom and the crown of Jerusalem was rife throughout the twelfth century, but for the most part the need for strong kingship was recognised - in fact, recent scholarship suggests that the monarchy was far more stable than had been thought.³⁵⁸ By the late 1120's, under the rule of Baldwin II, the position of the monarchy had strengthened to the point where an inherited crown was a real possibility, even though he had no male heir. Baldwin had four daughters, and he used all of them relentlessly to fulfil his political aims, arranging marriages not only to provide security for the kingdom of Jerusalem, but also to cement dynastic links with the other principalities. Alice was married to Bohemond II of Antioch and Hodierna to Raymond II of Tripoli. The youngest, Yveta, became abbess of what was to become one of the richest nunneries in the kingdom. It was the eldest Melisende, however, who was to be Baldwin's heir, and making a pivotal diplomatic marriage for the crown.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ See Wives, 158.

³⁵⁸ See Steven Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291*, (Oxford, 1989), 186-8.

³⁵⁹ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 82-3.

Melisende was destined for a western husband; a marriage within the Levantine nobility would undoubtedly have caused friction, but more importantly the kingdom desperately needed the military retinue that a western bridegroom could bring. Count Fulk V of Anjou was chosen 'by the universal counsel of all the princes, ecclesiastical as well as lay'.³⁶⁰ Baldwin was not free to dispose of his daughter as he saw fit, Melisende's husband would be a king, and the baronage had to be consulted over their future ruler. This collective decision was undoubtedly influenced by the tradition of elective kingship, but also had precedents in noble diplomacy with the West such as the offer of the throne to Charles the Good in 1123 during Baldwin's captivity.³⁶¹

After Fulk was chosen, Baldwin sent a special embassy to the West to arrange the marriage.³⁶² Melisende's special position as designated heir to the throne of Jerusalem was evidenced in the charters of the Latin Kingdom, and has been discussed in detail by Mayer.³⁶³ He suggests that when the marriage was transacted in 1129, it was intended that Fulk should be the sole heir to the kingdom, but on his deathbed Baldwin probably reneged on this agreement, and Melisende, Fulk and their son (the future Baldwin III) inherited jointly. William asserted that the king 'handed over to them care of the realm and full power'.³⁶⁴ In Mayer's view this meant that Baldwin II did consider the kingship to be hereditary, and wished 'to ensure that the throne of Jerusalem would remain in his family and not go to the house of Anjou'.³⁶⁵ Baldwin might have been able to pass the throne directly to his grandson Baldwin III, but in an age of high infant mortality it was important to stipulate that, should anything happen to the younger Baldwin, Melisende would be the mother of future heirs to the throne. The success of Baldwin II's policy drew a striking contrast to Henry I's failed attempt to secure the throne of England for his daughter Mathilda, and it is a testament to the strength of the royal house of Jerusalem at this time.

³⁶⁰ WT, 618; app. 2.22.

³⁶¹ See A.V. Murray, 'Baldwin II and His Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118-1134', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994), 69-75.

³⁶² For a detailed assessment to the political background of the arrangement of this marriage, see Phillips, *Defenders*, 19-43.

³⁶³ Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Studies in the history of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972) 93-182 and 'The succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 139-47.

³⁶⁴ WT, 625; app. 2.23

³⁶⁵ Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 100-1.

The transition of power was not entirely smooth, however, and Melisende's political activities as a wife, mother and widow remained fundamentally characterised by her rights as an heiress.³⁶⁶

Later in the twelfth century, lack of a healthy male heir made daughters crucially important to the succession once again. Four women, Sibylla, Isabella I, Maria and Isabella II inherited the throne of Jerusalem consecutively from 1186 to 1228. However, succession problems began as early as 1163, when the dissolution of King Amalric's marriage to Agnes of Courtenay cast doubt over the claims of both their children, Sibylla and Baldwin for the throne.³⁶⁷ One of the conditions that Amalric requested of the patriarch for this separation was a petition for their legitimisation, and Pope Alexander III ruled in their favour.³⁶⁸ *Eracles* asserted that they were not, presumably influenced by the Ernoul text and his predisposition towards the Ibelin contingent.³⁶⁹ By the time of his death in 1174, Amalric had a legitimate daughter, Isabella, by his second wife Maria Comnena, who later became Balian's stepdaughter on his marriage to the dowager queen. Baldwin IV was the son and nephew of Amalric and Baldwin III respectively, but was stricken with leprosy. Not only was he periodically incapacitated through bouts of sickness, he was unlikely find a marriage partner, let alone produce an heir. As a result of his illness, he could have been passed over in favour of Sibylla, but the fact that she was only 15, and unmarried, meant that political instability would result whether she was married off quickly to a Levantine noble, or waited for a suitable husband from the West.³⁷⁰ Thus Baldwin was chosen and Sibylla was nominally accepted as heir-apparent, but the knowledge that Baldwin would not produce an heir meant that his two sisters became focal points for ambitious lords to vie for power. Baldwin's youth and illness also fomented political divisions. The early months of his reign resulted in the murder of

³⁶⁶ See *Wives*, 148; *Mothers*, 211; *Widows*, 82.

³⁶⁷ See Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Die Legitimität Balduins IV von Jerusalem und das testament der Agnes von Courtenay', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988), 63-89. See also *Wives*, 160.

³⁶⁸ WT, 869. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his heirs; Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge, 2000), 26.

³⁶⁹ 'for when her mother separated from her father the children were not declared legitimate' *Eracles*, 20 app. 2.24, trans. Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, (Aldershot, 1996), 14.

³⁷⁰ Consanguinity was also a risk if she married one of the barons. See Hamilton, *Leper King*, 39-41.

seneschal Miles of Planchy who was acting as regent. Even before this event Raymond III of Tripoli had made a bid for the regency because Miles was failing to provide coherent government.³⁷¹ According to the *Eracles* chronicle, Raymond wanted regency for ten years even if Baldwin IV died to allow time for the pope, the German emperor and the kings of England and France to adjudicate between the sisters.³⁷² Thus, following the pattern established by Baldwin II, the kingdom intended to look once more to the West to solve its succession problems created by the inheritance of daughters. In the meantime, an appropriate marriage was organised for Sibylla by the High Court to a western husband of a suitable pedigree: William of Montferrat.³⁷³ The marriage was short-lived, but produced a male heir, Baldwin V.

On the death of Baldwin IV in 1185 both Sybilla and Isabella were bypassed in favour of the young Baldwin V. Ernoul claimed that Baldwin IV had made this decision in 1183 because he was concerned that the claims of the rival sisters would cause open dissension. Sybilla and her husband were not granted the regency, it went to Raymond III of Tripoli by the agreement of the barons.³⁷⁴ After Baldwin V's death in 1186, however, Sibylla took the throne with the support of a considerable sector of the nobility. The mission of Patriarch Eraclius to the West in 1184-5 had proved unsuccessful in securing the support of a western king, and conflict between the seneschal Joscelin of Courtenay and Raymond's regency meant that the Latin kingdom was without secure leadership. It is possible that Raymond himself had designs on the throne, as he was the grandchild of Baldwin II through his mother, Hodierna.³⁷⁵ However, Sibylla was the elder of the two sisters directly in line to the throne, and had already proved her ability to produce a male heir. She was also prepared to take swift action on the death of her son, which the hostile *Eracles* chronicler attributed to the machinations of her uncle Joscelin.³⁷⁶ Despite the support of several magnates, the coronation still required a city closed to outside influence, and Reynald of Châtillon had to ask for the assent of the assembled crowd:

³⁷¹ WT, 963-4. For more detail, see Hamilton, *Leper King*, 84-93 and Mothers, 215.

³⁷² *Eracles*, 20.

³⁷³ WT, 977. See Widows, 263.

³⁷⁴ Ernoul, 115, LFWT, 51.

³⁷⁵ See Hamilton, *Leper King*, 217-8.

³⁷⁶ *Eracles*, 30-1.

“We wish with your approval to crown Sibylla, the daughter of king Amaury and the sister of King Baldwin. For she is the closest heir to the kingdom.”³⁷⁷

Reynald thus emphasised that her claim was based not only on her position as daughter to Amalric, but also her relationship as a full sister to Baldwin IV. By doing this her supporters could deny that Sibylla’s claim required external adjudication, and were able to justify breaking the oath they had taken to support Raymond’s regency. An heiress, however, needed a husband for military duties, as the patriarch Eraclius reportedly asserted:

“Lady, you are a woman; it is fitting that you should have a man by you who can help you govern your kingdom.”³⁷⁸

The main obstacle to Sibylla’s inheritance was not her possible illegitimacy, but hostility towards her second husband, Guy of Lusignan. William of Tyre portrayed Guy in a particularly unflattering light, and his reputation suffered further in later continuations of William’s work because of his role in the defeat at Hattin.³⁷⁹ William of Newburgh asserted that the Levantine nobles were disgruntled because Guy was a foreigner, although this cannot have been the sole issue.³⁸⁰ Previous suitors for both Melisende and Sibylla (Fulk and William of Monferrat) had been chosen specifically because they were from the West. Guy’s marriage to Sibylla had been controversial from the start,³⁸¹ and his period of regency in 1183 compounded resentment towards him to the extent that the king removed him from power, even attempting to annul the marriage.³⁸² Hamilton asserts that by doing so, Baldwin effectively stated that Guy was not suitable for the kingship.³⁸³ Several

³⁷⁷ *Eracles*, 32; app. 2.25, trans. Edbury, 25.

³⁷⁸ *Eracles*, 33; app. 2.26, trans. Edbury, 26.

³⁷⁹ WT, 1048-50. Smail blames the influence of the chronicle of Ernoul over the Old French continuations for this view, although Hamilton points out that the Latin continuator was quite sympathetic to Guy. See R.C. Smail, ‘The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan 1183-87’, in *Outremer*, 163, and Hamilton, *Leper King*, 217.

³⁸⁰ WN, 1.256.

³⁸¹ For further detail, see *Widows*, 259.

³⁸² For Guy’s relationship with Baldwin IV, see Smail, ‘Predicaments’, 159-176.

³⁸³ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 194.

chroniclers give the impression that Sibylla was only accepted as the heir because she had already agreed to divorce Guy, explaining the need for subterfuge at his coronation.³⁸⁴ It is a testament to the strength of Sibylla's claim and the respect gained by consecration that she managed to retain Guy as her husband despite opposition, but it is notable that she was only able to do so after she had been accepted as queen.

The coronation itself was not an end to the matter; *Eracles* tells how Raymond of Tripoli then planned to overthrow Guy by crowning Amalric's other daughter, Isabella.³⁸⁵ Unfortunately Isabella's husband and erstwhile candidate for kingship Humphrey of Toron threw himself on Sibylla's mercy, foiling the plans of the disgruntled and rebellious barons. This action led him to be considered a coward and effeminate by some chroniclers, and perhaps sealed his fate with regard to his later divorce. With Raymond's claim superseded by a crowned queen and no alternate king-consort to rally in opposition to Guy, the majority of the barons went to pay homage to Sibylla and her husband. The experiences of both Sibylla and later her sister demonstrated the importance of a suitable husband to enable an heiress to come into her inheritance, especially in the Latin East where military leadership and diplomatic government were so desperately needed.

Although Guy maintained his position as king during Sibylla's lifetime, in 1190 the queen and her two heiresses, Alice and Maria, died of sickness at the siege of Acre. Ambroise lamented the youth and valour of Sibylla, and the turmoil caused by the early death of mother and daughters.³⁸⁶ The *Itinerarium* suggested that some accused Guy of foul play in the death of Sibylla and her daughters, but this seems very unlikely as the kingdom passed 'by right of inheritance' to Isabella, undermining his claim.³⁸⁷ Guy remained king of Jerusalem for nearly two years before Isabella was crowned, steadfastly holding on to his title. He was only successful for that long because the Latin kingdom was still experiencing the turmoil engendered by Saladin's victories, and because he had support from Third Crusade leader Richard the Lionheart. Conrad of Monferrat was the natural

³⁸⁴ In particular, Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 315-6. For further examples see Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius' in *Outremer*, 195-8.

³⁸⁵ *Eracles*, 33-4.

³⁸⁶ Ambroise, 1.63, lns. 3891-8.

³⁸⁷ .See *Itinerarium*, 97, and Ernoul, 267. *Eracles*, 105; app 2.27 trans. Edbury 95.

opponent for Guy in the leadership of the kingdom. He had already shown himself to be a capable military leader at the siege of Tyre, and had opposed the claims of Guy and Sibylla over the city.³⁸⁸ However, a serious challenge was not possible without the claim to the throne that an heiress could bring. According to *Eracles*, Conrad of Monferrat pursued a match with Isabella immediately on the death of Sibylla, approaching her mother Maria Comnena for help. She was described as convincing her daughter to separate from Humphrey, or else ‘she could have neither honour nor her father’s kingdom’ – she would not gain her rightful inheritance.³⁸⁹ Isabella’s marriage to Humphrey was challenged on the official grounds that Isabella had been underage, exposing the problems in arranging pre-emptive marriages for prospective heiresses.³⁹⁰ William of Tyre records that the marriage took place in 1180 when Isabella was ‘barely eight years old’, but it had been reaffirmed when Isabella came of age in 1183 as many were aware: Saladin famously besieged them during the wedding ceremony.³⁹¹ Ensuring that an heiress married early was paramount to providing political security, but the precarious situation in the Latin East made it hard to predict which alliances would be the most beneficial, especially when military disasters radically altered the power balance. Humphrey, like Guy, was deemed an unsuitable king-consort. In contrast, Conrad, the ‘hero of Tyre’, was seen to have the dynamic qualities and military leadership required to hold the crown.³⁹²

Isabella’s marriage did not automatically confer kingship on her new husband, however. There was still the position of Guy of Lusignan to consider, notwithstanding the fact that the kingdom itself, her inheritance, was crippled by warfare. The final settlement appears to have been made collectively in July 1191, through the mediation of the barons and western crusaders, Richard I in particular. The marquis was recognised as consort to the heir, and as a reward for his role at Tyre he received hereditary right to that county, including the city of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. Conrad would receive the crown if Guy died, but only, the *Itinerarium* declared bitterly, ‘because he had married the heir to the

³⁸⁸ This had occurred in the summer of 1189.

³⁸⁹ *Eracles*, 105; app. 2.28 trans. Edbury, 95-6.

³⁹⁰ *Eracles*, 106.

³⁹¹ WT, 1012; app. 2.29. See *Wives*, 140.

³⁹² See *Wives*, 162 for further details on the divorce.

kingdom; although he had done so wickedly and forcibly in hope of becoming king.³⁹³ If all three; Guy, Isabella, and Conrad died, the decision over the succession would fall to King Richard, underlining once more the import of western influence in this matter. By 1192, however it was becoming increasingly clear that Guy's kingship was untenable. He had lost his position as king-consort and his attempts to build support by patronising Poitevins could not redeem the loss of Jerusalem. Richard offered him Cyprus instead - for a fee, of course. Guy accordingly renounced the throne, a decision which Hamilton asserts had the repercussion that henceforth 'any ruler who held the crown matrimonial was only a king consort.'³⁹⁴

After Conrad's assassination in April 1192, Isabella was given almost immediately to her third husband, Henry II of Troyes, count of Champagne and nephew of Richard I. Some thought the marriage was celebrated too swiftly for decency, especially as she carried a child, but again the need for military leadership overrode customary sensibilities.³⁹⁵ According to the *Itinerarium* the count himself did not pursue the match, but under pressure from the French and Latin magnates, he agreed to marry her when 'the marchioness [Isabel] came to the count of her own accord and offered him the keys of the city.'³⁹⁶ The author implied that Isabella has some autonomy in the matter, but he was probably trying to defend Richard against claims that he had forced the match - *Eracles* accused the king of making false promises to his nephew in order to get him to agree to the marriage.³⁹⁷

When the new king went to assert his authority over the cities and castles now under his dominion, he took her with him.³⁹⁸ The *Itinerarium* asserted, rather romantically, that this

³⁹³ *Itinerarium*, 235-6; app. 2. 30, trans. Nicholson, 222.

³⁹⁴ Bernard Hamilton, 'King Consorts of Jerusalem and their entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250', in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturel Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Munich, 1997), 13-24.

³⁹⁵ *Eracles* asserted she was married within four days of Conrad's death, *Eracles*, 143-4; trans. Edbury, 116. It was eight days according to Ralph of Diceto, 'Ymagines Historiarum' 2.104. From a Muslim perspective, 'Imad al-Din recorded shock because Isabella was pregnant with Conrad's child when she remarried. 'Imād al-Din al Isfahāni, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. Henri Massé, (Paris, 1972), 377. In any case this went against established custom, see Widows, 238.

³⁹⁶ *Itinerarium*, 348; app. 2.31, trans. Nicholson, 312-3.

³⁹⁷ *Eracles*, 143.

³⁹⁸ *Itinerarium*, 349.

was ‘as he could not yet bear to be parted from her’, but the fact that Henry needed Isabella’s physical presence shows that his grip over the kingdom was still not secure – she was the symbol that legitimised his authority.³⁹⁹ According to Riley-Smith, Guy had still not given up his ambitions for the kingship. His brother Aimery of Lusignan remained constable of the kingdom, and Guy supported the Pisans in an unsuccessful revolt against Henry during 1193, but died in 1194 leaving Cyprus to Aimery.⁴⁰⁰ After Henry’s death in 1197, Aimery became Isabella’s fourth husband. He may have commissioned the *Livre au Roi* in 1205, a text whose purpose, amongst other things was to clarify important issues such as the exact position of the queen’s consort, inheritance and regency.⁴⁰¹ Isabella’s consecutive marriages were axiomatic examples of the duties of an heiress in such a weakened political climate. While her sister Sibylla had been able to exercise rather more autonomy in her second choice of marriage partner, the loss of Jerusalem and much of their inheritance meant that the Latin East stood in dire need of whatever aid a marriage alliance could buy.⁴⁰²

Isabella died in 1205 and was succeeded by the eldest of her five daughters, Maria of Monferrat, (daughter of Conrad), who was roughly fourteen. John of Ibelin was regent, and once more the High Court looked to the west for support and advice: in 1208 Philip II of France was asked to choose her a husband. She married John of Brienne in 1210, but died two years later. John then acted as regent for their infant daughter Isabella II until 1225 when she married Emperor Frederick II. Despite his difficulties with the Ibelin family, and the fact that he was designated a regent rather than a king after Maria’s death, he campaigned in Europe and the Latin Empire of Constantinople for aid to the kingdom in Syria, and played an important role on the Fifth Crusade. The marriage of Emperor Frederick II to Isabella II in 1225, heralded a period of absentee Germanic rulers of the kingdom until 1268. The policy of marrying heiresses to important rulers from the west

³⁹⁹ *Itinerarium*, 349; app. 2.32, trans. Nicholson 314.

⁴⁰⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), 153-4

⁴⁰¹ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility* 155. Greilsammer questions whether it was indeed written for the monarchy; see *Le Livre au Roi*, ed. and trans. Myriam Greilsammer, (Paris, 1995), 87-106. For the date, see 83-86.

⁴⁰² After the Third Crusade, the kingdom consisted of Acre and Tyre, and the lordships of Caesarea, Jaffa, Cayphas and Arsuf.

(who had other commitments and priorities), and ensuing rivalry amongst Christian settlers had contributed to the eventual undoing of the kingdom.⁴⁰³ Isabella II did not even see her husband's dubious coronation: she had been crowned a bare three months before her marriage and died in 1228, having given birth to a male heir, Conrad. Ultimately, Maria and Isabella II did not live long enough to mature into the political life of the Latin East. They survived only scant years after their nominal transitions to adulthood through marriage, and although they performed their dynastic duty by continuing the royal line, they scarcely drew the attention of historical narratives. These were more concerned with the men who acted on their behalf.

The only other female heiress who challenged the succession in the late thirteenth century was Maria of Antioch.⁴⁰⁴ By this point in time, a precedent had been established whereby consanguinity, and not primogeniture, qualified inheritance of the throne, and although she had a legitimate claim, she was turned down by the High Court in favour of Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan in 1269. His comparatively shaky case included an argument that neither she nor her mother had been designated heir, although this was irrelevant in the eyes of the law. His success was interpreted by his own grandson as evidence that the crown of Jerusalem would be passed to any male heir in favour of a female one, but may also have been to do with the fact that she was over forty and unmarried.⁴⁰⁵ Maria later added to political intrigue in the kingdom by selling the crown to Charles of Anjou in 1277. Ultimately, very little information about the character of these latter heiresses actually featured in historical narratives of the Latin East for this period beyond their dynastic function, as their only real impact was the power vacuum left in their wake. Chroniclers of the later period were more concerned with the growing aggression of the Mamluks, the failures of crusaders, and the internal political struggles of barons and imperial legates, Italian trading communities and the military orders.

⁴⁰³ See Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*, (Cambridge, 1992), 37-46.

⁴⁰⁴ There were cases of female regency during the thirteenth century, see Mothers, 216.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Documents Relatifs à la successibilité au trône et à la régence', in RHC Lois 2. 421. See also Riley Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, 221.

ii) Daughters of the Levantine nobility: inheritance, lineage and betrothal

It was not only the crown of Jerusalem, however, that relied on the inheritance of daughters to secure political alliances. The minority of Antiochene heiress Princess Constance was characterised by continual clashes between her mother Alice and the kings of Jerusalem over the regency. While much attention was devoted to the activities of her mother, Constance was viewed as little more than a dynastic pawn in her youth, as her prospective marriage was crucial to the future of the principality. According to John Kinnamos, there had been diplomatic overtures from Antioch for a marriage alliance between Constance and Manuel, the son of Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus.⁴⁰⁶ Bearing in mind the support that Alice had been able to muster against Baldwin II and later Fulk, it is plausible that she or her allies may have actively sought an alternate protector than the king of Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁷ Lilie asserts that an alliance with Byzantium would have brought considerably more wealth to the principality and better protection from Muslim and Armenian encroachment than could be offered by a Western lord. He also suggests that this marriage proposal could have been part of a conscious attempt by the Byzantines to encourage the image of Manuel as a 'friend of the Latins'.⁴⁰⁸ Instead, under the influence of King Fulk and Alice's opponents, Constance was married as quickly as possible to crusader Raymond of Poitiers at the 'unmarriageable' age of eight in the spring of 1136. Her inheritance passed to her husband, effectively quashing her mother's authority. This provoked hostility from Emperor John, who considered it to have interfered with his claims over Antioch.⁴⁰⁹ Lilie, however, argues that this marriage and the conflict which had occurred with Leo of Armenia were mostly incidental, the real cause was John's long-term ambition to establish lordship over Syria and Palestine.⁴¹⁰ The emperor besieged the city in 1137 and received Raymond as a vassal in the subsequent treaty, although the terms were quite favourable to the Antiochene prince.⁴¹¹ However, when John Comnenus arrived in the Latin East in 1142, planning to campaign in the

⁴⁰⁶ John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand, (New York, 1976), 22. See Phillips, *Defenders*, 61.

⁴⁰⁷ See above 72, Mothers 207, 209, 210 and Widows, 258.

⁴⁰⁸ Ralph Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, (Oxford, 1993), 104, 139.

⁴⁰⁹ WT, 662.

⁴¹⁰ Lilie, *Byzantium*, 109-12.

⁴¹¹ Lilie, *Byzantium*, 120-22.

region of Antioch, he demanded that the city with its citadel and fortifications be surrendered to him as agreed under the terms of the 1137 treaty. This caused severe consternation amongst the Antiochene nobility who were determined to limit Byzantine authority in the area. They claimed that Raymond had not had the legal authority to make such arrangements on behalf of his wife, because it was her patrimony, and even then, she was not allowed to transfer government or land to other persons without the permission of the citizens and magnates.⁴¹² Thus Raymond could hide behind Constance's rights as an heiress, and even give nominal acceptance to limitations placed upon him as a consort when it was politically expedient.

Despite the social mobility afforded by frontier society, marriage partners were still expected to have an appropriate pedigree and some lords were criticised for marrying heiresses in their wardship to those of lower status for financial gain. Such a story was used to explain the antipathy between Raymond III of Tripoli and Gerard of Ridefort: it sprang from an earlier marriage agreement that had turned sour. Raymond had apparently promised Gerard the daughter of William Dorel, heiress to Botron, but a rich Pisan named Plivain apparently offered a substantial cash sum for her, which Raymond accepted.⁴¹³ It was not unheard of for rich merchants to 'purchase' noble status by a marriage agreement, but it was usually frowned upon. *Eracles* wrote: 'it was said that he put the maiden on a balance with gold on the other side, and that the gold she weighed, and more, was given to the count; in exchange for this great sum the count granted her to Plivain.'⁴¹⁴ Gerard, we are told, was very angry because 'the count had given her to a peasant,' and went on to join the Templars. Marriage to an heiress was a crucial move in the career of a knight who had ambitions in the Latin East. Perhaps it was the fact that another suitable match could not be found which spurred Gerard to join the Templars, although *Eracles* implies that it may also have been a vocational decision following an illness.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² WT, 701-2.

⁴¹³ *Eracles*, 45; Ernoul 114.

⁴¹⁴ *Eracles*, 46; app. 2.33 trans. Edbury, 38-9.

⁴¹⁵ Hamilton argues that this story may well have factual origins, despite what Morgan calls its 'caractère folklorique'. Hamilton, *Leper King* 146-147; *Eracles*, 46, n. 1.

The established noble families of the Latin East also benefited from marriage to heiresses. The Ibelins have been described by Mayer as ‘a family which, at all times, placed great importance on concluding marriages which would accelerate their family’s rise to the top.’⁴¹⁶ In particular, the marriage of Balian the elder to Helvis, lady of Ramla was a significant factor in raising his family’s profile. Mayer suggests that Helvis held a position as an heiress similar to that of Melisende, with Balian as her consort and although her brother Renier challenged successfully for the patrimony when he came of age in 1143-4, King Fulk was obliged to soften the blow by giving the newly built fortress of Ibelin to Balian. Renier then died in 1146-8, and the lordship of Ramla fell to Balian again, and later their son Hugh.⁴¹⁷ William of Tyre, however, did not consider Helvis significant beyond her later remarriage to Manassess of Hierges.⁴¹⁸ The Ernoul continuator went as far as to suggest that Baldwin of Ramla entertained hopes of marrying the heiress to the throne of Jerusalem (Sybilla), and was deeply upset by her marriage to William of Monferrat.

Marriages were also used to heal rifts within the baronage. The *Eracles* chronicler told how Reynald of Sidon made a fortuitous marriage to another Helvis, the daughter of his old enemies Balian of Ibelin and Maria Comnena.⁴¹⁹ *Eracles* dated this marriage to after Balian’s release from captivity and the capture of Beaufort, but it probably took place before 1189, as LaMonte points out.⁴²⁰ Reynald had been a key figure in the politics of the Latin East leading up to the battle of Hattin. Powerful in his own right as Lord of Sidon, and the final husband of Agnes of Courtenay, he had held some influence over her son Baldwin IV. Although he and his wife were apparently opposed to the Ibelin faction and Raymond III of Tripoli after the marriage of Sibylla and Guy of Lusignan in 1180, Agnes of Courtenay died between September 1184 and 21 October 1186, possibly before February 1185.⁴²¹ Only a marriage soon after that date would give sufficient time for Reynald to have produced the children for whom he supposedly sought safe conduct in his

⁴¹⁶ Hans Eberhard Mayer, ‘Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas’, in *Outremer*, 108-9.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.* 115-8.

⁴¹⁸ See *Widows*, 254.

⁴¹⁹ *Eracles*, 81-2.

⁴²⁰ John L. LaMonte, ‘The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Byzantion* 17 (1944-45), 199-200.

⁴²¹ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 158, 214 n. 17

negotiations with Saladin in 1189.⁴²² It was uncertain whether Reynald had been involved in the conflict over Sibylla's succession, and Hamilton cites this marriage to Helvis as an indication that some kind of agreement had been reached between the two camps before July 1187, and possibly even before Baldwin V's death.⁴²³

A consequence of warfare in the Latin East was that large numbers of nobles could be dispossessed of their inheritances *en masse*. When the remains of the county of Edessa were sold to the Byzantines, William of Tyre portrayed nobles of high birth, weeping and distressed at being forced to leave the homes of their ancestors.⁴²⁴ In the case of daughters, attempts were made to find suitable husbands for them, but some may have been compelled to marry beneath their status. *Eracles* related that when Guy of Lusignan, himself dispossessed of a kingdom, parcelled out his new lands in Cyprus to other refugees from the Holy Land, he tried to match them to suitable partners. As well as the knights, sergeants, and burgesses who came, there were also *dames juenes, orphenins* and *orfenines* whose husbands and fathers were lost in Syria. He gave generously to these men, even though some of them were Greeks and even Arabic scribes and '...had them marry the women on their arrival as befitted their station, and provided for them out of his wealth so that those that married them would be well satisfied.'⁴²⁵ Heiresses, even dispossessed, were often wards of the crown and could therefore expect some protection from kings. On the Third Crusade, King Richard gave generous gifts to noble Palestinian virgins and widows at Messina in 1191.⁴²⁶ The future of most aristocratic women rested on their access to landed wealth, and if left without the protection of male relatives or inheritance through the fortunes of war, they often had to rely on charity.

Betrothals and International Diplomacy

Marriage negotiations did not revolve exclusively around the inheritance of property.

⁴²² See Bahā' ad-Din, 91, Imad ad-Din, 160 and Ibn Al-Athīr, *Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh*, RHC Hist. Or. Paris, 1872) 1.738-9, who specifically mentioned a wife and children.

⁴²³ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 218 and n. 31

⁴²⁴ WT, 783.

⁴²⁵ *Eracles*, 139; app. 2.34, trans. Edbury, 114.

⁴²⁶ *Itinerarium*, 172.

Betrothals of aristocratic daughters who were not heiresses also featured in the narratives of crusading and the Latin East, especially when their outcome had some political ramification for crusaders or settlers. A daughter's lineage and dowry could be just as critical to forging dynastic links between families. A more cordial relationship between the Byzantine Empire and the Levantine nobility after the Second Crusade meant that several marriage alliances took place and featured prominently in texts related to crusading and the Latin East. Betrothals formed a key part of international diplomacy and had political ramifications even when they went awry, as demonstrated by the proposed match between heiress Constance of Antioch and Manuel Comnenus.⁴²⁷ Negotiations were often lengthy because of political intrigue and the distance over which envoys had to travel. The negotiations of Amalric's envoys for the hand of Maria Comnena took two years.⁴²⁸ Bertha/Irene of Salzburg had to wait almost four years in Constantinople before her wedding to Manuel Comnenus while diplomats wrangled over the marriage negotiations, ostensibly because she was only the sister-in-law of Emperor Conrad III rather than a blood-relative.⁴²⁹

After Bertha's death in 1159, Manuel sought a new alliance with the nobles of the Latin East. William of Tyre recounted that there was an imperial letter from Manuel inviting Baldwin III's decision on one of two candidates: Melisende of Tripoli or Maria of Antioch.⁴³⁰ Baldwin chose Melisende, perhaps because he was concerned about increasing the emperor's hold over Antioch. The king's marriage to Theodora Comnena in 1158 had secured the support of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, enabling Manuel to force the abject submission of Prince Reynald in 1159, after which he entered the city of Antioch in triumph.⁴³¹ The emperor had accepted overlordship of the city in moderate terms, in comparison to his predecessors, but the obvious dynastic benefits of a match

⁴²⁷ See above, 90.

⁴²⁸ WT, 913. Lillie suggests that the negotiations dragged on until the Byzantines were faced with a new threat to their ambitions in Italy from the Holy Roman Empire. Lillie, *Byzantium*, 197.

⁴²⁹ See Michael Angold *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204*, Second Edition (London, 1997), 193.

⁴³⁰ Although this agreement does not appear in the Byzantine sources, Magdalino asserts that 'it was fully in the spirit of the settlement of 1159 that Manuel should use Baldwin as his broker in his dealings with the other crusader princes.' Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, (Cambridge, 1993), 72 and n. 166.

⁴³¹ WT, 845

with Maria may have added insult to injury for the Antiochene nobility. Manuel initially seemed to accept Baldwin's judgement, sending envoys to Tripoli to negotiate and marriage preparations were initiated.⁴³² William of Tyre described a great number of expensive ornaments from gold jewellery to silver kitchen utensils and harnesses for horses that were prepared by her mother and aunt Hodierna and Melisende.⁴³³ Raymond even built twelve galleys and equipped them to convey the nobles who had gathered in Tripoli to the wedding. William's detailed description of these preparations provides a stark contrast to the conduct of the Greek officials towards the lady and her family. He asserted that:

Meanwhile, during all this time the Greeks investigated each thing to a hair's breadth, and pried further into the morals of the girl by examining the state of the hidden secret parts of her body...⁴³⁴

Evidently for such a potentially important bride it was crucial to establish her virginity, and her ability to bear children evidenced by menstruation, but William seems to imply that her treatment went beyond normal scrutiny. After a year, however, it was clear that they were playing for time, and the envoys were summoned to court told either to reject the marriage and refund the money already spent or to stop delaying.⁴³⁵ The matter was only settled when Baldwin sent an envoy of his own to Manuel, who returned with unfavourable news; Manuel had lost interest. This was a matter of some embarrassment for the king because of his role in the negotiations;

On understanding this the king stopped the negotiation, accounting it a great dishonour that the marriage, which he believed to have been contracted by his mediation and brought to a conclusion by his offices, should come to nothing doubtless seemed to redound to his injury.⁴³⁶

⁴³² John Kinnamos asserts that envoys were sent to Tripoli in 1160. Kinnamos, 158.

⁴³³ WT, 856.

⁴³⁴ WT, 856; app. 2.35.

⁴³⁵ WT, 856.

⁴³⁶ WT, 857; app. 2.36.

Baldwin withdrew from the discussions at once, and the envoys, fearing Raymond's wrath, left by boat as quickly as possible. They claimed to be returning to Constantinople, but according to William the king later found them at Antioch, deep in negotiations with princess Constance about her daughter Maria; 'they were having daily and friendly consultation', they also held letters sealed in gold from the emperor guaranteeing that any marriage agreement would be ratified.⁴³⁷ William presented it as a testament to Baldwin's character that, despite this great insult offered him by the emperor, he intervened on behalf of his kinswoman, because 'she was a ward and robbed of the care of a father.'⁴³⁸ It seems more than likely, however, that his job was already done. Constance was an experienced regent capable of conducting negotiations, and Manuel's desire to secure the match was obvious. Baldwin's involvement, if indeed it did occur, was probably little more than an exercise in saving face, and reflected his own desperate need to maintain the Byzantine alliance.

The reasons behind Manuel's change of heart are not entirely clear. Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates simply glossed over the incident: as far as he was concerned, Maria was one candidate of many offered to the emperor, and was accepted for conventional reasons of beauty and lineage.⁴³⁹ Kinnamos on the other hand, admitted that Melisende had been the first choice, but recounted a story about mysterious illnesses which ruined her beauty and made her unable to travel. This, combined with a probably unfounded rumour about her possible illegitimacy made her an unworthy candidate for the position of empress, and forced the envoys to break off the engagement.⁴⁴⁰ Kinnamos also specified that two sets of envoys were sent, suggesting that Manuel's decision to accept Melisende had not been definitive. John Kontostephanos headed the embassy to Tripoli, and Basil Kamateros to Antioch, and the *Hodoiporikon* of Constantine Manasses suggests that the two embassies were united in Antioch to conclude the negotiations for Maria.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁷ WT, 857; app. 2.37.

⁴³⁸ WT, 857; app. 2.38.

⁴³⁹ Choniates, 65-6.

⁴⁴⁰ Kinnamos, 158-9.

⁴⁴¹ Kinnamos, 158-9. See Lilie, *Byzantium*, 186 n. 183.

The majority of modern historians accept the view that Manuel was driven to break an existing agreement with Melisende by a specific event - the capture of Reynald of Châtillon by Muslims, which left the principality of Antioch extremely vulnerable.⁴⁴² It seems very plausible that it was the effect of this news in combination with a possible appeal from Constance of Antioch including an offer of marriage to Maria, that led to Manuel's change of heart. Unfortunately the chronology of events does not bear witness to this for two reasons. In the first place it seems that Runciman's idea that Constance appealed to the Byzantine emperor for help immediately after Reynald's capture with an offer of marriage to Maria is unfounded. Lilie argues convincingly that this was a separate event which took place after the marriage.⁴⁴³ Secondly, John Kontostephanos appears to have set off to Jerusalem in the spring of 1160 to approach Baldwin III before going on to Tripoli.⁴⁴⁴ William of Tyre asserted that the negotiations for Melisende went on for a year before she was finally rebuffed, and she was still described as '*futura imperatrix Constantinopolitana*' in a charter of 31 July 1161.⁴⁴⁵ William was also very clear about the date of Reynald of Châtillon's capture - November 23 1161, as Hamilton has shown.⁴⁴⁶ The marriage between Maria of Antioch and the emperor Manuel reportedly took place in December 1161.⁴⁴⁷ Bearing in mind the lengthy preparations usual for an imperial bride, as well as the time it would take Maria to travel to Constantinople,⁴⁴⁸ it seems impossible that the marriage negotiations could be brought to a conclusion so quickly, had they not already been long underway. It is possible that William was in error and Reynald's capture took place in November 1160 as many historians accept.⁴⁴⁹ If so, it does not prove that this event provoked Manuel to change his mind, as the Byzantine envoys took several more months to extricate themselves from negotiations for Melisende.

⁴⁴² For Reynald's homage, see WT, 845 and capture, WT, 851-6.

⁴⁴³ Runciman, 2.358; Lilie, *Byzantium*, 187 n. 189.

⁴⁴⁴ Lilie, *Byzantium*, 184 n. 176.

⁴⁴⁵ RRH no. 366, see Lilie, *Byzantium*, 185 n. 177.

⁴⁴⁶ Bernard Hamilton, 'The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Chatillon', in D. Baker ed. *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, (Oxford, 1978), 98-9 n. 13.

⁴⁴⁷ Kinnamos, 160.

⁴⁴⁸ Even if she travelled by sea it may have taken several weeks. The south to north route was more complex to navigate, notwithstanding winter conditions, and necessitated many coastal stops on the way. See Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571*, 89-90, 95-98.

⁴⁴⁹ For example, Magdalino *Empire*, 72; Phillips, *Defenders*, 142; Lilie, 184 n. 174 asserts that the dates are not clear.

Raymond was certainly furious with the emperor when he rejected his sister without reason, ‘as if the daughter of some common person.’⁴⁵⁰ He handed over the wedding ships to pirates with orders to devastate Byzantine territory and pillage without mercy. Either Manuel had alternate reasons of his own for rejecting the match based on information from the envoys, or was keeping his options open from the start, allowing Raymond to misinterpret the situation. Perhaps Baldwin III had encouraged Raymond in his certainty that the marriage would go ahead, as the king took a very personal role in negotiations and was present in Tripoli when news of the rejection arrived. Baldwin had evidently counted rather too heavily on his own influence with his new ally based on their recent cordial relations. He was certainly quick to distance himself from Raymond when Manuel revealed his intentions, and rather than defending his humiliated vassal, he invited himself in on the negotiations for Maria as soon as he found out about them.

Melisende’s tale highlights the fact that marriage negotiations were at the very heart of alliances and enmities between the Latin East and Byzantium during this period. Following Baldwin III’s marriage to Theodora, his brother King Amalric married Manuel’s great-niece, Maria Comnena, in 1167. Dynastic benefits of links to the imperial family meant large cash dowries and the possibility of greater military assistance that had dwindled from the West in the wake of the Second Crusade.⁴⁵¹ William of Tyre asserts that Baldwin’s marriage to Theodora was to provide heirs but especially to relieve some of his poverty, as she brought 100,000 *nomismata* as a cash dowry.⁴⁵² After Manuel’s defeat at Myriocephalum in 1176, however, the fortunes of the Byzantine Empire were beginning to wane, and he decided to secure an alliance with the West through the betrothal of Agnes/Anna, daughter of Louis VII, to his young son by Maria of Antioch, Alexius II.⁴⁵³ Although the marriage was not associated with a particular crusade, it drew the attention of several authors on the subject.⁴⁵⁴ William of Tyre was actually present in

⁴⁵⁰ WT, 858; app. 2.38.

⁴⁵¹ For the diplomatic and financial aspects to these marriages, see Phillips, *Defenders* 132-4 and 154-9.

⁴⁵² WT, 833-4.

⁴⁵³ Lilie asserts that Manuel specifically attempted a *rapprochement* with both France and England in the second half of the 1170’s. Lilie, *Byzantium*, 213.

⁴⁵⁴ Agnes’ fate featured in the Old French continuations of William of Tyre, which then influenced other authors such as William of Newburgh and Robert of Clari. Robert’s account of the betrothal was very similar to that of Ernoul. See RC, 19 and Ernoul, 47.

Constantinople in 1180, and told how Manuel conferred the imperial insignia upon the two betrothed, although Alexius was scarcely thirteen and Agnes barely eight.⁴⁵⁵ Manuel died shortly afterwards and Maria of Antioch's regency for Alexius II was very unpopular, predominantly because of dissatisfaction with the *Protosebastos* Alexius Comnenus, Manuel's nephew. Manuel's cousin Andronicus Comnenus then came to political power amid a wave of violent purges against the Italians in Constantinople in 1182, and although this was not indicative of sentiments towards Latin Christendom as a whole, western chroniclers certainly interpreted it as such.⁴⁵⁶ William of Tyre expressed shock that these events could occur when Greeks and Latins had long lived side by side as friends and even intermarried.⁴⁵⁷ By 1183 Andronicus had murdered Maria of Antioch and Alexius II, claiming Agnes of France for himself. This act and the purges outraged chroniclers in the west, and in order to blacken his reputation further they also wrote about his relationships with other women.⁴⁵⁸ He had already had two scandalous affairs with members of his own family,⁴⁵⁹ and his treatment of Agnes was yet another example of the perfidy and inconstancy of the Greeks. Andronicus' reign was short-lived, but his impact on western consciousness was such that even Fourth Crusade chroniclers like Robert of Clari mentioned the story of Agnes. His treatment of her was a great insult to the French and exposed corruption at the heart of the Byzantine Empire, and helped to justify their later conquest of Constantinople. William of Newburgh described Agnes' plight with some sympathy;

In this way the daughter of the king of the French was cheated of her desired and promised marriage in the realm of the Greeks, and tainted by concubinage to a most evil man, she was even deprived of her honour.⁴⁶⁰

The chronicle of Alberic of Trois Fontaines used Agnes to slander the French royal family; he suggested that she had not married Alexius II at all, but had squandered her

⁴⁵⁵ WT, 1010

⁴⁵⁶ Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), 111-9.

⁴⁵⁷ WT, 1024.

⁴⁵⁸ For example, see WN, 1.224.

⁴⁵⁹ Eudokia and Theodora, see Widows, 253.

⁴⁶⁰ WN, 1.225; app. 2.40.

first bride's gift, and was living in sin with the Byzantine noble, Livernas Branas until their marriage was legitimised in 1205.⁴⁶¹ However, Robert of Clari as an eyewitness to the Fourth Crusade told how the French barons at Constantinople enquired after Agnes and were informed that she had married Livernas.⁴⁶² Robert expressed surprise that Agnes met them with very bad grace and asserted that she felt no kinship with her native land; she spoke to them through an interpreter and claimed to know no French at all.⁴⁶³ It seems, however, to be a fairly obvious result of the policy of sending young noblewomen to be brought up in the court of their betrothed. On one hand it enabled them to acclimatise, but on the other it could weaken ties of loyalty to their native families and undermine their role as potential diplomats: they were also extremely vulnerable to political change until they were of an age to consummate the marriage.

Agnes' plight demonstrates that daughters of the nobility were valuable commodities that required careful protection both before and after marriage if they wished to maintain their status. A virtuous reputation was all the more important if she were to be a queen. The *Itinerarium* described rather scathingly how Isabella of Jerusalem was sequestered after her abduction from Humphrey to 'so that the actual doing of the injury should avoid ill-repute'.⁴⁶⁴ Essentially this was a damage limitation exercise, Isabella was bound to be the subject of scandal, and therefore it was important to portray her as innocent of wilful wrongdoing - and to keep her husband from trying to win her back, of course. Marguerite of Reynel, the niece of John of Brienne was escorted to Egypt by none other than Cardinal Pelagius in order to marry Balian of Ibelin of Sidon at Damietta in 1218.⁴⁶⁵ Berengaria of Navarre was accompanied to her marriage to Richard I by his most prestigious female relatives, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Joanna of Sicily. *Eracles* asserted that this was so that Richard's betrothed would go with greater honour, but also so that the marriage would take place all the sooner and Eleanor's ambitions would be fulfilled.⁴⁶⁶ Both Eleanor and Joanna were probably expected to groom the girl in the skills she might need, familiarising her

⁴⁶¹ ATF, 870.

⁴⁶² RC, 54. See also *Ernouf*, 390.

⁴⁶³ RC, 54.

⁴⁶⁴ *Itinerarium*, 120; app. 2.41.

⁴⁶⁵ 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur' in RHC *Occ.* 2 (1859), 332.

⁴⁶⁶ *Eracles*, 111-2. See *Mothers*, 206.

with Richard's court. Similarly, envoys and bridal attendants related to the highest nobles of the Empire accompanied Manuel's niece Theodora on her journey to Syria for her marriage to Baldwin III, and 'illustrious and magnificent nobles' of the imperial family attended Maria Comnena as an escort.⁴⁶⁷

The betrothal of Richard to Berengaria was seemingly a surprise, at least to his fellow crusader Philip II of France, as Richard had a prior agreement to marry his sister, Alice.⁴⁶⁸ Richard's refusal of the match caused great discord between the two kings on crusade, and was a major factor in the Philip's decision to return home.⁴⁶⁹ Although Eracles blamed Eleanor of Aquitaine for the match, The *Itinerarium* was careful to call Berengaria 'the king's future wife'⁴⁷⁰ and said that '...he had desired her very much for a long time', 'since he was first count of Poitou.'⁴⁷¹ No mention was made of Alice. Richard of Devizes asserted that it was because Richard had suspicions about Alice's virtue that he considered Berengaria as a spouse, but noted that this was a match 'for which he ardently longed.'⁴⁷² There is a record of the gift of a *tenencia* to Berengaria by her father in 1185, which suggests her betrothal negotiations began well before the crusade but there is no specific mention of Richard.⁴⁷³ The betrothal to Alice had taken place in 1169, and had been re-established by the French kings at every possible opportunity, but Richard capitalised on the crusade expedition to postpone the marriage once again. His eventual refusal to marry her on the highly insulting grounds that his own father Henry II had compromised her soured Philip's attitude towards him further: the slur made it difficult to arrange a new match for Alice. When Philip became aware of Richard's ploy he reputedly encouraged Tancred of Lecce to hamper Berengaria's progress from Naples to Messina, but without success.⁴⁷⁴ Richard's attraction to the new match revolved around the large cash dowry he could use on crusade, and securing an ally close to his lands in the south of France to

⁴⁶⁷ WT, 843, and WT, 913.

⁴⁶⁸ See John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, (London, 1994), 119-131 for a detailed account.

⁴⁶⁹ *Eracles*, 121.

⁴⁷⁰ *Itinerarium*, 175; app. 2.42. Nicholson, 173, translates *futuram* as 'intended'.

⁴⁷¹ *Itinerarium*, 175; app. 2.43.i, trans. Nicholson, 173. Ambroise also emphasised this point. Ambroise, 1.19 lns. 1148-9. For Eleanor's role see *Eracles*, 111 and Mothers, 206.

⁴⁷² Richard of Devizes, 26.

⁴⁷³ Ann Trindade, *Berengaria; in Search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen* (Dublin, 1999), 54.

⁴⁷⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3.95-9 and *Gesta* 2.157-60

protect his interests there against Raymond V of Toulouse. It also meant that he could maintain a claim on the Vexin if Alice remained unmarried in future, hence the sexual slur. Gillingham asserts marrying Berengaria while on crusade meant that Philip could not immediately mount an attack upon him, and was ultimately 'an ingenious diplomatic device deliberately adopted by Richard in order to cut his way through a thicket of political problems.'⁴⁷⁵

Virginity, Captivity and the Cloister

Despite the exhortations of ecclesiastical propagandists in favour of young women with a vocation for the cloister, aristocratic daughters were often too important as commodities to enter the convent, especially in the Latin East. One highly placed noble daughter who entered a nunnery in her youth was Yveta, daughter of Baldwin II. The fact that she was the youngest of four sisters meant that she was least likely to inherit, and as such was more 'disposable'. A comparison can be drawn with Henry, the fourth son of Adela of Blois, who, 'lest she was seen to have brought forth children for secular purposes only,' gave him to the monastery at Cluny.⁴⁷⁶ Yveta's three sisters had made the highest marriages possible; it may not have been possible to find her a partner of similar standing. Crucially, however, she had been a hostage as a child. It was in 1125 that the king paid a cash ransom for his five year old daughter.⁴⁷⁷ According the *Estoires D'Outremer* and Ernoul she could never marry because she had been a captive.⁴⁷⁸ Despite her youth, Friedman argues that captivity may have ruined her marriage prospects by casting a slur over her sexual integrity.⁴⁷⁹ Yveta was fortunate in her relatives, however. Melisende, who was renowned for her own piety, patronised the convent at Bethany and built the abbey into one suitable to her sister's rank, installing her as the abbess. In practical terms she also made sure that the property was defensible, demonstrating the precarious nature of settler

⁴⁷⁵ Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, 130-1, 124, 126, 120. See *Wives*, 139 for the marriage itself.

⁴⁷⁶ WN, 1.31; app. 2.44.

⁴⁷⁷ FC, 770.

⁴⁷⁸ *Estoires d'Outremer et de la Naissance Salehadin*, ed. Margaret A. Jubb, (London, 1990), 45 ; *Ernoul*, 5.

⁴⁷⁹ Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies*, 183.

life in the Latin East.⁴⁸⁰ William of Tyre explained that Melisende had spiritual motives in founding the convent, that she was concerned for her own soul and those of her relatives. There were also important issues of status to consider ‘...for it seemed undignified to her that a king’s daughter should be under the authority of any mother superior in the cloister, as if a person from the common populace.’⁴⁸¹ This clearly emphasised that social hierarchy was still a key issue even within the religious community. Melisende wanted Bethany to be richer than any other monastery or church - it was intended to be a statement of royal wealth and power as well as piety.⁴⁸² In supporting her sister’s vocation she enhanced both the prestige of the monarchy, negated the earlier slur on Yveta’s sexual status, and gained a firm ally in the church, which was useful in her later political conflicts.

Women from all social backgrounds involved in crusade expeditions or settlement frequently risked capture, slavery and death in hostile territory. If women were of a suitable age for manual labour, of pleasing enough appearance, or rich enough to be worth a ransom, it was irrelevant whether they were a daughter, wife, mother, or widow. Distinctions between the types of women taken captive were largely imposed by crusade chroniclers themselves, usually to indicate the barbarity of an enemy. Women were undoubtedly subjected to violence in what was essentially a time of brutal warfare, some of which would have been sexual, but it is likely that the authors of crusade narratives emphasised the youth and beauty of women in their descriptions of sexual violence to incite pity in their audience and with a view to inflaming religious hatred. In the society of Western Europe the rape of virgins was usually punished with far greater severity than that of other women, and the authors of crusade narratives specifically emphasised the virginity of a captive as a reminder to the audience of her imminent sexual degradation.

Albert of Aachen recounted the capture of a nun from Trier who had joined Peter the Hermit’s army. After the crusaders took Nicaea she was ransomed, but she had been raped repeatedly and, in considerable distress, sought purification at the hands of bishop Adhémar of le Puy. Afterwards, her Turkish captor ‘inflamed with passion for the nun’s

⁴⁸⁰ WT, 709

⁴⁸¹ WT, 709; app. 2.45.

⁴⁸² WT, 709.

outstanding beauty,' persuaded her through messengers and with promises to abscond with him.⁴⁸³ He was even promising to become a Christian, and 'deceived by his blandishments and vain hope' she rushed back to the illicit union.⁴⁸⁴ It is possible that the story had some basis in fact, although Albert admitted it was heard at second hand.⁴⁸⁵ He gave details about her convent, St Mary at the Granaries, and asserted that Duke Henry of Esch recognised her personally. Through his account of these events, Albert demonstrated understanding that she had been forced to do wrong before, but stated that no one could fathom her reasons for returning to this man 'unless it was because her own lust was too much to bear.'⁴⁸⁶ He blamed the natural weakness of women for her decision. Irrespective of Albert's claims to authenticity, this was clearly intended as a didactic and cautionary tale, one of several in Albert's history, focusing on the ruin of a monastic who took the cross in defiance of the pope's orders.⁴⁸⁷

Sexual violence against Christian women was often used to motivate crusaders and illustrate the suffering of the Eastern Christians. At Artah, during the First Crusade, Armenian Christians reputedly overthrew their Turkish overlords because their wives and daughters had been raped.⁴⁸⁸ Guibert of Nogent, while freely admitting that he changed the wording of his original source,⁴⁸⁹ described women suffering multiple rape to show Muslim irreverence for laws Christians held dear. He accused them of turning churches into brothels, and making virgins into public prostitutes.⁴⁹⁰ The juxtaposition of mothers and daughters in these vivid scenes of rape where parent and child were forced to dance and sing while watching each other suffer was specifically calculated to arouse horror at the cruelty of the Muslims behaviour. It also emphasised their lack of reverence for secondary incest, that is, to fornicate with both a mother and her daughter.

⁴⁸³ AA, 328; app. 2.46.

⁴⁸⁴ AA, 328; app. 2.47.i.

⁴⁸⁵ 'it is known from those who tell the story', AA, 328; app. 2.47.ii.

⁴⁸⁶ AA, 328; app. 2.47.iii.

⁴⁸⁷ See wives.

⁴⁸⁸ AA, 358-9.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Moreover, although I am reluctant to insert that letter into this little work in its entirety, it pleases me to set forth certain elements of its meaning in the guise of my own words:' (the text of letter follows). GN, 101; app. 2.48. For the original letter, see 'Epistula Alexii Komneni imperatoris ad Robertum I comitem Flandrensem (c.a. 1088)' in Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 129-136.

⁴⁹⁰ GN, 102.

Albert of Aachen told how Kiliç Arslan's forces killed the infirm, clergy, old women and infant boys of Peter the Hermit's army, 'and put them all to the sword, regardless of age', but 'they took away only young girls and nuns, whose faces and figures seemed to be pleasing to their eyes, and beardless and attractive young men.'⁴⁹¹ Similarly, Kerbogha's terms for Christian surrender at Antioch demanded 'all their unbearded youth', as slaves, including 'girls who are still virgins' - any who were married, bearded or grey-haired would be killed.⁴⁹² The purpose for which these slaves were taken is left to the imagination but the focus on physical beauty suggests it was a sexual one. There was also a strong fear of racial pollution through miscegenation. First Crusader Raymond of Aguilers warned that the caliph of Egypt killed any Franks over twenty years of age from his base in Ascalon, and intended on keeping the rest for a breeding program with men and women of his own country so that he could have 'a warlike race...from Frankish origin.'⁴⁹³

Recent work by Hay explores the use of gender bias in accounts of the massacres of the First Crusade. He acknowledges that there was undoubtedly torture and killing, but suggests that chroniclers had a vested interest in exaggerating these. He subscribes to Cole's view of an ideology of religious pollution and purification in crusade narratives,⁴⁹⁴ and considers the language of massacre to be a literary motif which not only justified crusaders' violence but distorted it as well.⁴⁹⁵ Attitudes to the enslavement and murder of Muslim women and children were not uniform. It has been suggested that although Bohemond was the undoubted hero of the early stages of the *Gesta Francorum*, the author's opinion of him became less favourable after his dispute with Raymond of

⁴⁹¹ AA, 288; app. 2.49, trans. Edgington. See also WT, 153.

⁴⁹² AA, 421; app. 2.50-1; trans. Edgington. See also WT, 327.

⁴⁹³ RA 155; app. 2.52. In fact it was not the caliph, but his general who was operating from Ascalon at the time.

⁴⁹⁴ Penny J. Cole, '“O God, the Heathen have come into Thy Inheritance” (PS. 78.1) The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095-1188', in Maya Shatzmiller ed. *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, (Leiden, 1993), 84-111.

⁴⁹⁵ See David Hay 'Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of the 'Massacres' of the First Crusade', in Michael Gervers and James M. Powell eds, *Tolerance and Intolerance; Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades* (New York, 2001), 6. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 23, 29.

Toulouse at Antioch.⁴⁹⁶ In particular, the author seemed critical of Bohemond's actions at Marra, where he slaughtered the general populace but offered the Saracen leaders and their families safe conduct, then betrayed them and sold them into slavery.⁴⁹⁷ Perhaps his shock at Bohemond's lack of attention to status prompted him to record this. As noble hostages were often worth a significant ransom and they could expect special treatment; as Hay asserts, 'the idea that crusaders would wantonly destroy the only sources of wealth keeping most of them alive should be relegated to the realm of historical fiction.'⁴⁹⁸ Presumably the profits of slavery were not so lucrative as a noble ransom. Robert of Rheims asserted that Bohemond only had the old and infirm killed; 'he ordered to be saved the adolescents and adults of more mature age, both healthy in body and strong, and [ordered them] to be led to Antioch so that he could sell them.'⁴⁹⁹ The captives had to be sufficiently youthful and physically fit, (presumably to survive hard labour, rather than for sexual purposes) and would be sold to raise money; perhaps Robert intended to alleviate concerns that the crusaders might be fraternising with Muslim slaves, the women especially. This ties in with Fulcher's assertion that after Caesarea was captured in 1101;

Indeed, there were a few of the male sex whose lives were spared. But a great many more women were granted mercy, so that they could serve as handmaidens and could always turn hand mills. When [the Franks] had captured them, they bought and sold them amongst themselves in turn, whether beautiful or unsightly, and the men also.⁵⁰⁰

Fulcher was keen to preserve the sexual reputation of crusaders, as will be discussed further in the chapter on wives.⁵⁰¹ His assertion that crusaders were unconcerned about the looks of their female slaves was in keeping with this attitude as it implied that their slaves were for practical rather than sexual purposes. Guibert of Nogent, who had read Fulcher's

⁴⁹⁶ Emily Albu has recently challenged the view that the *Gesta* idealises Bohemond. See Emily Albu, *Norman Histories; Propaganda Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), 145-179.

⁴⁹⁷ GF 407-8.

⁴⁹⁸ Hay, 'Gender Bias', 10.

⁴⁹⁹ RR, 849; app. 2.53.

⁵⁰⁰ FC, 403; app. 2.54.

⁵⁰¹ See *Wives*, 153, 154.

account, simply wrote that the crusaders spared no one, 'except the girlish youth to be kept for servitude.'⁵⁰²

Conversely, when Albert of Aachen described the attack of Kilij Arslan on Bohemond's camp at Dorylaeum, the Christian women favoured slavery or prostitution in preference to embracing their chance at martyrdom. Again, indiscriminate killing set the tone: 'women both married and unmarried were beheaded along with men and little children.'⁵⁰³ As a result, 'stunned and terrified by the cruelty of this most hideous killing, girls who were delicate and very nobly born were hastening to get themselves dressed up, they were offering themselves to the Turks so that at least, roused and appeased by love of their beautiful appearance, the Turks might learn to pity their prisoners.'⁵⁰⁴ Evidently he perceived the women as hoping that enhancing their status through rich attire might increase their chances of survival by being taken hostage. This can be contrasted with Albert's harrowing account of a massacre in Jerusalem on the third day after the initial conquest took place that does not appear in other sources, recounting that those whom the crusaders had previously spared for the sake of money or pity were beheaded or stoned, regardless of age or sex, including noble ladies, pregnant women and very young children. They embraced the Christians, begging for their lives even as their throats were slit.⁵⁰⁵ The very range of the victims described was designed to indicate the totality of the holocaust. Robert of Rheims, however, asserted that there were survivors after the capture of Jerusalem:

When they had carried out this indescribable slaughter, they yielded somewhat to nature and saved the lives of many of the young, as much men as women, and committed them to their slavery.'⁵⁰⁶

Albert may have been influenced by ideas of religious pollution and purification; his account of the speech of Daimbert after the capture of Jerusalem includes a reference to

⁵⁰² GN, 347; app. 2.55.

⁵⁰³ AA, 329; app. 2.56, trans. Edgington.

⁵⁰⁴ AA, 330; app. 2.57, trans. Edgington.

⁵⁰⁵ AA, 483-4.

⁵⁰⁶ RR, 868; app. 2.58.

cleansing the holy places.⁵⁰⁷ Albert clearly disapproved of the massacre of Jews at Mainz and used the same imagery of age and gender to demonstrate his abhorrence of the crusaders' actions.⁵⁰⁸ His vivid description and strong language suggests either a horror of violence, or a passion for gory details reflecting the contemporary trends in the *chansons de geste*. Although at first glance, women offering themselves to crusaders in the midst of slaughter might be interpreted as an attempt to denigrate Muslim morality, the similarity to his earlier description of the actions of Christian women at Dorylaeum suggests that it was the gender of these victims rather than their religious affiliation that concerned the author.

Ultimately age, as well as social status and gender, was a powerful emotive tool in the hands of crusade authors. Perhaps pity was more easily shown to the young: Robert of Rheims lamented young boys and girls whose lives had been cut short in Raymond of St. Gilles' reputedly brutal sack of Albara.⁵⁰⁹ It should be remembered, however, that the tragedy in the minds of medieval authors was not the deaths of Muslims, but their stubborn resistance to accept Christianity. This is amply demonstrated by Rothelin's account of Robert of Artois' attack on the Muslim camp near Mansurah in 1250, where girls and old people were slaughtered indiscriminately; '...it was sad indeed to see so many dead bodies and so much blood spilt, except that they were enemies of the Christian faith.'⁵¹⁰

Crusaders themselves came under criticism for committing sexual crimes against young women, especially virgins, while en route to the Holy Land. Guibert lists virgins amongst the Hungarian women raped by crusaders, 'unmindful of their gracious hospitality and generosity'.⁵¹¹ Raol, author of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* criticised the men of Cologne and the Flemings because they 'insulted maidens' and looted independently, blaming this for some of the crusaders early losses.⁵¹² At the time of the Third Crusade, English crusaders who stopped in Lisbon were accused of defiling women and daughters by force,

⁵⁰⁷ AA, 501.

⁵⁰⁸ AA, 292, 294-5.

⁵⁰⁹ RR, 840

⁵¹⁰ Rothelin, 604; app. 2.59, trans. Janet Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: the Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text* (Aldershot, 1999), 95.

⁵¹¹ GN, 122; app. 2.60.

⁵¹² DEL,177.

and flouting the king's ordinances.⁵¹³ The rape of virgins often signified impending divine retribution for sexual sins. Joscelin II of Edessa had a reputation for lust, and William of Newburgh asserted that he had abducted and raped the beautiful daughter of an unnamed citizen. In retaliation this citizen betrayed him, allowing the Zengi's forces into Edessa resulting in the sack of the city in 1144.⁵¹⁴

At the same time as there were strong ideas about good parenting and educating daughters, there was also severe criticism of their ill-treatment. One of the worst crimes any parent could commit was to sell a daughter into prostitution; in the *Liber Augustalis*, mothers who did so were to have their noses slit.⁵¹⁵ Guibert of Nogent was outraged by a Byzantine law that supposedly promoted and capitalised upon the prostitution of young girls by forcing a parent who had several daughters to put one in a brothel, which was then taxed.⁵¹⁶ He also asserted that the emperor tried to entice the Franks to aid him by promising them the most beautiful women. Guibert scornfully dismissed this as a futile lure: firstly because the Franks had impeccable self-control, and secondly because Greek women were not preferable to the beauty of France itself. Ultimately it was the prostitution law of this dreadful tyrant 'that was the very reason the strongest adversity had fallen upon him and his followers.'⁵¹⁷ Alexius was not the only Emperor to be criticised for mistreatment of daughters, Andronicus who seized power in Constantinople from Alexius II Comnenus apparently raped beautiful nuns and the daughters of his own knights or burgesses.⁵¹⁸ This, to a western audience, epitomised his perversion of the traditional responsibilities of a lord: to uphold Christian values and protect the interests of his vassals.

Finally, although the majority of the examples mentioned here have focused on the ways in which virginity and maidenhood were abused, it should be noted that on certain occasions, virgins could act as examples to crusaders. Saint Agatha and another un-named

⁵¹³ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3.45.

⁵¹⁴ WN 1.59.

⁵¹⁵ *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II von Hohenstaufen für sein Köhngreich Sizilien*, ed. and trans. Hermann Conrad, Thea von der Lieck-Bukyten und Wolfgang Wagner, (Cologne, 1973), 342-3.

⁵¹⁶ GN, 93.

⁵¹⁷ GN, 104; app. 2.61.

⁵¹⁸ *Eracles*, 27.

virgin feature in Raymond of Aguiler's account of Stephen of Valence's vision of Adhémar of le Puy and the Virgin Mary during the First Crusade.⁵¹⁹ The importance of the Virgin to crusaders will be discussed in the chapter on mothers, but the appearance of Agatha here is also significant. She was famously tortured and sent to the stake for resisting the advances of the prefect of Sicily during the reign of the Emperor Decius (249-51) in the third century, but an earthquake frightened her erstwhile captors into giving her a reprieve, and she later died in prison. A paramount example of sexual virtue, she is customarily portrayed with pincers and instruments of torture. Raymond was well aware of her significance, and perhaps he mentioned her by name when others did not because her story echoed the hardships that crusaders had suffered, as well as their need to reject sexual temptation.

⁵¹⁹ RA, 127. For Agatha's story see AA.SS *Februarii* 1 (1936), 595-623.

Conclusion

Although information about daughters is scarce and invariably linked to their relationships with men, an examination of attitudes towards them can tell us something of what they were perceived to represent and the social role that they were expected to fulfil. Their portrayal in crusade narratives was often governed by traditional misogynistic ideas about the innate sinful and weak nature of women, especially in youth. Chroniclers consistently reinforced the idea that young women were particularly vulnerable to the extreme conditions generated by the crusades and life in a frontier society. They capitalised upon perceptions about their weakness to create a potent emotive tool for inciting hatred against the Muslims, as well as to chastise errant crusaders. They warned that concern should be taken not only to protect young women from men but also from themselves - those who did take the cross were often perceived to be irresponsible and where possible crusaders should make provision for the protection of their daughters at home. In noble society, the most effective protection for daughters that could be provided was the segregation of women from men in their childhood years. This made for strong gender identities, but because literate education was dominated by men we are left with a very male-oriented view of female development which revolved around their entrance into married life. Perceptions of noble daughters in these historical narratives demonstrate that lineage and wealth were both powerful tools, and perceived as fundamental to the success of international diplomacy and the provision of security in the Latin East: tools that were usually wielded by heads of families to further their ambitions. However, youth was a criterion for withholding the exercise of power from both women and men. As a daughter, an aristocratic woman may have lacked authority, but on entering married life she had a more visible public role, as the following chapter will demonstrate.

Chapter 3 - Wives

Introduction

This chapter will address the specific canonistic and practical problems for wives generated by crusading, as well as traditional role models and characteristics associated with them. Wives who appeared in crusade narratives were usually praised in conventional terms for their nobility, character, piety and prudence. On the other hand, the sin of adultery, although ill defined, was also linked to marital relations, and the distinctions between licit and illicit sex must be addressed. Kinship ties between the Latin East and Western Europe meant that historians often emphasised the marital status and relationships of important women whether crusaders or settlers. Their histories reflected contemporary ideas about what made a marriage partnership succeed or fail and the authority that wives exerted in the household. They also addressed the threat of captivity peculiar to crusading and its repercussions for the marriage bond. Wives of lower social status will be discussed where evidence permits, but the illicit sexual activities of the general host tended to draw more attention, especially those traditionally associated with poverty such as prostitution. This chapter will begin with a brief background to traditional and contemporary ideas about marriage, and the power and position of the wife in medieval society.

Background

Marriage: Tradition and the Reform Papacy

Marriage has always played a prominent role in the formation of social bonds in Western Europe, from antiquity to the present day. In medieval society it usually involved a financial and legal transaction and the setting up of a new economic unit to provide for the propagation of the family line, but it also had links with the 'mysterious and terrifying world of sexuality and procreation - in other words, the realm of the sacred.'⁵²⁰ During the medieval period the church took increasing control over marriage as a sacred institution and attempted to regulate it through the church courts, but old secular customs, Roman, Germanic, or tribal, were still prevalent in practice. From the eleventh century onwards, there was increasing legislation and rigidity not only over marriage, but also over the sexual act itself.

Celibacy and continence were traits admired by the early Christian church, but marriage was a sacrament, and arguments in its favour did not just follow the Pauline view that it was the lesser of two evils.⁵²¹ In the Bible, woman was created to be man's helpmeet, and this sacrosanct relationship had existed from the beginning of Creation.⁵²² This formed the cornerstone of the argument in favour of adhering to a wife's advice - as long as she counselled temperance and mercy. Wives were expected to be obedient to their husbands following Eve's subordination to Adam as punishment for her transgression in Eden.⁵²³ Eve had also advised her husband wrongly, and as a result wives who were seen to stimulate corruption or aggression were often compared to her.

In Brooke's view, it was the eleventh century that was to provide the turning point, when 'the cult of celibacy among the clergy staged a remarkable revival, and the gap between

⁵²⁰ Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jane Dunnett, (Oxford, 1994), 4.

⁵²¹ I Cor 7:1-17 and 25-40.

⁵²² Gen 2:18.

⁵²³ Gen 3:16.

the sexual morals expected of the laity and clergy widened.’⁵²⁴ The Reform Papacy of the eleventh century made a concerted effort to stamp out Nicolaitism and had a strong impact on the way contemporary clerics portrayed marriage within their texts. Many contemporary historians were particularly critical of any lapses.⁵²⁵ Of course, clerical celibacy was not just about sexual purity, it was enforced to protect the transactions of land and benefices within the church, and accordingly the sons of priests and concubines were not allowed to become priests unless they had already made a monastic profession.⁵²⁶

Reformers wished not only to eradicate clerical marriage, but also to ensure that all marriages came under the control of church courts and were monogamous, indissoluble, consensual, and exogamous (in order to prevent intermarriage). Other types of legally permissible unions, such as concubinage, were outlawed, all sexual activity was to come under the jurisdiction of the church, and any extra-marital sex would be punishable accordingly.⁵²⁷ There was increased legislation surrounding the ceremony of marriage, incorporating the reading of banns and witnesses. The congregation largely favoured reinforcing the legality of the marriage bond, for a union often represented the most important social and economic transaction that a family undertook. However, as Duby asserts, the very need for legislation demonstrates that there were often exceptions to the rule.⁵²⁸

Periodically, it was necessary for marriages to be dissolved, whether a political alliance had turned sour, a couple could not produce children, or through simple incompatibility. The prohibitions about relative degrees of kinship in marriage were also reinforced, making it difficult for inter-related families to maintain a hold on land in particular areas. Excommunication was decreed suitable for anyone who married within the prohibited seventh degree. Such legislation could not be enforced entirely successfully, however. As medieval society adapted to the new vision of marriage it also began to utilise its strictures to their advantage. For example, consanguinity did not often prevent marriages between

⁵²⁴ Brooke, *Medieval Idea*, 41.

⁵²⁵ See William of Tyre on Gervaise Archbishop of Rheims, WT, 547.

⁵²⁶ OV, 5.15.

⁵²⁷ Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 183.

⁵²⁸ Duby, *Love and Marriage*, 4-5.

inter-related partners, but became a useful tool if one sought to divorce the other. As Bouchard asserts, ‘“the” church did not exist as a monolithic entity’, and despite the best efforts of the Reform Papacy during the Investiture Contest, royal and noble families still retained influence over the appointment of important bishoprics and abbeys at a local level, thus dispensations could almost always be arranged.⁵²⁹

Perhaps the most contentious issue raised by the theological overhaul of marriage was the relative value of consent and consummation in validating a marriage. Gratian proposed in his *Decretum* (c. 1140) that a couple who expressed mutual consent entered into a *matrimonium initiatum*, an initiated marriage, and it only became a *matrimonium ratum*, a validated marriage on consummation in sexual union.⁵³⁰ This, however, implied that the marriage of Joseph and Mary, who were considered not to have indulged in sexual activity, was in some way incomplete. It was Peter Lombard who finally provided the view that was accepted as official church doctrine. He defined a betrothal as consent given in the future tense, but decreed a marriage to be valid when consent was expressed in the present tense.⁵³¹ However, marriage in the medieval period was not just the spiritual licensing of sexual interaction between two partners, nor a union governed solely by political and economic interests. It was undoubtedly the physical aspect of the relationship between man and wife that gave canonists, and chroniclers, most cause for concern.

Marriage was no boundary to the sin of lust, and although marital sex was a conjugal right for the purposes of procreation, there were increasingly harsh restrictions on ‘extraordinary voluptuousness’⁵³². *Amicitia* between a husband and wife was approved of and supported by the command of St. Paul ‘Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it.’⁵³³ This was because Eve had been formed from Adam’s flesh - ‘He that loveth his wife loveth himself.’⁵³⁴ Still, authors who were positive about marriage were not necessarily ‘pro-feminine’; they could be equally

⁵²⁹ Constance Bouchard, ‘Eleanor’s Divorce from Louis VII: The Uses of Consanguinity’, in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, 224.

⁵³⁰ See Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 235-9.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.* 264.

⁵³² Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 339-242 and 278-88.

⁵³³ Eph 5:25.

⁵³⁴ Eph 5:28.

misogynistic and some considered the marital bond necessary to restrain the natural lust of women, demonstrated by the oft-quoted words of St. Paul 'it is better to marry than to burn.'⁵³⁵

Despite the church's ruling on consent, consummation remained an important aspect of medieval marriage. The delicate balance between the spiritual and physical aspects of marriage was illustrated by the popular story of Tobias and the archangel that Brooke asserts was 'known to all the faithful'.⁵³⁶ Tobias, having wooed and won his wife with the help of the archangel, apparently spent three nights in prayer before the consummation.⁵³⁷ The same claim of a three-night vigil before consummation was made in William of St. Pathus' *Vita* of Saint Louis commissioned by his wife Marguerite of Provence.⁵³⁸ William may have 'borrowed' the story to add strength to the case for canonisation, but he had been Marguerite's confessor for 18 years, and the work was written at her behest. The couple went on to have thirteen children, thus perhaps it was important to present the Saint showing restraint, and respect for his wife and God before his marriage. Such an example shows that consummation, a necessary part of marriage, could be conducted so as not to detract from the pious and spiritual aspects of a person's behaviour. Chroniclers and fictional writers did portray some apparently happily married couples who loved and respected each other, if not, perhaps, in terms of modern day expectations. As the majority of marriages in the medieval period were based upon political, social, and economic ties rather than physical attraction, however, adultery was undoubtedly practised, despite social and religious restraints. Accordingly romance literature, the language of fantasy and escapism for a rigidly organised social group (the nobility), appears to have focused largely on notions of illicit love unsanctioned by the bonds of marriage.

Extra-Marital Relations: Adultery and Prostitution

⁵³⁵ I Cor 7:9.

⁵³⁶ Brooke, *Medieval Idea*, 43.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.* 194.

⁵³⁸ William of St. Pathus, 'Vie de Saint Louis par le Confesseur de la Reine Marguerite', in RGHF 20, (Paris, 1840), 110.

Adultery was a common theme in the Bible, and found its way into most early Christian writings and penitentials, but the term was not always consistently defined. It could be used to describe prostitution, sex between married and unmarried persons, clerical concubinage, in fact, any form of illicit sex outside marriage. This also causes problems in defining prostitution in its medieval context. Prostitutes were generally categorised as such in an attempt to differentiate between licit and illicit sexual unions, using terms such as *meretrix* or *mulier fornicatrix*. They were occasionally referred to as *mulieres prostitutae*, but it was sex outside the bonds of matrimony, or the number of partners a woman had rather than an exchange of money that defined a prostitute. Prostitution for money or food undoubtedly took place, but it is uncertain whether those who criticised it saw it as a specific profession involving payment or simply an illicit, non-marital sexual act which endangered the soul through the sin of lust.

The risks of adultery were reiterated consistently in sermons and penitentials, testifying to the regularity of its occurrence, but on the whole, the repentant adulterer could expect forgiveness. The paramount role-model for the Church in this matter was Mary Magdalene, and it is not surprising that in the 'guilt-ridden' society created by ecclesiastical reform, the cult of a penitent sinner should enjoy renewed popularity.⁵³⁹ The solution of the twelfth century reformers was to encourage the rehabilitation of prostitutes, either making them suitable for marriage or creating religious houses for them; for example, in 1199 Fourth Crusade preacher Fulk of Neuilly founded the house of Saint Antoine for 'public women.'⁵⁴⁰ The law did make provision for the fact that some women were forced to dishonour their marriage bonds through rape, whether in isolated incidents sometimes linked to abduction, or on a large scale during times of war. More often than not, however, such women incurred punishment along with the rapist. Classical role models used to illustrate the rape of wives included Lucretia and Helen - Lucretia's tragic demise and the Trojan War fought on Helen's behalf served as ringing indictments of the dangers and unhappiness caused by physical beauty and the temptation of illicit lust.

⁵³⁹ Members of the Reform Papacy, including Leo IX, were known to have patronised her cult. See Jean Leclercq, *Monks on Marriage: a Twelfth Century View*, (New York, 1982), 89, 95.

⁵⁴⁰ ATF, 877; app.3.1. Ralph of Coggeshall also asserted that Fulk criticised 'adulterous women' - 'fornicarias mulieres' and called them back to the path of salvation, Ralph of Coggeshall, 81; app.3.2.

Wives, Power and Authority

The subjugation of wives to their husbands in Christian teaching was used to justify a woman's lack of legal status. The husband was head of the household, and legal owner of any property held by his wife. In practice, however, the relationships between families and land ownership in medieval society were far more complex. Some women retained rights over the property that they had brought into the marriage, and sometimes performed administrative functions on its behalf. Livingstone challenges the idea that the women's experience of power was limited exclusively to their role as widows; from her study based on the Chartrain, she asserts that many widows had, as wives, 'been partners with their husbands and commanded significant authority in their own right.'⁵⁴¹ The extent of a dowry was often a determining feature of the wife's power in respect to her husband, reflecting the wealth and position of her own family. Evergates asserts that in the Champagne region, wives retained a 'strong attachment' to lands that were given as dowry, and often tried pass them on to daughters when they married in turn. Similarly allodial lands held by wives could be passed on to the church or monasteries, although the consent of husband and heirs was usually necessary.⁵⁴² Although dower was not a binding feature of the marriage contract, Sheehan suggests that the church considered it a useful way to publicise a marriage, and protect the rights of both parties involved.⁵⁴³

Property and dowry were not the only facets to the power of a wife, however. A wife had access to other routes of power which were less easily documented, but effective nonetheless. Depending on her influence with her husband, she could act as a diplomat between her new and natal families, or become a conduit for those seeking favour or patronage at the court of her lord. Her traditional role as a mediator and 'helpmeet' meant that she could advise her husband, as long as she was not perceived to rule his actions. In her husband's absence, a noble wife might be expected to take on the practical duties of

⁵⁴¹ Amy Livingstone, 'Aristocratic women in the Chartrain', in *Aristocratic Women*, 71.

⁵⁴² Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne', 92.

⁵⁴³ Michael M. Sheehan, 'The Influence of Canon Law on the Property Rights of Married Women in England' in James K. Farge ed. *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, (Cardiff, 1996), 21.

lordship. Crusading was a common reason for wives to assume the duties of lordship, but in the normal course of noble life in Europe husbands could absent themselves for considerable periods of time in war, feudal services or pilgrimages. A wife could act in her husband's stead in court, make donations, support his vassals, and even direct warfare on his behalf, although she was increasingly unlikely to take to the field herself.⁵⁴⁴ In the county of Flanders during this period there were particularly strong traditions of wives acting as regents for the count. Clemence, wife of Robert II, was a diligent and capable regent during the First Crusade, and Sibyl acted as regent for her husband Thierry during his crusading expeditions between 1138-9 and 1147-9. Despite her advanced stage of pregnancy Sybil responded to the aggressive encroachment of Baldwin IV of Hainault by raising an army to defeat him and negotiating a truce.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴ Livingstone, 'Aristocratic Women', 62-8. See also Mclaughlin, 'The woman warrior', 193-209.

⁵⁴⁵ Karen S. Nicholas, 'Countesses as Rulers in Flanders', in *Aristocratic Women*, 123.

Wives in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East

Introduction

The second part of this chapter will assess how these factors affected the perception of wives in the narratives of crusading and the Latin East. It continues from the previous chapter by considering the portrayal of women's lives from the point of marriage onward, focusing predominantly on their marital relationships and perceived functions as wives, but the sexual activity of women outside the licit bonds of marriage will also be addressed. The role of the crusader's wife deserves special consideration, as it has a set of specific perceptions attached to it which have attracted scholarly attention. As a result the categories from the previous section have been expanded to include issues particularly relevant to the source material, including the problems that crusading and settlement created for the marriage bond, departure scenes, captivity and clerical marriage.

Wives and Crusading: the 'Canonical Quandary'

From the outset, wives caused specific obstacles with regards to crusading. The crusade vow made a married crusader temporarily unable to fulfil the conjugal debt, thus both partners were subject to the temptation of adultery. The possibility of a wife's infidelity during an expedition was undoubtedly a real concern for crusaders as well as canonists and preachers. In 1148 the Moorish population of Lisbon reportedly taunted crusaders about their wives' activities in their absence to encourage the besieging force to leave.⁵⁴⁶ However, crusaders' wives were not kept in chastity belts as popular myth supposes, and canonists were concerned that the rights of both married partners should be upheld. From the very first expedition a crusader needed the consent of his wife before taking the cross, in much the same way that mutual consent was required for a vow of continence. Urban II's letter to the people of Bologna dated September 1096 states explicitly that 'care should be taken lest young married men heedlessly set out on this journey without the

⁵⁴⁶ DEL, 131.

consent of their wives.⁵⁴⁷ In direct contradiction to this, men were largely encouraged by preachers and the authors of crusade chronicles to leave against the wishes of their wives. James of Vitry recounted an exemplary story about a man who was locked indoors by his wife to prevent him from attending a crusade sermon, but he listened through a window and then jumped through it in order to take the cross.⁵⁴⁸ Gerald of Wales recounted how Rhys ap Gruffudd, Prince of South Wales was keen to take part in the Third Crusade, even going as far as making all the preparations, 'until his wife...turned him away from his noble purpose, having ascertained his weaknesses, insisting effectively in her feminine manner.'⁵⁴⁹ He also told of a wife who, three days after preventing her husband from taking the cross, experienced divine retribution when she lay on her own child in her sleep and killed it.⁵⁵⁰

Many who took the cross did not redeem their crusade vows, and one cannot rule out commitments to wives or families as a contributory factor. This is supported by the fact that Innocent III felt it necessary to remove the necessity of a wife's consent for crusading in the decretal *Ex multa* of 1201.⁵⁵¹ On balance, crusaders sometimes had good reason to fear for the safety of wives and property. This was why special protection was granted to the wives and families of crusaders - protection which enabled Sibyl of Flanders to appeal to the archbishop of Reims and the Pope for aid against Baldwin IV of Hainault.⁵⁵² Wives and children were consistently at the heart of these arrangements in crusade encyclicals and narratives. Marriage represented one of the major transactions of a medieval person's life, including a considerable exchange of land and material goods as well as the hope of continuing the family line, all of which were invested in wives and the children they bore. The safeguarding of families was probably Urban II's idea. There is no extant encyclical for the First Crusade, but the earliest known example of a bishop protecting the property of a crusader occurred in 1106, when Bishop Ivo of Chartres stepped in uphold a claim of

⁵⁴⁷ Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, (Innsbruck, 1901), 138; app.3.3. See Brundage, 'Crusader's Wife', 429.

⁵⁴⁸ James of Vitry, Sermon 2:37, ed. and trans. in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, 120-1.

⁵⁴⁹ GW 'Itinerarium', 6.15; app.3.4.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 113.

⁵⁵¹ Brundage, 'Crusader's Wife', 434.

⁵⁵² Nicholas, 'Countesses as Rulers', 123.

Hugh of le Puiset against Count Rotrou of Perche.⁵⁵³ In c.1108 Guibert of Nogent asserted that Urban had cursed all those who might dare to harm the wives, sons, and possessions of crusaders within the next three years with anathema.⁵⁵⁴ Eugenius III decreed in *Quantum Praedecessores* (March 1146) that the wives, sons, and possessions of crusaders would remain under the protection of the Church.⁵⁵⁵ In *Divina Dispensatione* I (October 1146) he enjoined Italian crusade preachers to emphasise the protection offered to the families of crusaders. He also wished to impose strict penalties for opportunists: anyone who took advantage of a crusader's absence to harass his family should be placed in chains in public and excommunicated.⁵⁵⁶ Some crusaders left charters making their own specific provisions for wives and families while they were away. These often involved money or endowments to religious houses, including nunneries, as a part of reparation for sins and sometimes to raise money for the expedition. Guy Cornelly of Til-Châtel went to Jerusalem and became a Templar because his wife had contracted leprosy. She and their three daughters were to be cared for at the abbey of St. Bénigne de Dijon.⁵⁵⁷

For those crusaders who intended to settle, wives were crucial to the establishment of a Latin population on all fronts where religious war was waged; in the Baltic, in Spain and in Outremer. At the time of the Third Crusade, Ralph Niger recognised the necessity of women for repopulating conquered territories, but thought that they should not accompany armies to the East: they should rather be sent for once the land had been pacified.⁵⁵⁸ Elvira of Leon-Castille accompanied her husband, Raymond IV of St. Gilles on the First Crusade, and Baldwin of Boulogne took his wife, Godvere of Tosni, '*ac familiam eius*'.⁵⁵⁹ Both these men harboured territorial ambitions in the East. However, many wives accompanied their husbands back to the West after their pilgrimage vows had been fulfilled. Hadvide of Chiny, who accompanied her husband Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville on the First Crusade,

⁵⁵³ See I.S.Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, (Cambridge, 1990),337-8.

⁵⁵⁴ GN, 117.

⁵⁵⁵ Eugenius III, *Quantum Praedecessores*, 91 in Rolf Grosse, 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III von 1145/6: Mit einer Neuedition von JL8876' in *Francia* (1991), 85-92.

⁵⁵⁶ Eugenius III, *Divina Dispensatione I*, ed. P. Kehr in *Papsturkunden in Italien: Reiserberichte zur Italia Pontificum*, 6 vols [Acta Romanorum Pontificum], (Rome, 1977), 2.108-10.

⁵⁵⁷ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 159.

⁵⁵⁸ Ralph Niger, *De Re Militari*, 227.

⁵⁵⁹ AA, 302. Mayer asserts that this phrase refers to his entourage, rather than children. Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 50.

gave a bejewelled chalice and expensive vestments to St Hubert en Ardenne on her return.⁵⁶⁰

It was often more advantageous for a crusader with territorial ambitions to travel to the Holy Land as a bachelor or widower. Some married *en route* to or from the Holy Land, though whether to fellow crusaders or women from the communities they passed through is not always clear. Odo of Deuil relates how some Second Crusaders had to be re-baptised in the orthodox style in order to marry while travelling in the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁶¹ William of Newburgh told how Robert Curthose returned from the Holy Land with a wife to whom he was betrothed on the journey.⁵⁶² After the First Crusade, those nobles who intended to settle often married into the existing population in order to secure property and alliances, although Murray asserts that Christian women of a suitable class must have been rare.⁵⁶³ Both Baldwin of le Bourcq and Joscelin I followed the precedent set by Baldwin I and took noble Armenian brides.⁵⁶⁴ Inter-marriage with Muslims was always frowned upon, but in the early phase of settlement Fulcher of Chartres asserts that some crusaders did marry Saracens, albeit with the prerequisite of baptism.⁵⁶⁵ The majority of legal sources on marriage in the Latin East come from the thirteenth century because the early laws of the kingdom were destroyed when Saladin took Jerusalem in 1187.⁵⁶⁶ There were attempts to regulate sexual behaviour between Christian and Muslims at the council of Nablus in 1120⁵⁶⁷ but laws on this and other marital concerns only survive from the thirteenth century, largely in works of the 1260's by Philip of Novara and John of Ibelin. Praver and Brundage have also used the marriage laws of the *Livre des Assises de la coeur des Bourgeois* (c. 1240) to compare Levantine marriage law with customary and

⁵⁶⁰ *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint Hubert-en-Ardenne*, ed. Godefroid Kirth, 2 Vols (Brussels, 1903) 1.82, no. 63. See Riley Smith, *First Crusaders* 149, and Geldsetzer, 188. Murray asserts that Dodo received a low profile in accounts of crusading because of his marriage to Hadvid and an enmity between the counts of Chiny and the Ardennes – Bouillon family. Murray, *Crusader Kingdom* 192.

⁵⁶¹ OD, 57.

⁵⁶² WN, 26. This was Sibyl, whose father was Geoffrey of Conversano, a cousin of Bohemond of Taranto.

⁵⁶³ Alan V. Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, 87.

⁵⁶⁴ WT 482, 635.

⁵⁶⁵ FC, 748.

⁵⁶⁶ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 133.

⁵⁶⁷ Brundage, 'Prostitution', 60.

Roman law in Europe.⁵⁶⁸ According to Philip of Novara, after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 women were allowed to choose their husbands freely, or at least in accordance with the wishes of their families. This freedom was curtailed by the arbitrary choice for heiresses that also applied to widows, probably around the time of the reign of Baldwin II.⁵⁶⁹ Under this rule, heiresses, as we have seen, could be forced to marry by the king, although they were entitled by law to a choice of three suitable candidates. At a lower social level, burgesses retained the right to marry as they chose, but marriage between serfs from different lordships was forbidden.⁵⁷⁰

Departure Scenes

Wives held a special significance to the authors of crusade narratives when they described the departure of crusaders: they represented the sexual and worldly lives abandoned by the participants. Fulcher of Chartres' account amply illustrates the most common perception of the crusader's wife:

Then husband told wife the time he was expecting to return, and that if he was to keep his life, by God's grace, he would return home to her. He commended her to the Lord, kissed her lingeringly, vowing as she wept that he would return. She, however, fearing that she would never see him again, could not support herself, tumbled lifeless to the ground, mourning for her love whom she was losing in this life just as if he were dead already. He, as if having no compassion, although in truth he had, and as if he had no sympathy whatever for the tears of his wife or the grief of his friends, although suffering secretly, he departed thus, steadfastly and unyielding in spirit.⁵⁷¹

This dramatic and enduring image of a wife abandoned was further compounded by the romantic and idealistic portrayal of crusaders during the Victorian era, both in poetry and

⁵⁶⁸ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 358-411. See also Brundage, 'Marriage Law', 258-271.

⁵⁶⁹ Philip of Novara, *Livre RHC Lois I*, 588. See also Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 27.

⁵⁷⁰ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 204-5.

⁵⁷¹ FC, 163; app.3.5.

art.⁵⁷² Departure scenes were also represented in popular songs⁵⁷³ and contemporary art: Maier has recently identified three crusaders leaving their family in a *bible moralisée* of the thirteenth century, which reflects almost exactly the kind of image portrayed in narratives.⁵⁷⁴ In truth, there probably were scenes of distress when crusaders embarked on these potentially fatal journeys. Odo of Deuil, an eyewitness to the Second Crusade, wrote of their departure: 'The crowds and the king's wife and his mother, who nearly perished because of their tears and the heat, could not endure the delay; but to wish to depict the grief and wailing which occurred then is as foolish as it is impossible.'⁵⁷⁵ However, the descriptions of leave-taking in many of these sources often relied on formulaic components, and it has been suggested that they were a deliberate statement emphasising the exclusion of women, and making crusading a gendered event - a military and male preserve.⁵⁷⁶ Chroniclers invariably admonished crusaders not to let thoughts of loved ones sway them from their religious duty. Crusaders were encouraged to leave the 'alluring charms' of their wives in Baldric of Dol's account of Urban's speech. Robert of Rheims used the scriptural authority of Matthew to convince those who were held back by affection for their wives and families to take up the cross.⁵⁷⁷ The bishop of Oporto's speech in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* praised crusaders for leaving behind the 'alluring affection of wives', alongside infants and adult children.⁵⁷⁸ The maternal role of wives was also emphasised by William of Tyre who described them 'carrying young children and those suckling at the breast in their arms' as they bade farewell to husbands taking part in the First Crusade.⁵⁷⁹ The reference to wives is undoubtedly a sexual one, underscored by evidence of their fertility, but the love of children was also a factor exerting an inhibiting influence on the crusader, as well as the idea of home, wider kin and

⁵⁷² Elizabeth Siberry 'The Crusader's Departure and Return: A Much Later Perspective', in *Gendering the Crusades*, 177.

⁵⁷³ See W.C. Jordan, 'The representation of the crusades in the songs attributed to Thibaud, Count Palatine of Champagne', *JMH* 25, (1999), 27-34 and William E. Jackson, 'Poet, Woman and Crusade in songs of Marcabru, Guiot de Dijon, and Albrecht von Johansdorf', *Medievalia* 22 (1999), 268-276.

⁵⁷⁴ The women are portrayed tearing at their hair. Christoph T. Maier, 'The *bible moralisée* and the crusades', in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, 1.211-5

⁵⁷⁵ OD, 19

⁵⁷⁶ See Lambert 'Crusading or Spinning', 3-6.

⁵⁷⁷ BD, 15. RR, 728. Matt. 10:37 and 19:39. For similar examples see RA, 117 and AA, 271, 501.

⁵⁷⁸ DEL, 71. See also Mothers, 178. Phillips asserts that Raol may have been influenced by Guibert in his description. Jonathan Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in the Conquest of Lisbon', in R. N. Swanson ed. *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, (Woodbridge, 2000), 129.

⁵⁷⁹ WT, 140; app.3.6.

property. The physical sacrifices incurred by taking the cross went beyond the rigors of the journey alone, and renouncing the world of the flesh enhanced the penitential qualities of crusading. Riley-Smith, in his seminal article on 'Crusading as an act of love' has demonstrated how crusade sermons and encyclicals promulgated a specialised vision of fraternal love that was couched in terms of kinship to appeal to their lay audience.⁵⁸⁰ Crusaders were encouraged to sever their earthly family ties on behalf of a wider Christian community whose obligations of kinship superseded their own. The sacrifice of separation was endured both by crusaders and their wives for the greater cause of Christ. These scenes were not a simple literary *topos* denigrating women as an inhibiting influence on crusaders: they asserted the quasi-monastic status of crusaders, derived from their role as pilgrims. Guibert of Nogent emphasised that crusading was a new way of gaining salvation that could be equated with monasticism:

...so that without having chosen from the very beginning, as has become customary, life in the monastery or some kind of religious profession, they were compelled to leave the world although still subject to their traditional freedom of practice and habits [and] to a certain extent they sought the grace of God by their own deeds.⁵⁸¹

He also told how crusaders spurned castles and properties, and highlighted the physical attributes of the women that crusaders left behind: '...the most beautiful wives were reviled like something corrupt, and formerly more valued than any jewel, the faces of dependents of either sex were scorned...'.⁵⁸² According to Guibert, abandoning worldly pleasures represented the pilgrims' contrition, which in turn enabled them to be successful crusaders. Weeping and confessing their sins, crusaders took up their arms and renounced their wives and children.⁵⁸³ Thus wives became part of a broader metaphor for the corrupt and carnal world that the crusaders rejected in favour of a spiritual enterprise.

⁵⁸⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an act of love', *History* 65, (1980), 190-2.

⁵⁸¹ GN, 87; app.3.7.i.

⁵⁸² GN, 87-8; app.3.8.

⁵⁸³ GN, 266.

The penitential nature of the crusades meant that preachers made use of sins that were perceived to be widespread in medieval society (such as adultery), to encourage participation.⁵⁸⁴ On balance, the failure of crusades was seen to result from poor adherence to the spiritual requirements for the expedition. Crusaders could only fail if they aroused God's wrath through their sins: avarice was usually held to blame, but sexual sins were also perceived as particularly offensive. William of Newburgh blamed the failure of the Second Crusade on a large presence of women ostensibly encouraged by Louis VII's decision to take Eleanor of Aquitaine. He was bewitched by her beauty and could not bear to leave her behind. This set a poor example, encouraging other nobles to bring their wives (who in turn required maidservants), with the result that a multitude of women accompanied the crusaders, bringing into disrepute to an army that should have been chaste.⁵⁸⁵

There is some evidence that wives who did not take the cross supported the crusade effort where they could. In an oft-cited example, Orderic Vitalis recorded the shame of Adela of Blois at Count Stephen's desertion of the First Crusade at Antioch, and how she was instrumental in persuading him to take the cross again 'between conjugal caresses'.⁵⁸⁶ His portrayal of Adela is striking as an example of a wife using overtly sexual influence for a divine purpose, as this kind of power was largely feared and condemned. Stephen was an object of contempt because he had fled from Antioch, but in Orderic's account he died a hero and martyr through adhering to the advice of his wife. Adela was also cast in the traditional role of a woman approving male prowess – she emphasised that military glory and honour were important to maintaining noble status. Whether Adela truly encouraged her husband in this is open to question. She was evidently a capable regent,⁵⁸⁷ and Stephen's reputation had suffered a great blow with the success of the expedition he had left behind. She was renowned for piety, and Guibert of Nogent spoke extravagantly of her prudence, generosity, abundance, and power, hinting that she may have even out-

⁵⁸⁴ See below, 142.

⁵⁸⁵ WN, 85.

⁵⁸⁶ OV, 5.325.

⁵⁸⁷ See Kimberley A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Lordship', in *Aristocratic Women*, 7-43.

shadowed the reputation of her martyred husband.⁵⁸⁸ Both Orderic and Guibert referred to her as wise, but despite Adela's literary pursuits, such an accolade did not necessarily encompass academic learning when applied to women. It usually referred to good counsel, a more traditional wifely trait.

Adela's example as an individual wife encouraging her husband to take the cross is almost unique in crusade narratives. For the most part, the wives cited as being in favour of the crusade wanted to take part. Orderic Vitalis asserted that 'beloved' wives lamented not because of the absence of their husbands but because they 'longed passionately to leave their children and all their riches behind and follow their husbands on the pilgrimage.'⁵⁸⁹ The *Itinerarium* spoke of mothers and brides encouraging husbands and sons to crusade, although women were dissuaded from taking part themselves.⁵⁹⁰ It is significant that they still stayed at home, however, as was considered proper. In fact, Riley-Smith has suggested that wives probably did influence participation in expeditions by importing family traditions of crusading into a new household on their marriage.⁵⁹¹ Lower has recently demonstrated the strong influence of family ties through dynastic marriage which influenced the participation in the Barons Crusade of 1239-1240.⁵⁹²

Wives as Crusaders

In accordance with common practice in medieval literature, most of the women recorded in these sources are referred to as wives. Of the nine women who are named in chronicles of the First Crusade, seven were described as wives of crusaders.⁵⁹³ Lloyd asserts that the majority of English noblewomen who went on crusade in the thirteenth century were accompanying their husbands. He admits that women of lower social status may have been able to take the cross independently with greater ease,⁵⁹⁴ but noble wives, whose duties included producing legitimate heirs, were subject to less social freedom. In

⁵⁸⁸ GN, 132.

⁵⁸⁹ OV, 5.17.

⁵⁹⁰ *Itinerarium*, 33. See Theory, 47.

⁵⁹¹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 97-98.

⁵⁹² Michael Lower, *The Baron's crusade: a call to arms and its consequences*, (Philadelphia, 2005), 46-52.

⁵⁹³ Riley Smith, *First Crusaders*, 107.

⁵⁹⁴ An idea supported by Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship', 272.

reference to the crusading activities of Eleanor of Montfort (1240) and Eleanor of Castile (1267) he writes:

Whether they pestered their husbands to allow them to go on crusade or whether they went under pressure is unknown, but it appears that no *crucesignata* of so high a social stratum fulfilled her vow independently of her consort.⁵⁹⁵

If by the term ‘pester’, Lloyd means that wives were motivated to take part in crusades on their own account, then that may indeed have been the case. Although she may not have been of such high status, Erneburg, wife of William of Hokesour took the cross with her husband, but when he received a dispensation to commute his vow, she journeyed to the Holy Land on pilgrimage by herself in 1225-6.⁵⁹⁶ There are also examples of wives like Alice, countess of Blois, who made the journey to the East as a widow after her *crucesignatus* husband John of Châtillon in 1279 had died without fulfilling his vows. She had taken a vow in 1266 or 1267 which she fulfilled in 1286 or 1287.⁵⁹⁷ Others may have wanted to take the cross under the influence of their own family ties rather than those of their husbands. Count Baldwin IX of Flanders was the son of Margaret of Alsace, the daughter of crusaders Sibyl and Thierry, but crusading tradition also ran strong in the family of his wife, Marie of Champagne, who took the cross with him in 1201.⁵⁹⁸ She was the grand-daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine and sister to Henry II of Champagne, who had taken part in the Third Crusade and become king of Jerusalem. She was also sister to Count Thibaut III who had taken the cross but died at the outset of the Fourth Crusade. Eleanor of Castile’s family had strong crusading traditions; she was the niece of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, famed for his conquest of Andalusia.⁵⁹⁹ She may have been influenced by her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, whose sister Marguerite was the crusader-queen of Louis IX. As Hamilton points out, if Lord Edward was really against his wife accompanying him, he

⁵⁹⁵ Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307*, (Oxford, 1988), 77-8.

⁵⁹⁶ *Curia Regis Rolls* 12, 9-10 no. 69.

⁵⁹⁷ See Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen*, 181-2, and Purcell, ‘Women Crusaders’, 60. There is scope for including Joanna of Sicily in this category. See Widows, 239, 251.

⁵⁹⁸ Ralph of Coggeshall, 130. See also Villehardouin, 2.124.

⁵⁹⁹ Bernard Hamilton, ‘Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement’, in B. Arbel ed. *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 92.

could have made her commute her vows for a cash sum.⁶⁰⁰ Interestingly, Hamilton suggests that he may have wished to take his wife on crusade in order to avoid the charge of adultery.⁶⁰¹ The prospects of a continued Latin presence in the Near East were dwindling towards the end of the thirteenth century, and as a result crusaders and settlers alike were heavily criticised for their sins. Hamilton seems to interpret the decision to take Eleanor as a genuine demonstration of piety by Edward, but it could also have been a deliberate attempt to forestall criticism in the likely event of military failure. The leaders of the crusade needed to be above suspicion of misconduct, and Eleanor's presence may have been a calculated act of propaganda.

Although there were concerns about the presence of wives on crusade and fears for their safety, their contribution to the crusade effort was sometimes praised. Noble wives were singled out for praise when carrying rubble in their skirts at the siege of Archas during the First Crusade, but this was probably commented on because of their noble rather than marital status.⁶⁰² One admirable woman, mortally wounded while filling a ditch at the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade, was described begging her husband to leave her body there to aid the work.⁶⁰³ Edgington suggests that Ambroise did not intend the story to be taken seriously, because it was recorded between a tale about a knight attacked while relieving himself⁶⁰⁴ and a further humorous anecdote about a Turkish emir who immolated his own genitals with Greek fire intended for Christian siege engines.⁶⁰⁵ In the *Itinerarium*, however, the latter story is preceded by two different, less amusing stories and these anecdotes as a whole are described as 'miraculous' and 'not unworthy of being brought to the attention of posterity.'⁶⁰⁶ Perhaps the author drew from Ambroise but reorganised the section with tales from his own experience and endeavoured to imbue them with moral rather than humorous purpose. Nicholson notes that the author of the *Itinerarium* was keen to stress the marital status of the woman: she begged her husband to fulfil her wish by the

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 95-6

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.* 96-7

⁶⁰² GN, 264

⁶⁰³ *Itinerarium*, 101-2: Ambroise, 1.58-9, lns 3632-60.

⁶⁰⁴ Ambroise, 1.58, lns 3578-619.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 1.59 lns 3656-94; Edgington, 'Sont çou ore les fems', 161. Ailes and Barber concur that these stories are for the purpose of entertainment, Ambroise 2.22.

⁶⁰⁶ *Itinerarium*, 103, 104, 98-9.

sacrament of marriage and their vows.⁶⁰⁷ This suggests that the author was keen to legitimise the story as a genuine act of piety rather than an amusing anecdote: as such it was more in keeping with religious tone he added to Ambrose's account.⁶⁰⁸

Wives, Power and Authority

Despite limited legal authority, there is charter evidence to suggest that some wives managed to retain a degree of control over property in marriage, and they did often act as regents for children in the absence of a partner. The latter case will be considered in the following chapter because of the close association between regency and maternal authority. In historical narratives, however, the political activity of noble wives was largely perceived to rely on their marital relationship and thus received mixed views from crusade chroniclers. When their influence was considered beneficial, wives counselled temperance and mercy, and could even further the cause of Christianity. Albert of Aachen described how the emir of Azaz was persuaded by his Christian wife to give allegiance to Godfrey of Bouillon. Azaz did have a political incentive for opposing Ridwan of Aleppo, but Albert preferred to emphasise divine intervention through the wife.⁶⁰⁹ In cases where wives' influence was criticised, its sexual nature was usually emphasised. For example, Emperor Alexius III Angelos was said to have blinded his brother Isaac 'at the prompting of his wife [Euphrosyne] who had told him that if she were not to be empress she would never sleep with him.'⁶¹⁰ This section will consider wives with regard to intercession and patronage, actions taken on behalf of their husbands and their role in legitimising a husband's authority.

Unfortunately, most narratives paid little attention to the actions of individual wives on crusade, the military actions of their husbands assuming precedence. For example, Berengaria of Navarre and Joanna of Sicily seem to fade away from the western narratives

⁶⁰⁷ Nicholson, *Chronicle*, 106, n. 229.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 14-15

⁶⁰⁹ AA 536-7.

⁶¹⁰ *Eracles*, 29; app.3.9, trans Edbury, 23. Byzantine sources also criticised Euphrosyne and considered Alexius a weak ruler. Barbara Hill, *Imperial Woman in Byzantium 1025-1204: Patronage, Power and Ideology*, (Edinburgh, 1999), 36

of the Third Crusade after Richard's marriage. They were recorded moving into the royal palace at Acre after its capture and after slaughtering the garrison there on 16 August 1191, the king left them to pursue his interests in Arsuf. The two queens spent a few months in Jaffa, before returning to Acre for the sea voyage home, and were excluded from the main decision making processes.⁶¹¹ The exclusion of women from military activity in crusade narratives can be frustrating to the historian, but in such a volatile environment their confinement was also a practical necessity.

There are some exceptions, however. Marguerite of Provence, queen of France, features heavily in Joinville's history of Louis IX's crusade. As the king's marshal, Joinville had quite a close personal relationship with the queen and recorded several conversations with her during the course of the journey. Joinville characterised Marguerite as both wife and mother, but first and foremost she was a queen, and during Louis' capture after the battle of Mansurah she had to take on an authoritative role. When Louis was negotiating his release from the Saracens he apparently stated that he could not guarantee that the queen would raise the money; 'he did not know whether or not the queen would consent, since, as his consort, she was mistress of her actions', although this may have been a bargaining ploy.⁶¹² She also helped to keep the crusade force together in Damietta.⁶¹³ The Rothelin manuscript, however, made no mention of the queen's role in these negotiations. It stated simply that she was placed inside Damietta with some of Louis' war equipment, and resided there with the countess of Artois (Mathilda of Brabant) and the countess of Poitiers (Joanna of Poitiers-Toulouse) in houses within the city until Louis made arrangements to have them brought out after the surrender.⁶¹⁴

After her early periods of regency, Sibyl of Flanders finally accompanied her husband Thierry on his third visit to the Holy Land in 1157. Her duties as a regent had been discharged by this point as their son Philip was installed as count in the same year.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹¹ *Itinerarium*, 286, 350.

⁶¹² Joinville, 186; app.3.10, trans. Shaw, 249

⁶¹³ Joinville, 219. See Mothers, 193.

⁶¹⁴ Rothelin, 593, 595, 619. In comparison to Joinville, the Rothelin manuscript seldom mentions Queen Marguerite's presence on crusade.

⁶¹⁵ Nicholas, 'Countesses as rulers', 123.

Although this was not part of a major expedition, Thierry was there to fight, and Ernoul asserts that after the completion of their vows in Jerusalem Thierry and his forces went to stay with the king. Sybil went to her aunt by marriage Yveta at the convent of Bethany; like other wives she was excluded from military activity.⁶¹⁶ The fact that she decided to remain in the Holy Land to enter the convent at Bethany suggests that Sybil had genuine spiritual motivation for the journey. Although William of Tyre did not record this event, he considered her to be ‘a religious and God-fearing woman’.⁶¹⁷ Sybil’s case demonstrates how a wife could harbour a strong desire to crusade for personal reasons, and furthermore appeal to the church to support her vocation over the wishes of her husband. The most detailed account in these sources of her decision to stay can be found in the *Chronique d’Ernoul*:

When the count had been in the land as long as he wished, he went to Bethany and said to his wife the countess: “My lady, make ready, for we are returning to Flanders.” But the lady replied that God willing, she would never go back to Flanders, nor sail anywhere again. Despite all his pleas she would not agree to leave that land, nor change her mind.⁶¹⁸

Having failed to assert himself the count then decided to enlist the help of the king and patriarch to persuade her.

And when she heard they were coming, she went to the abbess and asked her for a nun’s habit; and the abbess gave one to her. When they arrived to speak to her, and found that she had been professed, they were filled with sorrow. The patriarch came to her and told her that she could not do this, for it was against the will of her husband. She begged the patriarch and the king to plead with the count to leave her be, for God’s sake; they did so, and she flung herself at his feet crying mercy, that he should for the love of God leave her there to do her penitence, for she would not linger there were it not out of penitence.

⁶¹⁶ Ernoul, 21.

⁶¹⁷ ‘religiosa et deum timente femina’, WT, 876; app.3.11.

⁶¹⁸ Ernoul, 21; app.3.12.

The count, when he saw this, was filled with sorrow, and was touched by her goodness, and because of the entreaties of the king and the patriarch he gave her permission to remain. She stayed behind, and the count took his leave of her, and of the patriarch and the king, and returned to Flanders.⁶¹⁹

Sybil had mustered enough authority to defy the will of her husband, and won over the king and the patriarch once she had convinced them of her genuine devotion. In the final part of the story, Ernoul described Sybil's saintly life in the convent, and how Yveta and the other nuns begged her to become abbess. 'But the lady replied that, if it pleased God, she would never be abbess, for she had certainly not come there to be abbess, but to be a disciple.'⁶²⁰ The author thus emphasised her humility and the strength of her vocation – the only circumstances under which the defiance of a husband's wishes could be tolerated.

As in the West, aristocratic wives of the settler society in the Latin East could exert authority as feudal lords in the absence of their husbands by defending cities and castles under siege, and negotiating peace, but again they seldom took to the battlefield themselves. Count Raymond III of Tripoli's wife defended Tiberias in his absence when Saladin's troops threatened in 1187. This event ultimately resulted in the Battle of Hattin but she herself was not blamed for incompetence in managing the siege - the decision to march was based on the perceived seriousness of the enemy threat.⁶²¹ When false news reached Jaffa of Baldwin I's death in 1101, it was his wife, aided by councillors, who sent to Tancred in Antioch for help.⁶²² Later Morfia, wife of Baldwin II, was said to have been involved in the negotiations surrounding his release from captivity in 1124. She was also credited with arranging an Armenian rescue mission.⁶²³ With the help of these forces, her husband escaped imprisonment and held the tower of Kharput, where Orderic Vitalis asserted that he held the three wives of his captor Belek hostage. These Turkish women do

⁶¹⁹ Ernoul, 21-2; app.3.13.

⁶²⁰ Ernoul, 22; app.3.14.

⁶²¹ *Eracles* described her as frightened, but focused instead on the size of Saladin's army rather than any failings on her behalf; her husband evidently expected her to hold the castle unless they were severely outnumbered in which case they should take to the sea. See *Eracles*, 43-5.

⁶²² FC, 421

⁶²³ OV, 6.114-5.

not appear in William of Tyre's history,⁶²⁴ and Orderic's portrayal of them held much in common with his account of Melaz. When Belek arrived they entreated Baldwin not to return them to their husband, offering advice and encouragement, expressing admiration for Frankish prowess and customs, and a desire to join the Christian faith. As in the case of Melaz, it was acceptable for wives to act independently from their husbands as long as it was for the Christian cause.⁶²⁵ Wives were also able to accept homage on behalf of an absent partner. Although Marie, the wife of Baldwin IX of Flanders never reached Constantinople to be crowned, Alberic of Trois Fontaines asserted that she accepted homage from Bohemond V of Antioch in her husband's stead before she died at Acre.⁶²⁶

The intercession associated with wives was not a one-way form of communication. A wife's influence over her husband was an important feature of the power she was perceived to have, but on occasion she was uniquely placed to approach others on behalf of her spouse. Cecilia, wife of Count Pons of Tripoli, went out to meet King Fulk of Jerusalem when Zengi had besieged her husband in Montferrand (Bārīn). Although the king was on his way to relieve Antioch, William recounts that she pleaded with 'most urgent perseverance, in the feminine manner' for the king to go to her husband's aid, and that he, 'moved by her very great persistence', set out accordingly to relieve the fortress.⁶²⁷ Unfortunately he was intercepted by Zengi and met with a terrible defeat.⁶²⁸ William also mentions the fact that Cecilia was Fulk's sister, and whether this would have influenced his decision is open to question, as Cecilia was born of the adulterous union of Bertrada of Anjou and Philip I of France, a match which had brought shame to Fulk's family.⁶²⁹ Dynastic links through marriage provided an essential conduit for negotiations and appeals for aid. In the Byzantine Empire, wives of emperors were also perceived to

⁶²⁴ WT, 568.

⁶²⁵ OV, 6.116-21.

⁶²⁶ ATF, 884. As Alberic is the only source to mention this event, there have been some questions over its veracity. Wolff has shown that there is corroborative evidence in a letter of Pope Innocent III to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1213. See Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* 1.232, no. 863. Robert Lee Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death and Resurrection, 1172-1225', *Speculum* 27 (1952), 289. See also Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, 306, n. 118.

⁶²⁷ WT, 638; app.3.15-6.

⁶²⁸ OV, 6.494-7.

⁶²⁹ See below, 142.

hold considerable influence.⁶³⁰ William of Tyre suggested that the hospitality shown to Emperor Conrad in Constantinople after the failure of the Second Crusade was at least in part at the request of Emperor Manuel's wife, Bertha of Salzburg.⁶³¹ When Prince Alexius IV Angelus was disinherited by the usurpation of his father's throne, (Isaac II Angelus), it was Philip of Swabia, king of Germany (who had been married to Irene, Isaac's sister), whom he approached for support.⁶³² Another wife who acted as an ambassador for her husband was Marie of Brienne, the wife of Latin Emperor Baldwin II (1228/9-73). She approached Louis IX for aid at Cyprus during his first crusade expedition, as the French king had already shown himself willing to lend financial support to their cause. Joinville described how he came to meet her at Paphos, and escorted her to Limassol to be welcomed by Louis and Marguerite, and as her ship containing her wardrobe had been driven away by a storm, the author showed his generosity by giving her the materials to attire herself in proper style. Joinville was very impressed by her, describing how he and many others pledged to support her, although ultimately the king was unable to finance an expedition.⁶³³

As an intercessor, Marguerite of Provence exercised her persuasion on Louis IX several times during the course of their crusade with varying degrees of success. She had a role in the decision making process, apparently; 'the queen and all the council agreed' that they should disembark near Hyères but Louis wished to carry on to Aigues-Mortes. However, Joinville made it clear that the queen's influence was not enough. True to the somewhat ego-centric style of his narrative, he recounted that it was only after he himself advised Louis that the king agreed to disembark, a decision which 'greatly delighted the queen.'⁶³⁴ Marguerite also interceded with Louis for six men who returned late from the island of Pantelleria; 'the queen and all of us did what we could to make the king change his mind' but to no avail.⁶³⁵ Perhaps she felt responsible for the situation, as she had asked Louis to send the men to gather fruit for their children. On another occasion during the sea voyage,

⁶³⁰ For an assessment of their patronage, see Hill, *Imperial Women*, 153-80.

⁶³¹ WT, 749.

⁶³² Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. Peter Orth, (Hildesheim, 1994), 127.

⁶³³ Joinville, 76-8.

⁶³⁴ Joinville, 358; app.3.17-8, trans. Shaw, 326-7.

⁶³⁵ Joinville, 352; app.3.19, trans. Shaw, 324-5.

Marguerite wished to make a vow of pilgrimage, but told Joinville that she could not without the king's permission, presumably because of the marriage vow. Joinville advised her to commission a silver ship for Saint Nicholas instead, thus exercising her own patronage and forgoing the need for permission to travel.⁶³⁶

Noble wives may have been excluded giving advice from military matters, but in some showed awareness of the martial world around them. Eleanor of Castile even commissioned an Old French translation of Vegetius' *De re militari* for her husband Lord Edward during their stay at Acre.⁶³⁷ At other times, however, the advice of a wife could be fatally flawed. William of Tyre asserted that 'Our...Eastern princes, greatly affected by the influence of women, spurn the medicines and healing practice of our Latins, having faith only in the Jews, Samaritans, Syrians and Saracens.'⁶³⁸ William saw such practitioners as ignorant of the science of medicine, and considered the misplaced trust in them engendered by women to be responsible for the death of Baldwin III, who was poisoned by pills given to him by the count of Tripoli's physician. William did make clear, however, that it was ignorance, rather than overt malice, that caused his death.

Love and Marriage

In a successful marriage, wives acted within the confines of a licit sexual union and were usually perceived as demonstrating the traditional qualities attributed to noblewomen: lineage, piety, and beauty. Like daughters they were sometimes described as chaste despite their duty to provide an heir, meaning that they were faithful to their marriage vows and avoided adultery. The ultimate reward for good behaviour was fertility, and the benefits of childbirth as a woman's saving grace will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Similarly second marriages, which were often perceived to have their own peculiar characteristics, will be considered under the remarriage of widows in the final chapter. However, even the following examples from the limited descriptions of marital

⁶³⁶ Joinville, 344-6.

⁶³⁷ Hamilton, 'Eleanor', 101.

⁶³⁸ WT, 859; app.3.20.

relationships in crusades narratives demonstrate that love was perceived to be a consistent feature of the marital bond.

Conrad of Monferrat's wife, Theodora Angela, apparently warned him of treachery 'because she loved him so much'.⁶³⁹ We are also told that Isabella of Jerusalem did not want to marry Conrad because 'she loved Humphrey, her husband'.⁶⁴⁰ Excessive love could be dangerous: John of Salisbury asserts that Louis VII loved Queen Eleanor 'almost beyond reason', and 'passionately, in an almost childish way'.⁶⁴¹ When authors discussed love they were often imposing their own interpretations on the activities and relationships of their subjects, but this does not preclude the possibility that love did exist within some marriages. As Gillingham asserts, the reality of medieval marriage was 'complicated by love and the expectation of love'.⁶⁴² Joinville's description of the secret trysts between Louis IX and Marguerite in the early days of their marriage suggests they had a genuine fondness for each other, but he also chastised Louis for being too detached from his family.⁶⁴³ McCannon has interpreted the relationship between Louis, Marguerite and Joinville in his history as a form of classic love triangle.⁶⁴⁴ She pays particular attention to an embarrassing incident when there was a fire in the queen's cabin at night and Joinville witnessed her running out of her room naked to throw her burning bedclothes overboard. Joinville, wishing to portray himself as the consummate gentleman, pretended not to have seen anything, but his reticence did not fool the king, who seemed to display some jealous anger.⁶⁴⁵ Joinville himself expressed regret at leaving his castle and children for the crusade, but not his own wife.⁶⁴⁶ At that time he was married to his first wife Alice of Grandpré, following a betrothal in 1230, before he became seneschal of Champagne. There is some

⁶³⁹ *Eracles*, 59; app.3.21, trans. Edbury, 51.

⁶⁴⁰ *Eracles*, 105; app.3.22.

⁶⁴¹ John of Salisbury, *Memoirs of the Papal Court*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, (London, 1956), 53, 61.

⁶⁴² John Gillingham, 'Love, Marriage and Politics in the Twelfth Century', *Richard Coeur de Lion Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century*, (London, 1994), 244.

⁶⁴³ Joinville, 326, trans. Shaw, 313.

⁶⁴⁴ Afrodesia E. McCannon, 'Two Capetian Queens as the foreground for an aristocrat's anxiety in the Vie de Saint Louis', in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (London, 2003), 171-75.

⁶⁴⁵ Joinville, 354.

⁶⁴⁶ Joinville, 68.

evidence that he tried unsuccessfully to avoid the marriage because she was no longer of suitable social standing, and this may have affected their relationship.⁶⁴⁷

It was important to a successful match that a wife was of good character: chaste, modest, wise, and beautiful. According to the *Itinerarium*, Berengaria of Navarre was ‘very wise and of good character’, and Richard was attracted by her ‘graceful manner and high birth.’⁶⁴⁸ Ambroise described her in conventional poetic terms as ‘a wise maiden, a fine lady, both noble and beautiful, with no falseness or treachery in her.’ He asserted that the king loved her greatly and referred to her as his beloved, whom he held dear.⁶⁴⁹ The question of the marital relationship between Richard and Berengaria has become a topic of much historical interest because they did not produce an heir: some have speculated over whether Richard had homosexual tendencies. The evidence in favour of this rests largely on the fact that he and his wife later appear to have become estranged and the possible homoerotic overtones given to the description of his relationship with Philip II of France by Roger of Howden.⁶⁵⁰ Current scholarship maintains that Richard was unlikely to have exclusively indulged in homosexual activity at the risk of not providing a future heir, if he did at all.⁶⁵¹ These speculations are largely based on later information about the couple, and do not feature prominently in the narratives of crusading. Instead they described the nuptials in some detail, focusing on the political ramifications of the royal marriage, and then largely ignored Berengaria after her wedding day.

The wedding itself was celebrated ‘in royal style’ at Limassol in Cyprus on 12 May 1191. Berengaria was crowned queen amongst important churchmen and nobles, and the king was described as ‘merry and full of delight, pleasant and agreeable to everyone.’⁶⁵² Roger of Howden concentrated on listing the officiating clergy and the legality of her dower, but

⁶⁴⁷ Jackie Lusse, ‘D’Étienne à Jean de Joinville: L’ascension d’une famille seigneuriale champenoise’ in Dominique Guénot ed. *Jean de Joinville: De la Champagne aux Royaumes d’Outremer*, (Paris, 1998), 26-7.

⁶⁴⁸ *Itinerarium*, 196; app.3.23, 175; app. 2.43.ii, trans. Nicholson, 189, 173.

⁶⁴⁹ Ambroise, 1.19, lns. 1147, 1137, 1154.

⁶⁵⁰ Roger of Howden, ‘Gesta Henrici Secundis’ in W. Stubbs ed. *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, 2 Vols. RS 49 (1867) 2.7. .

⁶⁵¹ See John Gillingham *Richard I*, 84.

⁶⁵² *Itinerarium*, 196; app.3.24, trans. Nicholson, 189. See also Ambroise, 1.28, lns. 1738-41.

Ambroise described the bride in more conventional poetic terms, calling her ‘beautiful, with a bright countenance, the wisest woman, indeed, that one could hope to find anywhere.’⁶⁵³ This contrasts with Richard of Devizes’ statement that Berengaria was ‘a girl more prudent than pretty’,⁶⁵⁴ but as the queen never reached England he is unlikely to have seen her himself. Richard made a curious remark about Berengaria’s voyage to the island of Cyprus, stating that she embarked ‘perhaps still a virgin.’⁶⁵⁵ This may have been a rather ribald comment on the king’s virility, suggesting that pre-marital sex was the norm, although given that Richard was the only chronicler to criticise Berengaria’s looks it is possible that he thought the match unsuitable.⁶⁵⁶ On the other hand, he may simply have meant that it was only by chance that she had not yet married. The choice of Cyprus for the marriage was largely governed by expediency, as the capture of the island meant that the marriage could take place away from the sphere of French influence. The couple could not marry in Sicily as Berengaria had arrived at Messina on 30 March, during the penitential season of Lent. Richard, as a leader of a crusade, could not very well break with church tradition at the beginning of such a large expedition, for fear that military setbacks would be blamed on his own lack of piety.

Eracles described the wedding with a bald statement; ‘he married the maiden whom his mother had sent, in a chapel dedicated to Saint George.’⁶⁵⁷ Considering Richard’s treatment of his sister Alice, it is unsurprising that Philip was portrayed as angry at the match, but *Eracles* asserts that he acted with dignity nonetheless, embracing Berengaria on her arrival in the Holy Land: ‘he was careful not to betray his feelings or show any sign of outrage at what King Richard had done to him...[except] when he got back to France.’⁶⁵⁸

In some cases the celebration of a marriage could have direct military consequences. Although her betrothal took place in 1180, the actual marriage ceremony for Isabella of Jerusalem and Humphrey IV of Toron took place in 1183 at Kerak, when Isabella

⁶⁵³ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3.110: Ambroise, 1.28; app.3.25, lns. 1735-7.

⁶⁵⁴ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. John T. Appleby (London, 1963), 25.

⁶⁵⁵ Richard of Devizes, 35.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 25.

⁶⁵⁷ *Eracles*, 121; app.3.26, trans. Edbury, 104.

⁶⁵⁸ *Eracles*, 121; app.3.27, trans. Edbury, 104.

reached the canonical age for marriage. Unfortunately Saladin took the opportunity afforded by the nuptial celebrations to place the fortress under siege and William of Tyre wrote of the difficulties caused by the extra non-combatants:

Evidently actors, pipers and psaltery players had convened from all over the region for the day of the wedding; but their hope was dashed, for while they sought stage-plays and wedding frolics, they found the conflict of Mars and more warlike activities far removed from their different talents.⁶⁵⁹

Hamilton asserts that Saladin deliberately targeted the wedding because he was aware that the inhabitants would be more vulnerable.⁶⁶⁰ Certain courtesies were observed, however. Ernoul told how Stephanie of Milly, the hostess, sent Saladin some of the food from the wedding feast, and he reciprocated by preventing mangonel attacks on the tower which contained the nuptial chamber.⁶⁶¹ To an extent this was a form of negotiation uniquely suited to the female role, although Ernoul suggested that Stephanie and Saladin had a cordial relationship from an earlier occasion when Saladin had reputedly spent time in the castle of Kerak as a prisoner. Aside from the problem of non-combatants in the castle, the political ramifications of this situation were very serious. Important nobles attending the wedding were trapped, including Reynald of Châtillon (Stephanie's husband) and Joscelin of Courtenay, thus Baldwin IV took the decision to remove Guy of Lusignan from the regency, fearing that the remaining barons would not cooperate with him. This effectively undermined Guy's later position and led to later attempts to separate him from his wife, Sibylla.⁶⁶² Ernoul's account, however, emphasised that it was possible for the cycle of love and marriage to continue even in the very midst of war, and the marital bond achieved a degree of respect that could reach across enemy lines, for the aristocracy at least.

⁶⁵⁹ WT, 1057; app.3.28.

⁶⁶⁰ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 192.

⁶⁶¹ Ernoul, 103. See also Hamilton, *Leper King*, 193.

⁶⁶² See *Widows*, 262.

Extra-Marital Relations

i) Aristocratic Adultery

This section will begin by addressing cases of adultery amongst the nobility, and then go on to discuss the issues that chroniclers raised with regards to prostitution in the crusade host, and in the Holy Land. The crimes of fornication and adultery were often seen as indicative of the sinful nature of society, but could be rectified in the spiritual rewards of crusading. Peter the Hermit inspired adulterers, amongst other sinners, to take the cross *poenitentia ducti*, but Albert of Aachen associated this crime with the activities of repentant ‘common people’ rather than perceiving it as a motivating factor for clerics and nobility.⁶⁶³ William of Malmesbury asserted that at the time of the Council of Clermont, ‘many men, locking out their lawful wives, entered upon divorce by wrecking another man’s marriage.’⁶⁶⁴ Evidently society was still adapting to the new strictures of eleventh century reform, but William probably had a specific and high profile case of adultery in mind.

At the Council of Clermont, Urban reiterated the excommunication of Philip I of France for abandoning his first wife Bertha in favour of Bertrada, the wife of Count Fulk IV of Anjou. The significance of this affair in the development of canonical rulings on marriage is emphasised by Duby, and it certainly had an impact on contemporary historians.⁶⁶⁵ Guibert of Nogent described Bertrada’s abduction in his crusade narrative, although Orderic Vitalis asserted that she was complicit in the event. Philip actually married Bertrada 1092, but it was not considered to be a true marriage by the Church.⁶⁶⁶ Nearly one hundred years later, William of Tyre also noted the significance of the affair, and of the relationship between Bertrada and Philip he wrote: ‘he acknowledged her as if a partner of the bridal bed and companion of his concerns, afterwards treating her with the

⁶⁶³ ‘...bishops, abbots, clerics, monks; then the most noble laymen, princes of different domains, and all the common people, as many sinful as pious men, adulterers, murderers, thieves, perjurers, robbers: that is to say every sort of people of Christian faith, indeed even the female sex, led by repentance, all flocked joyfully to this journey.’ AA, 272; app.3.29; trans. Edgington.

⁶⁶⁴ WM, 595.

⁶⁶⁵ Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, (Baltimore, 1978), 29-45.

⁶⁶⁶ GN, 110. See also OV 4. 260-4 and 5.10.

affection of a husband contrary to the laws of the church'.⁶⁶⁷ Philip's resulting excommunication, and its reiteration in 1095 perturbed the French aristocracy. William of Malmesbury asserts that not only were Philip's subjects relieved of their obligations to him under his excommunication, but all those who referred to 'that accursed woman, his wife,' as their 'queen' or 'lady' were also subject to the spiritual sanction, unless the two agreed to part.⁶⁶⁸ This fear of spiritual sanctions probably influenced some guilt-ridden nobles to take part in the First Crusade, but others may have been unwilling to leave their lands (and wives) vulnerable to a king who rode roughshod over the rights of an important vassal in this way. Certainly, Fulk IV of Anjou, the wronged husband, did not take the cross although Urban II probably put pressure on him to do so.⁶⁶⁹

As Latin settlements flourished in the East, the ebb and flow of military success and failure meant that the sexual activities of the new inhabitants came under scrutiny from historians. Fulcher of Chartres blamed prince Roger of Antioch for the defeat at the Field of Blood in 1119, asserting that he revelled in sin and 'he shamefully committed adultery with many others while married to his wife.'⁶⁷⁰ Conversely, men were sometimes praised for keeping to their marriage vows, a reminder that high standards of behaviour were required of both men and women. Although critical about some of the activities of Prince Raymond of Antioch, William of Tyre noted that once married he was scrupulously faithful.⁶⁷¹ Presumably this was not an easy task, as he had a considerable wait for his child bride Constance to be of a suitable age for intercourse. William had criticised Baldwin III for dishonouring the marriage vows of others as a young man. This was unacceptable even though Baldwin himself was unmarried, but William considered him to have expiated these sins by later being a faithful husband to his wife Theodora, and his crimes were relegated to the impulse of youth.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁷ WT, 631-2; app.3.30.

⁶⁶⁸ WM, 597.

⁶⁶⁹ John France, 'Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade' in Jonathan Phillips ed. *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, (Manchester, 1997), 10-11.

⁶⁷⁰ FC, 622-3; app.3.31.

⁶⁷¹ WT, 659.

⁶⁷² WT, 716, 843-4.

The political bonds formed by marriage meant that some cases of adultery had very serious ramifications for political stability in the Levant. Bohemond III of Antioch incurred the wrath of both king and church by putting away his Greek wife Theodora in favour of ‘a certain Sibyl...who, it is said, practised evil magics.’⁶⁷³ Bohemond had political motives for dissolving the marriage as the Byzantine alliance had faltered with Emperor Manuel’s death in 1180. William of Tyre, however, blamed Sibyl for leading the prince onto a path of greater evil, using the charge of witchcraft to criticise her influence and justify a match that he was otherwise unable to explain. The union resulted in Bohemond’s excommunication, and later an interdict was placed upon the principality of Antioch. Many of the Antiochene nobility were also unhappy about his actions and Bohemond, unwilling to make peace, drove away some of his most valued nobles, weakening his principality at a crucial point in the run up to Hattin.⁶⁷⁴ Muslim sources also were aware of Sibyl’s reputation. They asserted that she was a spy for Saladin, and that she corresponded with him.⁶⁷⁵ *Eracles* later reported that Bohemond received his just deserts. Sibyl ‘who was an evil woman’ betrayed him to Prince Leo of Armenia: she arranged to have her own husband taken captive in order to disinherit his two sons Raymond and Bohemond (later IV of Antioch-Tripoli), in favour of her own, William.⁶⁷⁶ She was apparently also enticed to do so by the prospect of marriage to Leo, although Cahen asserts this was unlikely as Leo was already married.⁶⁷⁷ Evidently marriage to a rich prince was seen to be the pinnacle of a malicious woman’s designs, and although it could have been argued that she was acting in the interests of her child, *Eracles*, by including this proposed marriage, implied she was ambitious for herself alone.

Perhaps the most scandalous tale of adultery connected to a crusade is that of Eleanor of Aquitaine’s supposed relationship with her uncle, Raymond of Antioch. The queen was

⁶⁷³ WT, 1012; app.3.32. Lilie asserts that Bohemond married Theodora after 1175, as he was married until then. Lilie, *Byzantium*, 215. The *Lignages d’Outremer* asserts that his first wife was Orgueilleuse of Harim. *Lignages d’Outremer*, ed. Marie Adélaïde Nielen, (Paris, 2003), 83.

⁶⁷⁴ WT, 1013-5.

⁶⁷⁵ Imad al-Din al-Isfahāni, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, (Paris, 1972), 139. Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des croisades et la principauté d’Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 430.

⁶⁷⁶ *Eracles*, 165; app.3.33; trans. Edbury, 128. Her involvement is supported by an Armenian chronicle. See *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, ed. and trans. Gérard Dédéyan, (Paris, 1980), 68.

⁶⁷⁷ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 582-3 n. 3. Leo’s wife was apparently Sibyl’s niece. *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 65.

conspicuously absent from the narrative of Odo of Deuil, the main eyewitness source for the French contingent of the Second Crusade. She is only mentioned twice,⁶⁷⁸ and then not by name despite the fact that she participated in it and maintained a high profile in other contemporary texts and letters. A study of the extant manuscript of Odo's history suggests that information about Eleanor may have been deleted as a result of her divorce from Louis VII, probably because of her marriage to Henry II rather than misconduct on crusade.⁶⁷⁹ Eleanor's marriage to Louis was ultimately ended on grounds of consanguinity, not adultery.⁶⁸⁰ According to John of Salisbury, who was in the papal curia when the couple visited the Pope on their return from the Holy Land, the king was made suspicious by Raymond's constant conversation with Eleanor. He did not overtly accuse her of adultery, but ascribed a line from Ovid's *Heroides* to one of the king's advisers; 'guilt under kinship's guise could lie concealed', and left the question open by saying that the adviser argued thus 'either because he hated the queen, or because he really believed it.'⁶⁸¹ When William of Tyre wrote his account, Eleanor and Louis were long divorced, and he presented Raymond as the instigator of the affair. Eleanor assented because she was imprudent and, crucially, was unfaithful, 'contrary to royal dignity and neglecting marital law'.⁶⁸² Her adultery was beneath her royal rank as a consecrated queen, and reduced her to the base status of all women. It appears that women of noble lineage and character were expected to rise above the general standards applied to women as a gender. Owen suggests two reasons for William's assumption that Eleanor was guilty – that she was already in custody when they passed through Jerusalem, and that he was writing for a French audience, who were ill disposed towards Eleanor after her marriage to Henry.⁶⁸³

Other chroniclers such as Gervase of Canterbury and Richard of Devizes, writing in the 1180's and 1190's respectively, hinted at an affair without discussing it explicitly.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁸ She appears travelling to Saint Denis while Louis VII visited a leper colony as well as in Odo's 'departure scene' OD, 17, 19.

⁶⁷⁹ OD, xxiii n. 67.

⁶⁸⁰ For a recent discussion, see Bouchard, 'Eleanor's Divorce', 223-35.

⁶⁸¹ John of Salisbury, *Memoires*, 53.

⁶⁸² WT, 755; app.3.34.

⁶⁸³ D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine. Queen and Legend*, (Oxford, 1993), 110.

⁶⁸⁴ Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica* in W. Stubbs ed. *Gervasii Cantuariensis Opera Historica*, RS 73 (1879), 1.149; Richard of Devizes, 25-6

McCracken associates this with a '*topos* of secrecy', implying that it was a literary device to draw attention to a well-known scandal.⁶⁸⁵ Stories about adultery continued to multiply around Eleanor, especially after her death. In relation to the history of crusading, there were two more rumoured affairs of note. Later historians accused her of being romantically involved with Geoffrey of Rançon, the man who was blamed for the disastrous battle of Mount Cadmos - an argument based on little more than her reputation and the fact that Geoffrey was one of her vassals.⁶⁸⁶ Over a hundred years after her crusade, she was even accused of trying to initiate an affair with Saladin, despite the fact that he could have been no more than a child when Eleanor was in the Latin East. The minstrel of Reims claimed that, disheartened by Louis' lack of military prowess, and hearing of the fine characteristics of Saladin, 'she conceived a great passion for him in her heart'. At Tyre she tried to arrange her own abduction, with Saladin's approval, as he knew that she was 'the most aristocratic and wealthiest lady in Christendom.' The minstrel claimed that she was even prepared to give up her faith for him, and considered her a very evil woman, but fortunately one of Eleanor's ladies alerted the king so that he was able to capture her just as she was boarding the ship for her escape.⁶⁸⁷ She accused the king of cowardice, and was attracted to Saladin because of his success on the battlefield, in keeping with the portrayal of noblewomen as audience to masculine prowess.

This story was fairly characteristic of thirteenth century representations of Eleanor. Duby asserts that in the minstrel's eyes 'she was not only fickle, but gave her baptised body to the infidel, betraying not only her husband, but her God, the ultimate in debauchery.'⁶⁸⁸ Alberic of Trois Fontaines echoed the view of William of Tyre, saying that 'King Louis divorced her on account of the unrestrained lust of this woman, who was not comporting herself as a queen, but rather showing herself to be almost a harlot.'⁶⁸⁹ McCracken argues

⁶⁸⁵ Peggy McCracken, 'Scandalizing Desire: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Chroniclers', 249.

⁶⁸⁶ Curtis H. Walker, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Disaster at Cadmos Mountain on the Second Crusade', *American Historical Review* 55 (1950), 857-861.

⁶⁸⁷ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Rheims au treizième siècle*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, (Paris, 1876), 4-5; app.3.35-6. McCracken records a further account of her passion for an un-named Sultan while at Antioch from the fifteenth century. McCracken, 253-4.

⁶⁸⁸ Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century; Eleanor of Aquitaine and Six Others*, trans. Jean Birrel (Chicago, 1997), 7.

⁶⁸⁹ ATF, 841; app.3.37. See also GW 'De Principis', 8.299.

that Eleanor became ‘an emblem of the dangers of the queen’s sexual intimacy with the king’ and demonstrates how chroniclers from different backgrounds reinterpreted ideas about Eleanor to suit anxieties about sexuality and sovereignty in their own time.⁶⁹⁰

Ultimately, such stories make it difficult to tell whether Eleanor did have an adulterous relationship with Raymond. Her quick remarriage also drew criticism from ecclesiastical historians, although it was not at all unusual for an heiress of her standing at this time. She was even accused of having an affair with Henry’s father Geoffrey of Anjou before he died.⁶⁹¹ The situation on the Second Crusade was undoubtedly one of more political import than a simple love affair. Raymond of Antioch desperately needed the military aid that Louis could offer,⁶⁹² and Eleanor, as the king’s wife, was the natural conduit through which such appeals could be made. As a result Raymond had to exploit his link of kinship with her. William of Tyre admits that this was Raymond’s intention, and that it was spite at Louis’ rebuff that made him begin an affair.⁶⁹³ As a powerful heiress, with her own crusading heritage from the duchy of Aquitaine, perhaps Eleanor believed that her crusade with Louis was more of a joint venture. She had taken the cross with her husband in a public ceremony, and was following the earlier example of her grandfather, William IX of Aquitaine.⁶⁹⁴ Evidence suggests that Louis’ hold over the duchy was not entirely secure,⁶⁹⁵ and without her presence he may not have been able muster the support of even the limited number of knights and barons from that region who took the cross.⁶⁹⁶ She may well have been bitterly disappointed when Louis refused to aid her kin, or even give some acknowledgement to her right as a wife to intercede and give counsel. The result was she was ‘torn away’ from Antioch, and with ‘their mutual anger growing greater’, the marital

⁶⁹⁰ McCracken, 258.

⁶⁹¹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1983), 474-6 and GW, ‘De Principis’, 8.300.

⁶⁹² Phillips, *Defenders*, 90-95.

⁶⁹³ WT, 755.

⁶⁹⁴ See Elizabeth A.R. Brown, ‘Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered: The Woman and Her Seasons’, in *Eleanor of Aquitaine Lord and Lady*, 1-54 and Elizabeth A.R. Brown, ‘Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen and Duchess’ in W.Kibler ed. *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Patron and Politician*, (Texas, 1977), 9-23.

⁶⁹⁵ The unrest in Poitiers during the early part of Louis’ reign and the fact that Eleanor was able to transfer her inheritance to Henry II after her divorce both suggest this.

⁶⁹⁶ Of 28 major French nobles listed as taking the cross at Vezelay, only two hailed from Aquitaine, Geoffrey of Rançon and Hugh VII of Lusignan. *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici VII* in RHGF 12, 124-133.

relationship broke down.⁶⁹⁷ There is the possibility that Raymond, in desperate straits as he was, was prepared to use any means possible to secure aid, and when Louis was reluctant, deliberately cultivated a relationship with Eleanor that drove a wedge between the two. Interestingly, this suggests that Raymond believed he would still be able to benefit from Eleanor's presence without the king, perhaps because she had financial or military support of her own to offer, or would in the future if she managed to divorce her husband successfully. That chroniclers opted for the simple explanation of a love affair speaks volumes about contemporary perceptions towards the influence of important women in medieval society and obfuscates the minutiae of the politics involved. There can be no definitive proof that Eleanor had a physical relationship with Raymond, but she was evidently keen to support her kinsman. Presumably from there it only took a very short step for chroniclers to believe that even a high-profile woman such as the queen of France could succumb to her innate female weakness.

Queen Melisende of Jerusalem was treated more liberally than Eleanor in William's narrative despite rumours about an affair with Hugh II of Jaffa. Melisende's position as heiress to the kingdom meant that she did not have to be portrayed as a submissive wife, who relied on intercession with her husband for her authority. William of Tyre did not uphold the charge of adultery; he asserted that the real reasons for the dispute were 'unknown' but stressed the kinship between Melisende and Hugh, and that there seemed to be many arguments supporting over-familiarity between the two.⁶⁹⁸ Hugh was accused of plotting against the king and the episode resulted in a rebellion during 1134 that had to be put down by force.⁶⁹⁹ Hugh was exiled, but afterwards an attempt was made on his life which left him seriously injured, and Melisende's wrath fell on those who had opposed him; even the king himself was said not to have been safe among the queen's partisans, to the extent that he had to become extremely uxorious to appease her. William cited Melisende's displeasure as having twofold causes; 'to an extent even she was seen to be tainted by the disgrace of the reproachful accusation, and very great sorrow struck her on

⁶⁹⁷ John of Salisbury, *Memoires*, 53.

⁶⁹⁸ WT, 652.

⁶⁹⁹ See Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 102-11.

behalf of the expulsion of the count.’⁷⁰⁰ Melisende’s vengeance on the members of the court involved, however, suggests that as a wife and heiress she was already able to use patronage and faction to her own advantage, a situation later exacerbated by her widowhood and regency. In these circumstances, intimating that the conflict may have been a result of marital jealousy obscured the political motivation of Hugh of Jaffa’s rebellion, more openly stated by Orderic Vitalis; Fulk had ‘changed governors and other dignitaries too quickly and thoughtlessly.’⁷⁰¹ He thus excluded the established nobility distinguished by their descent from the First Crusaders and replaced them with ‘Angevin strangers’ and ‘new flatterers.’⁷⁰² It is generally accepted that the revolt was largely a response to Melisende’s exclusion from power by Fulk, rather than a matter of adultery, in fact Mayer suggests such rumours may have been started by her husband in order to create a pretext for repudiating her.⁷⁰³ William, however, chose to represent the conflict as inspired by marital jealousy in order to trivialise the serious threat posed to Fulk’s authority in the early years of his reign, and mask the king’s initial unpopularity. He certainly went on to present an image of domestic harmony between the two after this time, especially when he described them setting off for the hunting party at Acre which was to cost Fulk his life in 1143.⁷⁰⁴

ii) Crusading Armies and Prostitution

Canonical views on adultery and prostitution were reflected in narrative histories from the time of the First Crusade. Even in the *Gesta Francorum*, Crusaders were warned against fraternising with local women during expeditions, whether Muslim or Christian.⁷⁰⁵ At Antioch during the First Crusade, Stephen of Valence experienced a vision whereby Christ criticised the crusaders’ behaviour:

“Behold, with opportune help I sent you safe and unharmed into the city, and lo,

⁷⁰⁰ WT, 655-6; app.3.37.

⁷⁰¹ OV 6.390-1.

⁷⁰² OV 6.390-1.

⁷⁰³ Mayer, ‘Queen Melisende’, 110. See also Hamilton, ‘Women’, 149-51.

⁷⁰⁴ WT, 710.

⁷⁰⁵ DEL, 177

you are satisfying your many filthy pleasures with Christians and depraved pagan women, so that a great stench rises to heaven.”⁷⁰⁶

Military failure led directly to accusations that crusaders had indulged in sexual improprieties. Henry of Huntingdon gave a minimal account of the Second Crusade, whose outcome he considered to reflect directly the crusaders’ sexual behaviour. The expedition, he asserted,

‘...came to nothing, because God despised them. For their incontinence, which they practised in open fornication, rose up in the sight of God. They also greatly displeased God by their adulteries.’⁷⁰⁷

The very presence of women was seen to be divisive. As well as the irate baker-woman who started a riot in Messina, other women were seen to foment trouble between the Lombards and the crusaders on the Third Crusade.⁷⁰⁸ The Lombards apparently thought their wives were flirting with the crusaders. ‘They were led on by jealousy, because some of the pilgrims had been chatting to their wives - but they did this more to annoy their husbands than with adultery in mind.’⁷⁰⁹ Brothels in the Holy Land were also responsible for corrupting crusaders. The *Itinerarium* asserts that the French had fallen into disrepute at Tyre, enjoying wine, dancing girls and frequenting houses of ill repute:

For although it was thought that their devotion had led them to come to the Holy Land on a true pilgrimage, they had left the military life and indulged in the amatory life, with songs about women and bawdy feasting.⁷¹⁰

Thus the failures of the French contingent were not only a result of these sins, the author questioned their very motivation for undertaking the expedition. This was a serious charge, especially in the light of the emphasis on ‘right intent’ for a successful crusade.

⁷⁰⁶ GF, 337; app.3.39. See also GN, 219; RR 821: PT, 99.

⁷⁰⁷ Henry of Huntingdon, 752-3.

⁷⁰⁸ See Theory, 46.

⁷⁰⁹ *Itinerarium*, 158; app.3.40, trans. Nicholson 158. See also Ambroise, 1.10, lns. 611-14.

⁷¹⁰ *Itinerarium*, 330-1; app.3.41, trans. Nicholson, 299.

The author did, however, note that some were shocked at their compatriots' behaviour.⁷¹¹ He also admitted that Richard's army had suffered the same problem in Acre, where he described them polluting the city with their addiction to wine, women and other pleasures.⁷¹²

The solution to this problem, we are told, was that no women should leave the city to accompany the army apart from laundresses 'who would not be a burden nor a cause of sin.'⁷¹³ This reiterated the initial guidelines set down by Richard's father Henry II in 1188, asserting that crusaders should not have female company except possibly washerwomen of good repute.⁷¹⁴ According to Ambroise, laundresses 'were as good as monkeys for getting rid of fleas'.⁷¹⁵ The confinement to Acre was not applied universally, however. Nicholson has identified at least two women captured during the march from the city. Bahā ad-Din recorded that the daughter of a knight was captured and put to death.⁷¹⁶ He explicitly stated that she was travelling in a large party from Beirut, and perhaps she did not have the chance to reach the comparative safety of Acre. He gave less detail about the other woman, only referring to her as a Frank, but she may also have been a noblewoman, and therefore perceived to be above the suspicion of prostitution.⁷¹⁷

Criticism of prostitution and the label of sexual promiscuity were often used to denigrate non-Latin society. Guibert of Nogent strongly criticised Greek attitudes to prostitution,⁷¹⁸ and, according to the *Itinerarium* Saladin began his rise to power through the taxation of prostitutes in Damascus.⁷¹⁹ Perceptions of prostitution within the crusade army were somewhat different. Like many armies, the crusaders attracted camp followers, but it is hard to tell whether they came from the West, 'professionals' or female participants falling into financial hardship during the course of the journey, or whether they were accumulated

⁷¹¹ *Itinerarium*, 331.

⁷¹² *Itinerarium*, 248.

⁷¹³ *Itinerarium*, 248; app.3.42. See also Ambroise, 1.92, lns. 5688-9.

⁷¹⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2.337

⁷¹⁵ 'd'espucer valeient singes' Ambroise, 1.92, ln.s 5691 trans. 2.110.

⁷¹⁶ Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', 399. Bahā ad-Din, 170.

⁷¹⁷ Bahā ad-Din, 177.

⁷¹⁸ GN, 104. See Daughters.

⁷¹⁹ *Itinerarium*, 10-11.

from the locations that the crusaders passed through. In truth, there was probably a mixture of all three. Guibert of Nogent told of the severe punishments for sexual crimes at the camp outside Antioch, which he considered just. He asserted that crusaders feared even to speak of prostitutes or brothels in case God's displeasure manifested itself through death on a pagan sword. Any unmarried women who fell pregnant (children were unmistakable evidence of illicit sex), were considered to be prostitutes and subject to horrible punishments with their pimps.⁷²⁰

Strictly speaking, as the crusade was a pilgrimage, crusaders were not supposed to indulge in any sexual activity, even if their wives accompanied them. However, most authors were less concerned about crusaders indulging in sexual relations than the fact that they were doing it outside the bonds of marriage. Guibert of Nogent criticised the activities of Peter the Hermit's followers in Hungary because 'they repeatedly dishonoured marriages by the seizure of women',⁷²¹ even though they were Christians who had offered their hospitality to the crusaders. He also praised Peter for making prostitutes morally acceptable for husbands.⁷²² In Raymond of Aguilers' history St. Andrew expressed dismay at the sins and adultery of crusaders 'although it would be pleasing to God if you would take them in marriage.'⁷²³ Writing of the Fourth Crusade, Greek chronicler Niketas Choniates praised the continence of Baldwin of Flanders:

...for as long as he was separated from his dear wife, he never so much as glanced at another woman...most important, twice a week in the evening he had a herald proclaim that no one who slept within the palace was to have sexual intercourse with any woman who was not his legal wife.⁷²⁴

The fact that crusaders needed constant reminders about their behaviour suggests that adultery was a genuine problem. Some historians record the expulsion of prostitutes from crusader camps during expeditions in order to appease divine wrath. This apparently

⁷²⁰ GN, 196.

⁷²¹ GN, 122; app.3.44.

⁷²² GN, 121.

⁷²³ RA, 97; app.3.45.

⁷²⁴ Choniates, 328.

occurred outside Constantinople in 1204, and at St. Louis' behest during his attack on Damietta in 1249.⁷²⁵ The most famous example occurred at the siege of Antioch in 1098, when Fulcher of Chartres asserted that married as well as unmarried women were a danger to crusaders' sexual purity:

...they expelled the women from the army, the married as well as the unmarried, lest by chance they were displeasing the Lord, polluted as they were by sordid activities and luxuries.⁷²⁶

This account seems to have been the unique addition of Fulcher, and it is questionable how accurate it was, given that the author was not present at Antioch himself. His view reflects those of authors such as Ralph Niger, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Newburgh – any women on crusade, even wives, could be the cause of sexual sin.

Miscegenation was another issue that concerned the authors of crusade narratives. Intercourse with non-Christians interfered with divine approval of crusading, and, again, engendered military defeat. Unsanctioned relations with Muslim women quickly became an excuse not only for the failures of crusades but also the setbacks of Latin settlement in Outremer, such as the fall of Edessa and the Battle of Hattin. *Eracles* explained that Jerusalem had fallen in 1187 as a result of sin: 'no one should wonder that the land of Jerusalem was lost, for they committed so much sin in Jerusalem that Our Lord was extremely angry.'⁷²⁷ Like Ralph Niger he specifically cited the cautionary tale of the Midianite women from Flavius Josephus.⁷²⁸ Even earlier, Walter the Chancellor showed concern that adulterous wives in Antioch were influenced by Eastern ways and were acting as prostitutes in the run up to the first era of Antiochene wars. He told of women who 'having scorned their husbands' beds, served unchastity in the lewd brothel' solicited at crossroads for customers. According to Walter, 'they were available for a price whatever the weather and would lie down with anyone who wanted', even the unwilling.

⁷²⁵ RC, 72. Joinville, 94.

⁷²⁶ FC, 223; app.3.46.

⁷²⁷ *Eracles*, 49; app.3.47, trans. Edbury, 42.

⁷²⁸ *Eracles*, 47-8. Ralph Niger, *De Re Militari*, 227.

⁷²⁹ He emphasised their desire for profit and indiscriminate sexual behaviour as recognised aspects of prostitution. He blamed a plague of locusts on the sins of Christians, and criticised not only prostitution but also lustful sexual activity within the marriage bond that was influenced by eastern culture. He told how men had special jewelled coverings made for their wives' shameful parts, 'not to clothe the appearance of their shame or to restrain the flame of lust, but so that that which was forbidden might inflame more hotly those people who did not desire legitimate pleasures.'⁷³⁰ Fortunately, in Walter's opinion, the earthquake of 1114 brought about universal repentance, and men and women gave up their immorality for the sackcloth and ashes of penance.⁷³¹

After their successful defeat of Kerbogha's army, Fulcher of Chartres made the odd assertion that when they found the women of his camps 'the Franks did nothing else evil to them, except that they thrust their lances into their bellies.'⁷³² It is uncertain whether he meant that women were simply raped and not murdered, or that they were killed and the sexual purity of crusaders was preserved against Muslim 'pollution' through intercourse. Bearing in mind Fulcher's story about expulsion of women from the camp at Antioch, and his inclusion of the vision of St Andrew criticising the sexual sins of crusaders there, the latter argument seems more persuasive.⁷³³ Perhaps Fulcher was attempting to reinforce the image of the crusaders' renewed spiritual purity; they had repented their shameful behaviour and gained victory at Antioch, thus they could not be seen to fall from grace before marching on the Holy City itself.

Separation

Despite the best efforts of the Reform Papacy to make marriages indissoluble, certain unions were simply untenable. Consanguinity was used on a regular basis to facilitate a divorce, but in fact, this excuse probably covered a multitude of other reasons, political

⁷²⁹ WC, 62; app.3.48-9 trans. Asbridge and Edgington, 79.

⁷³⁰ WC, 62.; app.3.50.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.* 83-4

⁷³² FC, 257; app.3.51; trans. Ryan, 106.

⁷³³ FC, 243.

and personal.⁷³⁴ The consent of both parties was nominally required to dissolve a marriage. Adultery was cited sometimes, but according to the church this was a sin to be atoned for rather than a legitimate excuse for dissolving a marriage. William of Tyre asserted that relationship problems experienced by Hodierna and Raymond II of Tripoli ‘arose from marital jealousy’, but did not state that it was a matter of adultery, nor who was to blame.⁷³⁵ Melisende was unable to reconcile her sister with her husband and was planning to take Hodierna back to Nablus. The separation was more permanent than she expected, however, as shortly after they left Tripoli, Raymond was murdered by Assassins.⁷³⁶

Despite the purported affair between Eleanor of Aquitaine and Raymond of Poitiers, most contemporary sources cited the official reason for her divorce from Louis VII, consanguinity. Evidently this was not the main issue in the divorce, for rumours of consanguinity were rife from the early years of their marriage, and both promptly remarried to partners who were at least as closely related to them after their divorce, Henry II and Constance of Castile.⁷³⁷ In John of Salisbury’s account, Eleanor had asked for the separation at Antioch when Louis had refused to let her stay behind, on the grounds of consanguinity. Despite this, the same adviser who warned Louis about Eleanor and Raymond encouraged the king to remain married and preserve his prestige.⁷³⁸ William of Tyre saw Eleanor’s adultery as a major factor in the divorce, but asserted that Louis decided to end the union on his own terms.⁷³⁹ The fact that Louis went ahead with the divorce even though he risked losing Aquitaine was a surprise to some - William of Newburgh described how the French were unable to retain the duchy and pined with envy.⁷⁴⁰ Perhaps Louis genuinely believed he had the resources to hold on to the duchy – he continued to style himself as duke until 1154.⁷⁴¹ It is interesting that even though William had blamed the failure of the Second Crusade on the presence of Eleanor and her

⁷³⁴ It was for this reason that the the Fourth Lateran Council reduced the number of degrees from seven to four in 1215.

⁷³⁵ WT, 786; app.3.52.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, 786. See also Mothers, 213.

⁷³⁷ James Brundage, ‘The Canon Law of Divorce in the mid-Twelfth Century: Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine’, in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, 215. Bouchard, ‘Eleanor’s Divorce’, 231.

⁷³⁸ John of Salisbury, *Memoirs*, 53.

⁷³⁹ WT, 770.

⁷⁴⁰ WN, 1.94.

⁷⁴¹ Brown, ‘Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered’, 9.

women, he did not mention the rumour of her adultery. He put the separation down to a coolness developing between her and Louis because of the failure of the crusade itself, and that she was no longer convinced of her husband's prowess on the battlefield or in the bedroom. Eleanor reputedly complained about her lack of conjugal rights - that 'she had married a monk, and not a king' - and her growing desire for a match with Henry II.⁷⁴²

Current scholarship largely accepts that the main reason for the separation was Eleanor's failure to produce a male heir.⁷⁴³ The Capetian monarchy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was keen to encourage the image of stability by providing a continuous sequence of male heirs clearly designated by the practice of anticipatory succession. Eleanor and Louis had been married for fifteen years, and had only produced one daughter. Marital differences, whatever their nature, could have been reconciled for the sake of retaining the duchy of Aquitaine. Eugenius III's attempts to encourage a *rapprochement* between the two demonstrates that the church still upheld the indissolubility of marriage even in consanguineous matches.⁷⁴⁴ Eugenius even achieved a degree of success as Eleanor shortly fell pregnant, but when the child proved to be another girl, Louis decided to go through with the divorce.

Royal marriage seemed similarly fluid in the early history of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as demonstrated by the case of Baldwin I. After only a few years of marriage, Baldwin put aside his second wife, commonly known as Arda, the Armenian princess he had married on his arrival in the East.⁷⁴⁵ A variety of reasons for the divorce were espoused by contemporary historians, and as both Mayer and Hamilton assert, the almost complete silence of Baldwin's chaplain and chief apologist Fulcher of Chartres on the subject is telling.⁷⁴⁶ According to Guibert of Nogent, she was following her husband from Edessa to Jerusalem by ship when pirates captured her. On her release, Guibert described her fate:

⁷⁴² WN, 1.93; app.3.53.

⁷⁴³ Brundage, 'Canon Law of Divorce', 217.

⁷⁴⁴ Bouchard, 'Eleanor's Divorce', 225, 231.

⁷⁴⁵ Hagenmeyer notes that she is referred to as Arda, but there is no contemporary authority for her name, FC, 422, n. 7. See also Hamilton, 'Women', 144.

⁷⁴⁶ In the context of separation he only mentions Arda's reinstatement, see below, 159. Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 53-4, Hamilton, 'Women', 145.

the king himself having doubts, not without reason, about untrustworthy pagan insatiability, straightway abstained from his own marriage bed, and having changed her garb, left her with other nuns in the house of Anne, the blessed mother of God's Virgin mother. In truth, it pleased him to live in a celibate manner, because *his struggle was not against the flesh and blood, but against the rulers of the world.* [Eph. 6.12]⁷⁴⁷

Guibert's knowledge of these events suggests that the separation must have taken place between 1102 and 1108; William of Tyre's chronology indicates some time before 1105. However, Guibert's version of events fails to explain why Baldwin did not divorce Arda immediately, as her capture supposedly took place in 1100 and she was still queen in 1102.⁷⁴⁸ Guibert's history was composed at least five years before Baldwin's marriage to Adelaide of Sicily in 1113, which would puncture his theory about the king's pious intentions in putting his wife aside. Writing in the 1180's, William of Tyre could afford to be more critical of Baldwin's actions:

...without an examination of the case he put her away, contrary to the law of marriage [since] she had been neither convicted nor confessed of guilt ... and forced her to become a nun against her will ...⁷⁴⁹

The convent of Saint Anne consisted of only three or four women at this time, but in return for taking Arda they received royal patronage. Later it was to become one of the richest monastic houses in the Latin East.⁷⁵⁰ William recorded that others accused her of breaking her marriage vows, but criticised the lack of legal process to Baldwin's actions and considered the divorce illegal. He also attributed Baldwin with a financial motive for the separation. Apparently some thought that 'this was done so that by marrying a more noble and more wealthy woman he might improve his condition, and on account of his

⁷⁴⁷ GN, 349; app.3.54.

⁷⁴⁸ Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 56-7.

⁷⁴⁹ WT, 495-6; app.3.55.

⁷⁵⁰ WT, 496.

poverty, which was oppressing him heavily, he was considering acquiring wealth from elsewhere by the name of dowry'.⁷⁵¹ The importance of the wealth that a marriage could bring was reflected in the match made by Baldwin I's cousin, Baldwin of le Bourcq. He married Morfia, daughter of the Armenian duke, Gabriel of Melitene (Malatya): 'receiving with her under the name of dowry a very large and very much needed sum of money' (fifty thousand gold bezants).⁷⁵² At a time when the Latins were establishing themselves in the East through almost continual warfare, the ready cash that a dowry could bring was crucial to financing expeditions.⁷⁵³ Albert of Aachen asserted that Arda's marriage had been celebrated with incalculable pomp but explained that her father had only paid seven thousand bezants of the agreed dowry of sixty thousand, putting off the rest of the payment until a later date.⁷⁵⁴ This later instalment never materialised, thus Albert considered Baldwin to be justified in putting Arda aside, and Taphnuz, fearing retribution, fled to his strongholds in the mountains.⁷⁵⁵ If Baldwin had put aside Arda for urgent financial reasons, however, it is curious that he waited for such a long time to remarry and gain a new dowry.

William of Tyre's attitude to Arda herself was somewhat ambiguous. Despite showing a degree of sympathy for her plight, he also told a scandalous story about her which does not appear in contemporary texts such as those of Fulcher or Guibert. Although at first the queen appeared content within the monastery, she later approached the king 'by false stories' to visit Constantinople on the pretext of raising patronage for the convent. Apparently, when she got there;

⁷⁵¹ WT, 496; app.3.56. For more information on Adelaide's dowry, see Widows, 242.

⁷⁵² WT, 482; app.3.57.

⁷⁵³ Mayer supports the idea that Jerusalem had great need of money at the time. Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 59-60.

⁷⁵⁴ AA, 361.

⁷⁵⁵ AA, 434-5 See also WT, 350. Mayer asserts that Albert, writing before 1120 and shortly after Baldwin had repented his misdemeanor by taking Arda back, was keen to uphold the honour of the Lotharingian dynasty, Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 52.

She began to give all her attention to sordid and impure things and having discarded the habit of religion, was prostituting herself to all who came, with care neither for her own reputation nor the queenly honour which she had held previously.⁷⁵⁶

As Hamilton points out, this tale is unlikely to hold any truth, for if it was widely known Baldwin could never have reinstated her as he did later.⁷⁵⁷ The inclusion of this tale makes it hard to ascertain William's true attitude. He may simply have been repeating gossip, or it is possible that he considered Baldwin responsible for Arda's fall from grace, by denying her the conjugal rites to which she was lawfully entitled and consigning her to a vocation which she had not chosen willingly. There are also parallels with his portrayal of Eleanor of Aquitaine's adultery; Arda's actions were not suitable to her previous status and 'queenly dignity.'

When Baldwin married Adelaide of Sicily in 1113, many considered the match to be bigamous. By the time he married Adelaide he was forty-two, and still without heirs. Perhaps he was waiting for Arda to fade from public memory, or affairs of state prevented him from making a suitable new match.⁷⁵⁸ Unfortunately the union with Adelaide also proved unsuccessful and in 1116 he returned his new wife to Sicily, reinstating Arda.⁷⁵⁹ Fulcher of Chartres explained that Baldwin was unwell and feared death, therefore he put aside the woman he had wed unlawfully because Arda was still alive.⁷⁶⁰ William of Tyre concurred, adding that Baldwin, in remorse and penance confessed and promised to make amends, restoring his first wife to the honour of which he had deprived her.⁷⁶¹ He was unlikely to gain financially from this decision, and if he were motivated by the need for a successor he could have taken a new, younger bride with a dowry, thus his motives may have been genuinely pious. Murray, however, argues convincingly that Baldwin made this decision on the advice of his nobles, who were more concerned that Roger of Sicily would have a legitimate claim to the throne under the terms of the marriage agreement should

⁷⁵⁶ WT, 496; app.3.58-9.

⁷⁵⁷ Hamilton, 'Women', 145.

⁷⁵⁸ Mayer suggests that there may even have been rumours that he had homosexual tendencies. Mayer, 'Baudouin Ier', 58.

⁷⁵⁹ See Widows, 242.

⁷⁶⁰ FC, 601.

⁷⁶¹ WT, 542

Baldwin die.⁷⁶² Albert of Aachen added that the separation was a condition of Pope Paschal II for the reinstatement of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnulf in 1116.⁷⁶³ Although Baldwin re-instated his Armenian wife, it appears that she never returned to take up her position, and the king died childless in 1118.

It is significant that neither of these dissolved marriages resulted in an heir, but marriages could end in divorce even if the couple procreated successfully, especially when an alliance was no longer politically viable. King Amalric of Jerusalem was forced to put aside his wife Agnes of Courtenay before he could succeed to the throne in 1163. Most contemporary chroniclers agreed with William of Tyre's assertion that her marriage to Amalric was dissolved on the grounds of consanguinity at the order of the patriarch of Jerusalem. In the past, Hamilton has argued that the move was in order to exclude Agnes and other dispossessed Edessan noblemen from rising to power over the established baronage.⁷⁶⁴ Mayer, however, believes that the annulment of Agnes' marriage had little effect on Edessan prominence in the kingdom. Based on evidence from the *Lignages d'Outremer* and William of Tyre, he asserts that Agnes was already married to Hugh of Ibelin when her match with Amalric took place in 1157.⁷⁶⁵ Crucially the *Eraclès* asserted that Amalric required a 'dispensation to legitimise the lady and her children' – Mayer asserts that Agnes would not have needed a dispensation from the pope if it were only a relatively minor matter of consanguinity; adultery or bigamy was the more likely cause.⁷⁶⁶ As a result, he finds it unsurprising that Agnes became 'a *femme fatale* of the Latin East', accused of affairs with Aimery of Lusignan and patriarch Eraclius when he was archbishop of Caesarea.⁷⁶⁷ Hamilton has dismissed this argument, however, on the grounds that Patriarch Fulcher, who was known to oppose the marriage, would undoubtedly have excommunicated the couple for bigamy.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶² Murray, 'Baldwin II and his Nobles', 63.

⁷⁶³ AA, 704. For William of Tyre's account of Arnulf's role, Widows, 252.

⁷⁶⁴ Hamilton, 'Titular Nobility', 197-203.

⁷⁶⁵ H. E. Mayer, 'The Beginnings of King Amalric of Jerusalem', in *Horns of Hattin*, 128-130. For the account of Agnes being forced to marry Amalric, see *Lignages d'Outremer*, 79. Mayer points out that William of Tyre used exactly the same terminology to describe their relationship as the bigamous marriage between Baldwin I and Adelaide of Sicily. See WT, 869-70, 552.

⁷⁶⁶ *Eraclès*, 20; app.3.60, trans. Edbury, 13.

⁷⁶⁷ Mayer 'Beginnings', 134. These accusations came from Ernoul, 59, 82.

⁷⁶⁸ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 25.

If the marriage was indeed bigamous, it is surprising that William of Tyre did not mention it, given his antipathy towards Agnes. He is believed to have had a personal grudge against her because she successfully championed his rival Eraclius to the patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁷⁶⁹ He could have blamed Agnes' feminine weakness and inconstancy for neglecting her marriage vows without overtly criticising his patron. The *Itinerarium* managed to blame Isabella of Jerusalem for agreeing to marry Conrad of Monferrat, even though it seems that she had little choice in the match.⁷⁷⁰ William could even have accused Agnes of seduction; he already considered her to be 'a woman most hateful to God, and ill-natured in her avarice.'⁷⁷¹ There is implicit criticism in the way he asserts that Amalric stayed unmarried for a time, but Agnes married Hugh of Ibelin *statim*; and when Hugh died, we are told, she entered into another consanguineous marriage with Reynald of Sidon that was possibly bigamous because Amalric was still alive.⁷⁷² From these examples it seems that William was determined to create the impression of a woman governed by lust, yet on this occasion he chose instead to give a detailed account of the degree of relationship between the two to prove that consanguinity was the real reason for the dissolution of the marriage. It is perhaps one of the only instances in his history when he openly relied on a woman, Abbess Stephanie of Sancta Maria Maior, for testimony. Traditionally women were not used as witnesses to support a historical argument, but it seems that in areas of genealogy a woman was perceived to have some expertise.⁷⁷³ This woman in particular was described as very old, 'a woman devout and noble in body and mind.'⁷⁷⁴ As a nun, her reliability as a witness was unimpeachable, and crucially she was the daughter of Joscelin I of Edessa, and a relative of Agnes. Thus William definitively defended Amalric and by extension Agnes herself against any other charges of impropriety in their union.

⁷⁶⁹ See Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul*, 41-2.

⁷⁷⁰ See below, 163.

⁷⁷¹ WT, 1019; app.3.61.

⁷⁷² WT, 870. It had been thought that the marriage between the two was annulled, but this was based on a misinterpretation of William's comments. See Rudolph Hiestand, 'Die Herren von Sidon und die Thronfolge des Jahres 1163 im Königreich Jerusalem', in *Montjoie*, 77-90 and Hamilton, *Leper King*, 33-4.

⁷⁷³ See Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900-1200*, (London, 1999), 65-92

⁷⁷⁴ WT, 869; app.3.62.

The aforementioned separation of Isabella I of Jerusalem from Humphrey of Toron and her marriage to Conrad of Montferrat also caused considerable controversy. A witness to the papal court later asserted that she had been abducted from the tent next to her husband at the camp outside Acre, although he suggested it may have been with her tacit approval.⁷⁷⁵ Even the *Eracles* chronicle expressed concern: ‘God knows if this sentence was in accordance with the law, for the lady was not in the power of her husband but was in the power and control of the marquis who married her as soon as the sentence had been given.’⁷⁷⁶ He suggests that if she had been with Humphrey, she may not have agreed to the separation. Given the initial similarities of the *Eracles* chronicle to the pro-Ibelin, *Ernoul* group of texts for the period 1184-97,⁷⁷⁷ it is surprising that the author was critical of the marriage, as it secured the kingdom for Balian’s step-daughter Isabella. Criticism of Conrad at this point in the text was certainly at odds with the more positive portrayal of his earlier feats at Tyre. Gillingham has suggested that the *Eracles* narrative was supplemented by versions of a later ‘anecdotal’ text: the pro-Ibelin source may actually have ended in 1187, a theory that Edbury finds persuasive and may well account for the discrepancy in views.⁷⁷⁸

Ambroise and the *Itinerarium*, on the other hand, had no qualms about expressing their disapproval of Conrad’s actions. The English contingent supported Guy of Lusignan as the rightful king, and Conrad’s refusal to aid the siege of Acre during a time of famine branded him an enemy and a criminal in their eyes. Ralph of Diceto suggested that Conrad and Isabella’s union was ill omened by recording that crusaders were captured on the same day as their wedding.⁷⁷⁹ Both the *Itinerarium* and Ambroise record the Archbishop of Canterbury’s opposition to these actions, and attempted to throw further doubt on the

⁷⁷⁵ Innocent III, ‘Litterae ejusdem de incestuoso matrimonio comitis Henrici (anno 1200)’, *Patrologia Latina* 26 (3) col. 981, cited in Jonathan Riley Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*, (London, 1973), 115.

⁷⁷⁶ *Eracles*, 107; app.3.63, trans. Edbury, 97.

⁷⁷⁷ Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul* (Oxford, 1973), 117-137.

⁷⁷⁸ As a result, Gillingham asserts, these histories ‘cannot be taken as reliable accounts of the 1190’s or as expressions of the view of the ‘native’ baronage at the time’. John Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden on Crusade’, 147 n. 33. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, 5.

⁷⁷⁹ Ralph of Diceto, ‘Ymagines Historiarum’, 2.86.

legitimacy of the marriage by asserting that it was bigamous and that Conrad had two living wives already.⁷⁸⁰ Their opinion of Isabella was rather ambivalent, the *Itinerarium* stated that she was forcibly abducted like Helen of Troy, but quoted Virgil on the inconstancy of women, and asserted that she was complicit because of her womanly nature;

The female sex is weak, and she rejoices at each new embrace, spitting out those she knows and swiftly consigning them to oblivion. The girl is easily taught to do what is morally wrong, willingly accepted the advisor's shameful instructions, and soon she is not ashamed to say that she was not carried off but went with the Marquis of her own accord.⁷⁸¹

Marriage did not always fulfil its promise once the wedding vows were given, and this could be another reason for separation. In the early 1240's, Ralph of Nesle, count of Soissons, married Alice of Cyprus, and the Acre continuation described how he tried to press the claim of his wife to the throne of Jerusalem. His hold over the lordship was weak, however, 'for those who had put him there, that is his wife's relations, had more authority and power than he had, so that he seemed to be nothing but a shadow.'⁷⁸² Alice had considerable political experience as in 1218 she acted as regent for her infant son Henry I of Cyprus, but had experienced problems with her powerful lieutenant, Philip of Ibelin.⁷⁸³ In 1225 she had married Bohemond V of Antioch-Tripoli, but this union was short lived. They divorced in 1228, apparently because of personal differences, but perhaps again because Bohemond had been unable to break the Ibelin hold over Cyprus. Later, the Ibelin family continued to obstruct her ambitions for power in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1243 they accepted her as regent at Acre, for she was closest heir to the current king, Conrad, but it had already been decided that fortresses should remain in the hands of

⁷⁸⁰ *Itinerarium*, 22. See also Ambroise 1.66-7, lns. 4121-38. Conrad supposedly had had one wife in the West, and his second wife Theodora Angela was still alive in 1195-8 see C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180-1204*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 80,84 and 119.

⁷⁸¹ *Itinerarium*, 121-2; app.3.65; trans. Nicholson, 124.

⁷⁸² 'L'estoire d'Eracles Empereur', 420; app.3.66, trans. Shirley, 128.

⁷⁸³ See Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, (Cambridge, 1991), 49-51.

Balian of Ibelin and Philip of Montfort.⁷⁸⁴ According to the Acre continuation, after Tyre had been recovered from the imperialists, they refused to hand the city over to Ralph and Alice, now claiming uncertainty over the succession.⁷⁸⁵ Ralph and his allies lacked the resources to enforce their will over such strong opposition. Having reached a stalemate, ‘...angry and disappointed, he [Ralph] threw it all up, left his wife and went home to his own country.’⁷⁸⁶ Ralph had married Alice in expectation of exercising the power to which she had a claim. She must have been in her early to mid-forties when they married and was unlikely to produce more children, so the position that he could achieve through marriage was probably his main motivation for the match. When this was not forthcoming, he evidently considered the arrangement invalid and terminated the agreement.

Wives and Captivity

A great many references to wives in the narratives of crusading occur in the context of warfare, where they are described as captives or victims of battle. The repercussions of captivity for young, unmarried women has already been discussed, but there were also specific perceptions about wives and captivity. A wife was a symbol of a man’s worldly goods, and was often associated with booty. In more felicitous circumstances, a noble wife could be of great importance as a hostage, but noble birth was no guarantee of personal safety. Albert of Aachen lamented the loss of over one thousand ‘delicate and beloved wives’, who were ‘very noble women and eminent matrons’, at the 1101 battle of Paphlagonia in Anatolia.⁷⁸⁷ The husbands who survived fled the battlefield leaving their wives to be raped, killed or chained by the Turks, who sent them as slaves into countries where they could not speak the language to be treated like dumb animals.⁷⁸⁸

Captivity also brought with it the stigma of infidelity which had repercussions for the marriage bond, as Guibert’s account of Arda’s captivity demonstrated. It was a mixture

⁷⁸⁴ Philp of Novara, ‘Les Gestes des Chiprois’ in RHC Arm, 2.730-2. See Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 81-2

⁷⁸⁵ ‘L’estoire d’Eracles Empereur’, 423.

⁷⁸⁶ ‘L’estoire d’Eracles Empereur’, 420; app.3.67; trans. Shirley, 128.

⁷⁸⁷ AA, 571; app.3.68-9.

⁷⁸⁸ AA, 572.

of ignorance, the desire to denigrate Muslim practices and fears about racial pollution which encouraged authors to endow their enemies with an insatiable sexual appetite. Guibert of Nogent said that the Turks were rapists, who had no consideration for shame or the marriage bond.⁷⁸⁹ He described Islam as a new license for sexual depravity: ‘the desire for pleasure was hidden under the excuse of procreating children not of their wives but of a great number of whores.’⁷⁹⁰ In his account of Kerbogha’s letter to the Persians the atabeg charged them to procreate with wives and prostitutes to oppose the Christians.⁷⁹¹ Thus their profligacy was not only due to sexual depravity but was also part of a conscious effort to present a threat to the Christian religion, an idea that was reinforced by fears about inter-breeding.⁷⁹²

In the thirteenth century the Rothelin continuation emphasised the polygamy of Saphadin, Saladin’s brother. Not only did he have many wives, he had even more concubines, ‘according to the laws of Mohammed.’⁷⁹³ On the Assassins the Rothelin continuator asserted, ‘These unbelieving Muslims ate pork and lay with their own mothers, sisters, daughters and all the women they could get, contrary to the law of Muhammad.’⁷⁹⁴ Frederick II was accused of becoming so intimate with the Saracens that he assumed similar morals, and customs employing eunuchs to guard his women.⁷⁹⁵ As a result of these kind of perceptions about the Muslim enemy, some noble wives never transcended the sexual slur that a period of captivity entailed. William of Tyre told how Renier of Brus, lord of Banyas graciously took back his wife after she had been imprisoned for two years, but:

Realising afterwards, however, that she had not conducted herself with sufficient prudence amongst the enemy and she had not observed with enough caution, in the manner of noble matrons, the sanctity of the marriage bed, he put her away from

⁷⁸⁹ GN, 102

⁷⁹⁰ GN 98; app.3.70.

⁷⁹¹ GN, 212; app.3.71.

⁷⁹² See Daughters, 105.

⁷⁹³ Rothelin, 522; app.3.72, trans Shirley, 35.

⁷⁹⁴ Rothelin, 523; app.3.73, trans. Shirley, 35.

⁷⁹⁵ Rothelin, 526.

him....⁷⁹⁶

The guilt was portrayed as hers, rather than extended to her captors. She was apparently content to accept the charge of infidelity and entered a convent in Jerusalem in order to expiate her sins. William evidently wanted to demonstrate that the lord of Banyas had acted honourably in this matter, as he emphasised that Renier waited until she died before marrying again.⁷⁹⁷

Some captured wives were never returned. The wife of Fulbert of Bouillon (Emeline) was taken captive in a raid near Edessa, we are told by Albert of Aachen, because of her '*formae elegantis*', and her husband was beheaded. Despite her good looks, her captor ordered that she should be treated honourably until he had ascertained the worth of her ransom, which suggests that captors were inclined to treat noble hostages well.⁷⁹⁸ In the end, however, a Turkish mercenary 'who...was inflamed with excessive love in eager desire for the appearance of Fulbert's wife' asked for her in marriage instead of his wages.⁷⁹⁹ Emeline's chances of ransom may have perished with her husband if she had no access to wealth of her own from the West, and she was duly given in marriage to her admirer. She may even have had a beneficial effect on her suitor: Albert noted that the knight, 'happy at his marriage', continued to fight for the lord of 'Azaz, who later allied with Christian princes against Ridwan of Aleppo.'⁸⁰⁰ In marked contradiction to the attitudes of these chroniclers, it is notable that the closest example we have to a biographical account of a woman's experiences on crusade, Thomas of Froidmont's *Hodoeporicon*, makes no reference to a sexual threat posed by Muslim captors although Margaret of Beverley was apparently unlucky enough to have been captured twice. Evidently he may have wished to protect his sister's reputation, but he focused on the hard labour she was forced to carry out during her period of slavery - gathering stones and chopping wood - and the privations and beatings she had to endure.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁶ WT, 656; app.3.74. See also Friedman, 'Women in Captivity', 83.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁸ AA, 436.

⁷⁹⁹ AA, 436; app.3.75, trans. Edgington.

⁸⁰⁰ 'nuptiis his laetatis' AA, 436; app.3.76, trans. Edgington

⁸⁰¹ She was ransomed once at Jerusalem and for a second time by a generous citizen of Tyre. TF, 478-80.

Wives were also affected by the captivity of their husbands. William of Tyre recounted with some relish the capture and ignominious demise of the dissolute count Joscelin II of Edessa, who contrasted poorly with the exemplary life of his wife Beatrice. The city of Edessa had fallen to Nureddin in 1144, but the count still controlled some fortresses based around his stronghold at Turbessel. However, Joscelin was captured in 1150 and his wife had the thankless task of rallying the shattered remnants of the county in his absence.

His wife in truth, a modest woman, sober and God-fearing, such as God loves, had stayed behind with her minor son and two daughters; and as far as she was able, with the advice of those nobles who had remained, she was striving to rule the people and was governing the province against enemies, working hard enough to supply arms, men and food, surpassing womanly strength.⁸⁰²

Joscelin remained in captivity until his death in 1159, leaving his wife effectively widowed.⁸⁰³ Ultimately, Beatrice was unable to maintain her husband's patrimony, and with the agreement of King Baldwin III, sold its remaining fortresses to the Byzantine emperor Manuel in return for a yearly pension for herself and her children.⁸⁰⁴ William did not blame Beatrice for taking this option, but saw it as the natural result of Muslim advances and King Baldwin's inability to protect those fortresses in addition to his own realm and Antioch.⁸⁰⁵

As booty, the wives and children of a defeated enemy were a source of potential wealth, but allowing them to go free was usually a sign of good faith. The *Gesta Francorum* was highly critical of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius when, 'brimming with empty words and hostile plans', he allowed the Turks to leave Civetot (Kibotos) with their wives and children, depriving the crusaders of the booty which they had earned.⁸⁰⁶ Later, wives determined the intentions of Syrian and Armenian spies at Antioch. The fact that their

⁸⁰² WT, 775; app.3.77.

⁸⁰³ WT, 774.

⁸⁰⁴ WT, 781-2.

⁸⁰⁵ WT, 781-2.

⁸⁰⁶ GF, 191; app.3.78.

wives remained within the city was indicative of treachery.⁸⁰⁷ It was a customary and recognised sign of submission and commitment that a Turk who wished to pay homage to a Frankish leader should involve his wife, sometimes giving her as a hostage as a sign of good faith. Count Raymond sent a Turk named Bohemond to negotiate after the victory at Ascalon, and Raymond of Aguilers described how ‘he came to us with his wife and arms.’⁸⁰⁸ The presence of a wife was therefore used to gauge the honourable intentions of her husband.

One Muslim leader with a reasonably good reputation when it came to the treatment of female hostages was Saladin. In the aftermath of Hattin, his advance across the Latin East engendered a wave of dispossessed Christians, but he seems to have allowed them several opportunities to escape. He agreed to Count Joscelin’s terms for the surrender of Acre, allowing the citizens forty days to leave with their wives and possessions, and similar terms were made for Christians at Ascalon.⁸⁰⁹ On his way to besiege Tyre, Saladin allowed Balian of Ibelin an escort to go to Jerusalem and find his wife, children and household before going to Tripoli.⁸¹⁰ Balian had agreed to stay in the city for one night only, but broke the terms of the agreement in order to help negotiate the surrender of Jerusalem. Saladin provided him with a knight to escort his dependants to Tripoli nonetheless.⁸¹¹ Muslim sources mention the departure the widow of a king who had become a nun, which may refer to Maria, and that the newly widowed Stephanie of Kerak were allowed to go free with all their possessions.⁸¹² Saladin also allowed Queen Sibylla to leave Jerusalem before he besieged the city, for he was concerned that he could not ensure her safety if the city was taken.⁸¹³ In truth, after Jerusalem was captured only those wealthy enough to pay the required ransom escaped slavery, despite Balian of Ibelin’s attempts to negotiate the liberation of some of the poor.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁷ GF, 244, GN, 171. Raymond of Aguilers, however, asserted that despite the fact that the Turks had given wives to the Armenians and Greeks, they were prepared to join the crusaders as soon as they could escape. RA, 64.

⁸⁰⁸ RA 159; app.3.79.

⁸⁰⁹ *Eracles* 56-7, 62.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.* 57.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.* 63.

⁸¹² Ibn Al-Athīr, *Extrait du Kamel-Attevarykh*, 709. Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête de la Syrie*, 105.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.* 62.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.* 69.

Clerical Marriage and Concubinage

At the beginning of the crusade period the church was still struggling to enforce its views on clerical marriage, and occasionally these were represented in historical narratives of crusading. Clerical marriage was still practised openly in the Byzantine church, and Guibert of Nogent criticised their persistent adherence to what he saw as a misinterpretation of scripture.⁸¹⁵ Despite the papacy's attempts to enforce celibacy, several Latin priests and prelates continued to keep mistresses. Monks in particular were discouraged from crusading because it contravened their commitment to cloistered life and risked closer association with women. This did not prevent their involvement, however: ecclesiastical authors often included cautionary tales about secular and religious clergy on crusades, focusing on their relations with women as a means for criticism. Albert of Aachen described a man and a woman who committed adultery outside Antioch and were beaten through the crusader camp.⁸¹⁶ Guibert insisted that the man was a monk, exacerbating the depth of his crime:

Meanwhile a certain monk belonging to a religious community very well known to all, who had departed in flight from the confines of his monastery, undertook the journey to Jerusalem, moved not by piety but by a whim. Having been caught there with a certain woman, if I am not in error, convicted by an ordeal by fire, that miserable woman and her lover were led around through all parts of the of the camp by order of the Bishop of Le Puy and others to the fear of observers, and naked they were beaten most cruelly with whips.⁸¹⁷

Guibert's scorn for the monk's motivation and his ultimate folly clearly demonstrated his contempt for monastics who took the cross in defiance of the pope's ordinances. Albert of Aachen recounted how a certain un-named woman of great birth and beauty was caught unawares by a Turkish raid from Antioch while 'dicing' in an orchard garden with a

⁸¹⁵ GN, 93.

⁸¹⁶ AA, 379.

⁸¹⁷ GN, 196; app.3.80.

young archdeacon of royal blood named Adalbero. Their comrades escaped, but Adalbero had his head cut off, and the woman was taken into the city, where ‘they tormented her all night with the unchaste intercourse of their excessive lust, showing no kindness towards her.’⁸¹⁸ After this they killed the woman publicly on the ramparts, and fired her decapitated head (along with Adalbero’s) out at the Christian army with a mangonel. Albert’s story had a twofold function: it warned against engaging in licentious activities on crusade, and acted as a deterrent to noblewomen and clerics who took the cross for frivolous reasons. The fact that he was careful to mention the name and lineage of the clerk involved suggests that contemporaries may have been able to corroborate the story. Brundage interprets it as explicitly sexual, and a warning that ‘crusaders who indulged in irregular sexual exploits might meet a sudden and particularly unpleasant death’, but the tale also had further dimensions as an indictment of clerical concubinage.⁸¹⁹

Arnulf of Chocques, the first Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, was also criticised for his activities on the First Crusade. Raymond of Aguilers said that good clergymen objected to Arnulf’s election to the Jerusalem patriarchate firstly because he did not have the right qualifications, and secondly because he was accused of incontinence on the journey. He had become the object of ‘vulgar stories.’⁸²⁰ William of Tyre also recounted these accusations with great animosity and criticised patriarch Arnulf for leading an unchaste life even after he had been made patriarch. William may have vilified Arnulf in order to alleviate some of the scandal attached to Baldwin I. He described the king as being led astray by the wicked patriarch, who also orchestrated his bigamous marriage. William also emphasised that Arnulf was the son of a priest, which meant that he was acting against canon law in receiving a benefice without first having made a monastic profession, and was a threat to church hierarchy and the impartial distribution of church lands. Indeed, he was even accused of dowering his niece, who married Eustace Grenier, with church lands.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁸ AA, 371; app.3.81; trans. Edgington.

⁸¹⁹ Brundage, ‘Prostitution’, 59

⁸²⁰ RA, 154; app. 3.82.

⁸²¹ WT, 421-2, 454-5, 519.

The Ernoul and *Eracles* continuations expanded upon William of Tyre's antipathy for Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem who was supposedly elected to that position under the patronage of Agnes of Courtenay. Whether or not the patriarch was Agnes' lover as Ernoul claimed,⁸²² both sources asserted that the patriarch kept a mistress called Pasque of Riveri, the wife of a draper from Nablus. Apparently they had an arrangement whereby she would come to stay in Jerusalem for a fortnight or more with her husband's consent, as the couple were well paid for the privilege. When her husband died, we are told, Eraclius took her in and bestowed such great riches upon her that a stranger may have thought her a countess, but the people of the city mockingly called her the 'patriarchess'.⁸²³ *Eracles* recorded with some relish the discomfiture of the patriarch when he was informed, during a *parlement* with the king and his barons, that his mistress had given birth to a daughter.⁸²⁴ Apparently William of Tyre knew of Eraclius' indiscretions and that was why he opposed his election, but God allowed it because of the sins of the people of Jerusalem.⁸²⁵ These accounts were undoubtedly influenced by the fact that Eraclius' loyalties lay for the most part with Guy of Lusignan, rather than the Ibelins whom Ernoul supported. Kedar has championed the reputation of Eraclius and argued that other contemporaries such as Ralph Niger would surely have mentioned it had they been aware of Eraclius' incontinence. He goes on to suggest that even if the patriarch had a wife, it would not have been viewed as exceptionally scandalous in light of the activities of some of his contemporaries, although given the prominence of his position such an affair would surely have been denounced were it common knowledge at the time.⁸²⁶ It is significant, however, that this was not a simple matter of unsanctioned clerical marriage: the hostile chroniclers stressed that Pasque of Riveri was already married, and that the arrangement was made for financial benefit, compounding Eraclius' sins further.

⁸²² See above, 160.

⁸²³ See Ernoul, 86-7, and *Eracles*, 51.

⁸²⁴ Ernoul added to the scandal by asserting that this was during a council of war, and referring to the lady explicitly as his wife.

⁸²⁵ *Eracles*, 51.

⁸²⁶ Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', 182-3. Evidently after Hattin, the sins of the patriarch, like the supposed incompetence of Guy of Lusignan, evolved into justifications for military failure.

Conclusion

Wives and prostitutes in the historical narratives of crusading and the Latin East provided a discourse for the polarisation of views on sexual activity at a time when God was perceived to be intervening in human affairs and sex had tangible political and military consequences. Far from providing a uniform view, these sources reflect a range of attitudes towards wives and sexual relationships and drew from a variety of sources; from the noble wife as active patron and politician to the victim of warfare and the lustful harlot. These distinctions were made in order to fulfil a didactic purpose. From an official standpoint, women who were not safely married or chaperoned and therefore above suspicion of sexual illegalities were not of 'good character', and therefore endangered the crusade effort. For most authors this distinction hinged largely upon status rather than gender - the majority of women criticised for their sexual activities were associated with the *pauperes* on crusade. Of course, the charge of illicit sexual activity was still levelled at certain noblewomen, but it is significant that those accused of it were perceived to be acting beneath their station. Attitudes were not uniformly fixed on these matters, as William of Tyre's failure to criticise Melisende's possible adultery suggests. Some authors, such as Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen, took a more critical view of the presence of women regardless of status, and hence made clear the risks that awaited women even if they had the nominal protection of marriage or high birth. In doing so, however, they recognised that after the success of the First Crusade, wives continue to be attracted by the idea of crusading. It appears that by the thirteenth century, when traditions of wives taking the cross with their husbands were well established, most authors recognised that wives who accompanied their husbands on crusade might at least thwart the danger of adultery. In certain circumstances they could even defend their husbands. Many years after her crusade, a story circulated about Eleanor of Castile that she had saved her husband's life by sucking poison from a wound gained when assassins attacked him, although there was no contemporary evidence of her involvement in the incident.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁷ Hamilton, 'Eleanor', 103.

Despite discouragement from some quarters, for at least a century wives had legitimate right through their marital vows to accompany their husbands on crusade. Innocent III's decretal *Ex multa* (1201) opened the way for men to take the cross without their wives' consent, but this also meant that nominally wives could crusade without the permission of their husbands. There were undoubtedly wives who did not sympathise with the crusade idea, or perhaps took part under duress at the will of their spouses. However, many wives may have taken the cross in fulfilment of vows that were equally as important to them as they were to their husbands. In conclusion, perceptions of wives in historical narratives of the crusades reflect not only reform views on sexual licentiousness and the marital bond, but also how medieval society adapted to a new and certified way to salvation that did not rely on monastic celibacy.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁸ Guibert of Nogent described crusade as 'a new means of attaining salvation' GN, 87; app.3.7.i.

Chapter 4 - Mothers

Introduction

This chapter will begin with a brief explanation of the conventions surrounding motherhood during this period. The historian of women, while recognising that motherhood is biologically exclusive to the female sex, must be careful to avoid applying 'universal' values or innate qualities to mothers, as their experiences were affected by a variety of criteria including wealth, social class, and individual perspective. It is true that medieval women were often defined solely by their unique capacity to produce children, but not all of them became mothers, especially where relatively high rates of celibacy existed. Even then, pregnancy and birth only formed part of the parental process - the conventions surrounding child rearing and the interaction between parents and children are, like gender, subject to social change. When focusing on the medieval period, a further layer of complexity is added by the specific problem of male authorship in relation to the female experience of motherhood. Evidently biological and social restraints limited men's experience of motherhood, but relationships with their own mothers as well as medical knowledge and tradition helped to form opinions that varied with individual authors. A medieval male perspective on the maternal role, no matter how alien it may seem to modern women, can still provide valuable evidence about how motherhood was perceived by contemporaries. Following the same outline as previous chapters, the initial section of this chapter will focus on the conventions and characteristics applied to childbirth and pregnancy, education, and authority, with particular emphasis on regency.

Background

Traditional Views on Motherhood

The reliance of medieval authors on tradition allows for a fairly consistent literary construct of motherhood for this period. The biblical command to ‘Honour Thy father and Thy mother’ is described by Blamires as fundamental to the case for women, and allowed mothers a measure of authority that was not bestowed on any other female role.⁸²⁹ ‘Profeminist’ authors invoked what Blamires calls the ‘obligation-to-your-mother’s-womb’ on a regular basis, asserting that women deserved respect because they suffered to bring forth life.⁸³⁰ In the Christian tradition, children, male and female, were expected to obey both parents. Joinville recorded how, on his deathbed, Louis IX instructed his son Philippe to ‘Honour and respect your father and mother, and obey their commands.’⁸³¹

Eve and Mary dominated Christian perceptions of motherhood in the medieval world. Other biblical role models for mothers did exist but were often limited to Old Testament examples of matriarchs whose importance lay primarily in the explanation of the lineage of the people of Israel.⁸³² As a wife, Eve had succumbed to temptation in the Garden of Eden, and motherhood was her punishment for this transgression, but also her means of redemption: ‘I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children.’⁸³³ She became the mother of the human race, and effectively provided the means to create celibates and virgins who achieved God’s grace. Thus it was a woman’s capacity for childbirth that redeemed her from Eve’s sin: ‘she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness, with sobriety.’⁸³⁴ This idea was also fundamental to the growth of the cult of the Virgin Mary, for as the mother of Christ, she was the source of redemption for all humankind.

⁸²⁹ Blamires, *The Case for Women*, 9-10, 70-95

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.* 72.

⁸³¹ Joinville, 404; app. 4.1, trans. Shaw, 348.

⁸³² John Carmi Parsons ‘The Pregnant Queen as counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood’ in John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler eds, *Medieval Mothering*, (New York, 1996) 39-61.

⁸³³ Genesis 3:16.

⁸³⁴ 1 Tim 2:15.

Mary had dual capacity as both virgin and mother. While her virginity provided her with unquestioned sanctity, it was her authority as a mother and her ability to intercede with Christ that accorded her a unique position amongst the saints. Mary's unattainable perfection through her virginity meant that she was probably a confusing role model for expectant mothers. The growth of the cult of St. Anne, the Virgin's mother, may suggest that she was a more amenable alternative. According to Shahar, 'the image of the Holy Mother apparently had no impact on the image of terrestrial mothers who bore their children according to the laws of nature.'⁸³⁵ On the other hand, Guibert of Nogent was dedicated to the Virgin while his own mother was critically ill in childbirth, a decision for which Guibert expressed sincere gratitude.⁸³⁶ While imagery of the Virgin contained few elements of earthly motherhood, she embodied everything about a mother's benign influence. As a role model she represented the virtues of graciousness and mercy that were often applied to queens and noblewomen. She was depicted as *Maria Regina*, the Queen of Heaven, from as early as the fifth century. A woman unrivalled in power and above the criticisms of earthly womanhood, she was often used as a symbol by secular queens and the Papacy. Blanche of Castille, the mother of crusader Louis IX, was portrayed in the likeness of Mary during the mid-Thirteenth century, but interestingly it was as the Virgin in her guise as the bride of Christ.⁸³⁷

Pregnancy and Mothering

In terms of physiology, Aristotle believed that women's menses only provided matter that was then transformed by the seed of the male, thus giving women little more status than a vessel in the procreative process.⁸³⁸ Ecclesiastical writers in general were far more concerned about regulating the sexual relationship between husband and wife than its ultimate consequence: parenthood. As a result of Eve's transgression, motherhood and

⁸³⁵ Leyser, *Medieval Women* 123, 128; Shahar, *Fourth Estate*, 99-100.

⁸³⁶ Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 18-24.

⁸³⁷ Mary Stroll, 'Maria Regina: Papal Symbol' in ed. Anne J. Duggan, *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, (Woodbridge, 1997), 173, 175, 177.

⁸³⁸ Elisabeth Badinter, *The Myth of Motherhood: An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct* (London, 1981), 9.

the procreation of children was the mitigating factor that allowed positive views on marriage. According to St. Augustine, sex was only acceptable when entered into for the procreation of children, even within marriage. Sex for any other reason engendered the sin of lust, especially if efforts were made to prevent conception or abortion.⁸³⁹ There were contemporary medical treatises relating to the act of childbirth, and most well educated authors would have been aware of theories about conception, as it formed a fundamental part of the contemporary philosophy behind human existence. In practical terms, men were unlikely to be present for an actual birth, as women and midwives were most commonly in attendance, but they had some experience of the conventions surrounding it.⁸⁴⁰ When Marguerite of Provence nearly died in childbirth, King Louis IX of France kept a vigil at her bedside despite his mother calling him to attend affairs of state.⁸⁴¹ Guibert of Nogent described his own difficult birth in some detail; presumably he had heard the story from his mother. She was ‘racked with continuous pain’, and her family, fearing her death, dedicated the young Guibert (if he survived) to a monastic life under a vow to the Virgin Mary.⁸⁴² Guibert described himself as almost an aborted foetus when he was born, and the callous remarks of the woman at his baptism provide fodder for the arguments of Ariès that high infant mortality in the medieval period led to a lack of sensitivity towards children.⁸⁴³

If Ariès espoused a bleak view of the parental role in medieval society, Shahar has agreed that in ecclesiastical literature at least, ‘children are often depicted as a burden and also indirectly as the cause of sin’.⁸⁴⁴ Parenthood had a place at the heart of the discourse about the benefits and detriments of marriage and virginity, and authors also reflected concerns about wealth and the rising population engendered by the economic boom of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bernard of Cluny expressed concern in the twelfth century that ‘ever growing is the horde of men who lack religious piety, whose desire to marry and

⁸³⁹ See St Augustine, ‘De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia’, in *Patrologia Latina* 44 (Paris, 1865), vol. 10.i, cols. 413-474

⁸⁴⁰ See Becky R. Lee, ‘A Company of Women and Men: Men’s recollections of Childbirth in Medieval England’ *Journal of Family History* 27 (2002), 92-100.

⁸⁴¹ Joinville, 332. See below, 203.

⁸⁴² ‘diutinis ergo cruciatibus agitata’ Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 18; app. 4.2.

⁸⁴³ Guibert, *Autobiographie* 18-20.

⁸⁴⁴ Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 128; Shahar, *Fourth Estate* 103.

whose unrestrained proliferation are the outcome of a fleshly lust which knows no bounds.’⁸⁴⁵ Shahar points out that these views were not exclusively masculine; they were shared by the women religious who also lived a celibate life and believed that the primary role of a woman was not motherhood, but service to God.⁸⁴⁶ Despite these views, even crusade texts recognised that there were bonds of love extending both ways between parents and children which might inhibit prospective crusaders. *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* commended crusaders for giving up ‘the tender kisses of sucking infants at the breast, the even more delightful pledges of grown-up children’.⁸⁴⁷

Further information about motherhood and the qualities associated with it can be gleaned from expressions about motherhood and childbirth applied to non-female subjects. Pregnancy and childbirth as purely physical roles are restricted to mothers, but men, cities, kingdoms, religious figures and institutions were all capable of displaying ‘motherly’ qualities. As Parsons and Wheeler explain;

Maternity is a biological fact, rooted in the female body through birth, yoked to breast-nurture through infancy. But mothering is an activity [it] is culturally constructed, [and] grounded in specific historical and cultural practices⁸⁴⁸

Although many examples which employ mothering qualities are based on biblical and literary *topoi*, they can provide a means to interpret contemporary cultural perceptions of motherhood, especially in historical narratives where information is otherwise relatively scarce.

⁸⁴⁵ Bernard of Cluny, *De Contemptu Mundi* ed. H.C. Hoskier (London, 1929), book 2, cited in Shahar, *Childhood*, 9.

⁸⁴⁶ Shahar, *Fourth Estate*, 106.

⁸⁴⁷ DEL, 71-3.

⁸⁴⁸ John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler ‘Medieval Mothering, Medieval Motherers’ in *Medieval Mothering*, x

Mothers and Education

Women had been excluded from teaching in the Bible because Eve had advised Adam to disobey God,⁸⁴⁹ but as women were to be saved through childbearing, motherhood allowed some flexibility from this stricture. Mothers were largely accepted as the educators of their children in medieval society, at least during their earliest years.⁸⁵⁰ In noble society, men usually took over the formal education of boys that began at age seven, but mothers still had a role in providing religious and moral guidance, usually by oral means. Mothers could also control the continuing education of their children by securing the appointment of a preferred tutor. Guibert of Nogent told how his mother chose his tutor and ensured that he gave up all his other students to concentrate on her son.⁸⁵¹ Of her own education, he wrote ‘you would have thought her a mellifluous bishop rather than the illiterate woman she was,’ demonstrating that a high standard of oral knowledge could still be imparted by women even if they were not literate.⁸⁵² Guibert’s mother also experienced dreams and visions, sometimes in relation to Guibert himself, who believed in her powers of prophecy. He asserted that she had foreseen certain events that had already come true, and others that he expected to.⁸⁵³ Guibert evidently subscribed to the church tradition of mysticism: a means whereby women were enabled to speak with authority on religious matters.

Mothers also led by example, and piety was a key component of perceptions about them. In common with perceptions about the Virgin Mary, the ‘good’ mother was portrayed as almost asexual, despite the tangible evidence of her sexual activity: children. According to Guibert, his mother would have preferred to remain a virgin,⁸⁵⁴ but having submitted to intercourse as a dutiful wife she had redeemed herself through agonising childbirth and by dedicating her last son to the church. Accordingly she deserved honour and obedience, especially as she was content to live the rest of her life in chastity. She was pious and

⁸⁴⁹ 1 Timothy 2:12-15

⁸⁵⁰ Janet L. Nelson, ‘Gender, Memory And Social Power’ in *Gendering the Middle Ages* ed. Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Oxford, 2001), 192.

⁸⁵¹ Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 26-30.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.* 168; app. 4.3. trans. Archambault, 73.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.* 128-30, 168.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 76-84.

authoritarian, overseeing Guibert's education by a tutor who used physical punishment, and although this disturbed her she was pleased at her son's determination to continue his lessons.⁸⁵⁵ Orderic Vitalis was also a child oblate: he entered the abbey of Saint-Évroul in Normandy at age ten. In terms of parenting, he made no reference to his mother, except to say that he himself was half-English - he gave more attention to his tutor, Siward, who schooled him from age five. As there were serious health risks involved in childbirth at this time, Orderic's mother may simply have died, but his father, Odelerius, was a Norman priest and therefore it is possible that there was some shame attached to his parents' union. As a child, he recalled his sorrow at leaving for Normandy, but it was only he and his father who wept. His mother, again, was conspicuously absent.⁸⁵⁶

While mothers were often praised for educating their sons in a proper fashion, their educational influence over their daughters could be treated with suspicion. Later vernacular poets drew from classical sources and often used the link between mother and daughter to elicit misogynist arguments against women as a gender. Some mothers were perceived as teaching their daughters tricks to deceive and ensnare men, when they were no longer young or attractive enough to do so themselves. Walter Map used this to argue against taking a wife on account of the legacy of Eve, for disobedience 'will never cease to stimulate women to be unwearied in following out what they have derived from their mother.'⁸⁵⁷ Chaucer's wife of Bath told of tricks she learnt from her mother to deceive her husband.⁸⁵⁸ The vituperative *Le Jaloux* in *Roman de la Rose* accused his mother-in-law of corrupting and prostituting her own daughter (his wife).⁸⁵⁹ His role in the text was obviously intended to exaggerate the case against women, and demonstrates that in the worst circumstances, mothers were cast as greedy, manipulative, and actively teaching their children to do wrong for their own personal gain.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 32-42.

⁸⁵⁶ OV, 1.2, and 6.553

⁸⁵⁷ For examples, see Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, 293.

⁸⁵⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Wife of Bath* ed. Peter G. Beidler, (Boston, 1996), 64.

⁸⁵⁹ Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford, 1994), 142-3.

Regency and Maternal Authority

The strict rulings on consanguinity introduced during this period required that relations could be traced on both paternal and maternal sides so that marriage within prohibited degrees could be prevented. The inheritance of daughters has already been considered, but the second most fundamental issue was the transmission of property through inheritance rights. Leyser asserts that prior to this period kinsmen gravitated towards their more successful relatives, so that maternal kin were sometimes more prominent.⁸⁶⁰ There is evidence to suggest, however, that this attitude to maternal kin remained strong during the time of the crusades, for example, the emphasis on Godfrey of Bouillon's inheritance of the duchy of Lorraine through his mother Ida. William of Malmesbury asserted that Godfrey was 'more distinguished on his mother's side, and claimed descent from Charlemagne.'⁸⁶¹ Many nobles evidently thought that Stephen of Blois' claim to the English throne through his mother Adela was sufficient to oppose the female heiress, Empress Mathilda, in civil war for many years. The status of a noble woman may have hinged initially upon her lineage, but the fulfilment of a successful marriage was the continuation of two family lines through the production of children. In practical terms her most important function was to provide an heir, or else her position as a wife could be threatened. Poulet asserts that 'fertility' was the 'cardinal virtue' of queens, and the same held true for most noblewomen.⁸⁶²

Tradition and education imbued mothers with a certain degree of authority, but the only time that a noble mother was specifically sanctioned to take political power on behalf of her children was in the absence of her husband, sometimes as a wife, but usually when she was a widow. As the authority attached to regency was so closely associated with the bond between mother and child, however, it will be considered in this chapter. Regency was perhaps the most authoritative position that a woman ever fulfilled, and was based on the premise that maternal love encouraged a woman to act in the interests of her child. Despite

⁸⁶⁰ K. Leyser 'Maternal Kin', 128.

⁸⁶¹ WM 1.655-7

⁸⁶² André Poulet 'Capetian Women and the Regency: the Genesis of a Vocation' in *Medieval Queenship*, 103.

the political problems that stemmed from women's limited military role, this was perceived to be a safer alternative than entrusting a minor's patrimony to a male relative who might have a claim. In the eyes of contemporaries, successful female regents only survived by adopting masculine characteristics, but at the other end of the spectrum women were perceived as easily induced to enjoy the trappings of power for their own benefit. In these situations conflict usually ensued when a mother was seen as unwilling to relinquish her position, a problem exacerbated by the fact that there was no specific age for a minor's transition to legal authority. In the Latin East, the *Livre des assises* of John of Ibelin asserted that a mother had the right to administer lordships in the case of a minor heir, which was usually common practice in the West. When it came to the throne, however, regency over the kingdom was to be entrusted to the nearest relation, whether male or female, on the mother's side if the claim was matrilineal, or the nearest male relation on the father's side if the claim was patrilineal.⁸⁶³ Both Baldwin III and V inherited the throne through their mothers before this law was consigned to writing, but Hamilton asserts that it was designed specifically to exclude the mother of a minor from the regency if he or she inherited the throne from their father, and therefore 'almost certainly' dated from Baldwin IV's reign, relating to the separation of Amalric from Agnes of Courtenay.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶³ *Livre au roi*, 146. Hamilton, *Leper King*, 84.

⁸⁶⁴ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 84.

Mothers in the Narratives of Crusading and the Latin East

Introduction

This section will begin with a brief outline of mothers' involvement in the crusade movement, before going on to consider perceptions about the Virgin Mary. She demands separate attention from worldly mothers. Her dual role as virgin and mother added to her unique qualities, her association with Christ and the holy places was also significant to the authors of histories about crusading and the Latin East. Queens and noblewomen were considered to share some of her maternal qualities, but they also had more earthly and practical characteristics influenced by their wealth and status and fertility. The activities associated with mothers such as pregnancy, childbirth and education will be addressed, as well as the literary conventions of 'mothering', metaphors of childbirth and nurturing qualities applied to a non-female subject. The majority of detailed portrayals of maternal relationships with children were usually included by medieval authors when they related to regency, therefore any such accounts will be discussed in this chapter even if they apply to widows. One particularly intriguing example features a Muslim woman conversing with her son: the mother of Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul. Her appearance in several First Crusade sources has been treated as a separate case study to conclude the chapter.

Mothers and Crusading

The mothers of crusaders were seldom mentioned as taking the cross. Many crusaders' wives who took the cross were mothers already, or indeed, became mothers while on crusade.⁸⁶⁵ The lack of reference to mothers on crusade can to an extent be accounted for by the fact that such women were more likely to be described as wives if they undertook the expedition with their husbands. It is also possible that chroniclers might find it difficult to extol the deeds of a hero who went on crusade with his mother. In reality, crusaders may have been less likely to take their own mothers on crusade for a number of reasons,

⁸⁶⁵ See below, 13.

not least that if they were of an age to take the cross, their parents may have been unable to participate through old age or illness. Most importantly, many still had duties to the family that kept them in the west even if some of them wished to end their days in the Holy Land. Age in itself was not necessarily a barrier to travel for women. By the time of the Third Crusade, Eleanor of Aquitaine was in her late sixties, and she escorted her son's fiancée all the way from Iberia to Sicily. Even then, she could not take the cross herself, as she was required to protect Richard's inheritance in his absence.⁸⁶⁶ Similarly, Blanche of Castille was renowned for her piety, but there is no evidence to suggest that she ever planned a pilgrimage to Jerusalem herself. As an experienced regent, Blanche's duty was to stay behind and care for her son's inheritance, enabling him to fulfil his vows. Sometimes the affection for parents or mothers was perceived as holding crusaders back, however, by assuming responsibility at home many such women became enablers, rather than inhibitors, of the crusade movement.

Riley-Smith has shown that mothers could be influential in spreading the crusade idea to their children as well as to their husbands; 'the period was one in which mothers could take a real interest in their children, but it may be that the influence of women on recruitment was more indirect', such as introducing a new chaplain to the household.⁸⁶⁷ Generations within families built up a tradition of crusading, often aided by the support and encouragement of pious mothers. It was Ida of Lorraine who stepped in to negotiate with the abbot of St. Hubert in his dispute with her son, the crusader 'hero' Godfrey of Bouillon. The abbot had threatened Godfrey with excommunication, which could have prevented him embarking on the expedition, but Ida calmed the situation by giving him the church of Sansareux. This enabled her son to go on crusade with a clean bill of spiritual health.⁸⁶⁸ Orderic Vitalis recounts how Count Geoffrey II of Mortagne, the father of First Crusader Rotrou, fell ill and entrusted the estate to his wife Beatrice, to watch over on her son's behalf. He gave her 'prudent instructions', and enjoined both her and his

⁸⁶⁶ Ambrose wrote that Richard 'sent back his mother to look after his land that he had left, so that his honour would not decrease' Ambrose 1.19, lns. 1155-7; app. 4.4, trans. 2.47.

⁸⁶⁷ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 98.

⁸⁶⁸ *Cantatorium sive chronicon Sancti Huberti*, ed. Karl Hanquet, (Brussels, 1906) 203-6, 338-40. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 128.

nobles to keep peace and ensure that their son's inheritance remained intact.⁸⁶⁹ Some mothers took a more active role in helping to finance crusaders while they were in the East. Ernoul records how Henry of Champagne left Champagne to the countess Marie:

He handed it over to his mother to govern and protect, and for as long as he lived she delivered to him the income of the land. With this he paid the debts he incurred at Acre; she sent him payment [every year].⁸⁷⁰

On hearing of the troubles of her son Louis IX in the East, Blanche of Castille was immediately mobilised to provide reinforcements and funding to the flagging crusade, ruthlessly enforcing ecclesiastical tithes to provide the king with the resources necessary for his upkeep.⁸⁷¹

In the Latin East, the propagation of Latin society in settler areas was a crucial factor in maintaining aristocratic power, and the obligation of maternity was reflected in the contemporary marriage laws. Brundage described a *militia cubiculi* of women serving the kingdom in the marriage bed rather than on the battlefield.⁸⁷² At times of military hardship, however, children could become the focus of the sins of mothers in settler society. Fulcher of Chartres asserts that before the battle against al-Afdal in 1105, the inhabitants of Jerusalem all fasted, even to the extent that mothers curtailed their breastfeeding.⁸⁷³ When Saladin was besieging Jerusalem in the days before the Third Crusade, the *Eracles* describes how repentant mothers cut off their children's hair in basins of cold water in front of Mount Cavalry, throwing away their shorn locks.⁸⁷⁴ It is inevitable that camp followers as well as wives became mothers during the course of crusades, but pregnant unmarried women were likely to face punishment, as their condition was an infallible indication that illicit sex had taken place.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁶⁹ OV, 6.395.

⁸⁷⁰ Ernoul, 291; app. 4.5.

⁸⁷¹ Gérard Sivery, *Blanche de Castille*, (Paris, 1990), 238-43.

⁸⁷² Brundage 'Marriage law', 270-1. Widows were encouraged to remarry until the age of 60, following the advice of St. Paul.

⁸⁷³ FC, 494.

⁸⁷⁴ *Eracles*, 67.

⁸⁷⁵ GN, 196, see Wives, 152.

The Virgin Mother

The Virgin mother was treated with reverence in the narratives of crusading, which often recorded crusaders appealing to her for aid. As a saint and the mother of Christ she held foremost place as an intermediary, and because crusaders were pledged to protect the Holy Land, Christ's 'patrimony', she was the natural conduit to intercede with her son. When the armies of the First Crusade were besieged by Kerbogha inside Antioch, the *Gesta Francorum* records how the priest Stephen of Valence had a vision of Christ, Mary and St. Peter. Christ was angry at the sins of crusaders, but both the Virgin and Peter interceded, 'begging and praying to him, to help his people in this trouble.'⁸⁷⁶ Guibert of Nogent in recording the same incident, called her 'the Virgin of invincible piety and always the intercessor with God for the human race, Mary'.⁸⁷⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, who was keen to emphasise visions and portents surrounding the expedition, asserted that the Virgin appeared to Stephen without St. Peter, and spoke to her son directly on behalf the Christians "these are the ones for whom I so often pray to you."⁸⁷⁸

Raymond also recorded how a priest called Ebrard prayed to a statue of the Virgin mother in Tripoli for several days, begging for her intercession on behalf of the crusaders at Antioch.⁸⁷⁹ Later he told of a fascinating exchange between himself and Peter Bartholomew after Peter had undergone his ordeal of fire to uphold the veracity of the Holy Lance. In it, Peter accused Raymond of supporting him outwardly, but secretly requiring proof that the Lance was a true relic of Christ. He claimed that the Virgin Mary and bishop Adhémar had told him of Raymond's doubts. In response, Raymond 'burst into tears' and Peter advised him to pray to Mary and Saint Andrew, reassuring him that he would be forgiven.⁸⁸⁰ Raymond's agenda throughout his history was clearly to support his lord the count of Toulouse against Bohemond, whose contingent opted for scepticism

⁸⁷⁶ GF, 338; app. 4.6.

⁸⁷⁷ GN, 219; app. 4.7.

⁸⁷⁸ RA, 74; app. 4.8.

⁸⁷⁹ RA, 117.

⁸⁸⁰ RA, 123-4; app. 4.9.

on the discovery of the Lance.⁸⁸¹ Rather than intending to foster doubt about the relic, he used the example of his own misgivings as a device to defend it against further criticisms. The account also showed Peter's strong charismatic power and manipulation of his position through his visions of authoritative figures, which he evidently used to ascertain the loyalty of people around him.

Raymond records that Stephen of Valence had another vision of Bishop Adhémar and the Virgin, en route to Jerusalem. On this occasion, Adhémar acted as an intermediary: through him, Mary indicated that she wanted Adhémar's relic of the True Cross to be carried with the army, and for Stephen to give a ring to Raymond of St. Gilles. He asserted that it would bring God's aid should he call upon it in her name.⁸⁸² On hearing of this vision, Count Raymond was apparently sufficiently moved to send for Adhémar's cross and hood from Latakia, demonstrating the influence such visions had on the leaders of the crusade. Here the Virgin appeared in a more authoritative rather than intercessory role. Adhémar relayed questions to her and responded to her commands; she was perceived as too important to speak to Stephen directly.

It is conceivable that the Virgin, untainted by sexuality, was more readily received as a nurturing mother-figure by celibate ecclesiastics. Joinville related a story about a monk who witnessed the Virgin visit the holy abbot of Cheminon one night in his sleep. She pulled his robe back over his chest, 'so that the night air might do him no harm.'⁸⁸³ The crusaders themselves were keen to earn her regard by observing festivals pertaining to her. During the First Crusade, the army remained at Caphalia to celebrate the Purification of Holy Mary, in February 1099.⁸⁸⁴ The day after the Saracens were defeated in battle near Jaffa in 1101, the Christians gathered in the tent of the king and to hear the mass of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary before returning to the city.⁸⁸⁵ When Second Crusader Alvisus, Bishop of Arrasto, was on his deathbed, he asked for the festival of the Blessed Virgin to be celebrated early, and 'gave his soul to the Virgin, whom he remembered with

⁸⁸¹ See Colin Morris. 'Policy and Visions', 33-45.

⁸⁸² RA, 128.

⁸⁸³ 'pour ce que li vens ne li feist mal' Joinville, 68; app. 4.10; trans. Shaw, 195.

⁸⁸⁴ RR, 852.

⁸⁸⁵ FC 417-8.

such devotion.⁸⁸⁶ Later, when the expedition reached Adalia, the crusaders celebrated the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, despite deluging rains.⁸⁸⁷

There were extensive sites dedicated to the Virgin in the Holy Land, and their appearance in descriptions of the Holy Places of Jerusalem demonstrates that devotion to her as well as to Christ was important to prospective pilgrims. Before besieging Jerusalem a group of knights including Tancred visited the Basilica of the Blessed Mary in Bethlehem. On hearing of the capture of Jerusalem, crusaders such as Bohemond and Baldwin came to celebrate Christmas there. Fulcher of Chartres told how: 'we wanted to assist personally with the prayers throughout the night at the manger where the venerable mother Mary bore Jesus.'⁸⁸⁸ It was at this church that king Baldwin I was crowned in 1101.⁸⁸⁹ As this site was believed to be the birthplace of Christ, and was associated with the kingship of David, it was a natural place for the assertion of Latin Christian dominance to begin. Mary featured heavily in descriptions of the Holy Places in the *Gesta Francorum*, and in the thirteenth century Rothelin continuation. The latter source based its account on *The Condition of the City of Jerusalem*, a text written in Old French towards the end of the twelfth century.⁸⁹⁰ Many of the stories in this text focused on the maternal role of the Virgin, giving domestic vignettes of her life with the young Jesus and locating them geographically, such as the stream where she used to send him to fetch water, or a spring in Egypt where she was said to have washed Jesus' clothes.⁸⁹¹

Crusaders revered relics of the Virgin as well as the sites connected with her. Raymond of Aguilers records how Saint George appeared to Peter Desiderius, chastising him for leaving behind his relics, and also a vial of the blood of the Virgin Mary and the martyr Thecla.⁸⁹² The Rothelin continuation described a wooden tablet carved with an image of the Virgin that produced a balm with healing properties, kept at a nunnery in Saidnaiya. It

⁸⁸⁶OD, 44-7.

⁸⁸⁷OD, 128-9.

⁸⁸⁸FC, 280; FC, 332; app. 4.11.

⁸⁸⁹FC, 384-5.

⁸⁹⁰Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, 2.

⁸⁹¹Rothelin, 513-515.

⁸⁹²RA, 134. Thecla was persuaded by St. Paul to give up her betrothed and was condemned to death

was apparently so powerful that even Muslims revered it.⁸⁹³ Gunther of Pairis mentions two Marian relics amongst his list of holy objects brought back by the Abbot Martin after the conquest of Constantinople. These included a relic from the place where the Mary had departed from her sepulchre, and a relic of her milk. He also brought Philip of Swabia a tablet containing relics with a carving of the Lord's Passion, with the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist standing on either side.⁸⁹⁴ During the establishment of the Latin Empire when the Greeks ambushed Henry of Flanders during a raid, they called upon the Virgin and were rewarded with victory. They also captured the icon of the Virgin, which was believed to bring success in battle, and had great symbolic importance to the authority of the Byzantine emperor. It was also a rich treasure covered in precious stones and the Venetians demanded it as the price for supporting Henry as emperor.⁸⁹⁵

The Virgin was sometimes perceived specifically as the protector of crusaders. Joinville told of a squire who fell off a ship on the return from Louis IX's crusade. When he was recovered by one of the king's galleys the squire told how he had prayed to Our Lady of Vauvert, and she had carried him by the shoulders and kept him safe. The author had such faith in this miracle that he had it depicted on the walls of in his chapel at Joinville, and in another stained glass window at Blécourt.⁸⁹⁶ The Virgin was also an emotive figure on the battlefield. The First Crusaders carried a banner of the Virgin, which had been captured at Antioch. Raymond d'Aguilers considered that the decapitation of Turkish prisoners and placing their heads on stakes was God's will in retaliation for their defilement of the Virgin's banner.⁸⁹⁷ Insults to Christ's mother were not to be tolerated, and inflamed the crusaders at the siege of Lisbon during the Second Crusade. Raol described how 'they constantly attacked the blessed Mary, Mother of the Lord, with coarse insults and abusive and shameful words, declaring it unworthy of us that we should venerate the son of a poor woman with as much reverence as if he were God himself.'⁸⁹⁸ Mary thus became the focus

⁸⁹³Rothelin 513-4. See Bernard Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox shrine revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the time of the Crusades' in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, 207-215.

⁸⁹⁴Gunther of Pairis, 176-7, 179-80

⁸⁹⁵RC 66, 107.

⁸⁹⁶Joinville, 356.

⁸⁹⁷RA, 58.

⁸⁹⁸DEL, 131.

of doctrinal attack for the Muslims arguing against the divinity of Christ, and in contrast was a rallying point for the defence of Christianity.

Abbot Martin, before his departure on the Fourth Crusade, delivered a sermon in the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Basel, and according to Gunther of Pairis 'he commended himself and his companions to the Blessed Virgin, humbly begging that she intercede for this new army before her son.'⁸⁹⁹ Many of the relics that he stole were intended as gifts for her, as thanks for keeping him and his companions safe from so many extreme dangers.⁹⁰⁰

Perhaps the only other mother who wielded a similar kind of spiritual authority and featured prominently in crusade narratives was the Empress Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine who was canonised for discovering the True Cross in Jerusalem. This event was marked by an annual celebration on 3rd May in the Latin Church, and her story was well known in medieval Europe and celebrated in Anglo-Saxon poet Cynewulf's *Elene*.⁹⁰¹ Helena's resting place was remarked upon in Robert of Clari's description of the marvels of Constantinople.⁹⁰² The Rothelin continuator told of a place in the Holy Sepulchre dedicated to St. Helena, where she was believed to have found the relics for which she was so famous.⁹⁰³ In some senses the story of Helena and the True Cross was used in crusade narratives to legitimise the renewed presence of the Latin Christianity in the East, by her association with her son Constantine and his role in bringing Christianity to the Roman Empire.

Pregnancy and Mothering

Pregnancy and childbirth were perceived to form an established part of the natural order, therefore when Ekkehard of Aura gave an account of the signs and portents around the First Crusade, he included unusual pregnancies.

⁸⁹⁹ GP, 116; app. 4.12, trans. Andrea, 73.

⁹⁰⁰ GP 173.

⁹⁰¹ See Cynewulf, *Elene* ed. P.O.E. Gradon, (London, 1958)

⁹⁰² RC, 86.

⁹⁰³ Rothelin, 495.

What should I say about those times [when] a certain woman remained pregnant for two years, and at length birthed from her womb a talking son; and likewise a little infant double in all limbs, and another with two heads...⁹⁰⁴

It is tempting to suggest that these exaggerated illustrations demonstrate Ekkehard's limited experience of the practicalities of childbirth, but to do so would take his work out of context, as the literary and biblical sources from which he drew were filled with such examples. It is interesting, however, that he accepted these reports as genuine and dismissed the story of the divinely inspired goose as fictitious – probably because it involved a woman claiming spiritual authority.⁹⁰⁵ Albert of Aachen described in more detail how the difficult conditions on the march south from Dorylaeum on the First Crusade affected pregnant mothers:

For indeed, very many pregnant women, their birth-channels dried up, their wombs withered and all the veins of the body drained by the indescribable heat of the sun and that parched region, gave birth and abandoned their own young in the middle of the highway in the view of everyone. Other wretched women rolled about next to their young on the common way, having forgotten all shame and modesty because of their extreme suffering in that drought. They were driven to give birth not by the due order of months or because their time had come, but were forced by the raging of the sun, the fatigue of their travels, the swelling of their thirst, their long distance from water. Their infants were discovered in the middle of the plain, some dead, some half alive.⁹⁰⁶

William of Tyre also recounted these details, noting that Albert was the only one to record them.⁹⁰⁷ Albert was especially concerned about women taking the cross for frivolous reasons, so perhaps he intended to remind his audience about the physiology that made women unsuitable for the journey. He was at pains to express, however, that the story did

⁹⁰⁴ Ekkehard of Aura, *RHC Occ.* 5.19; app. 4.13.

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁶ AA, 339-40; app. 4.14, trans Edginton.

⁹⁰⁷ See also WT 217-8.

not spring from hearsay but from participants also who had suffered during the march. His account demonstrated that he was aware of the natural time limit for pregnancy and that various health problems linked to the consumption of adequate food and water and physical stress could bring on premature birth. In a similar vein, Robert of Rheims told of starving women suffering famine once inside Antioch, unable to produce milk to suckle their sons.⁹⁰⁸

As the crusade host were often chastised for their sexual activities, it is inevitable that pregnancy and childbirth occurred in the course of expeditions, whether as a result of licit or illicit sex. For the most part, however, a specific birth was very seldom recorded unless the child was of sufficient status. Elvira of Leon-Castille bore Raymond IV of Toulouse a son, Alfonso-Jordan, while he was campaigning in Tripoli, but returned with the child to the West after her husband died in 1105.⁹⁰⁹ Margaret of Beverley was reputedly born while her parents were on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, although this would remain unknown were it not for her brother's account of her adventures.⁹¹⁰ Noble women who at an advanced stage of pregnancy were sometimes prevented from taking on the rigours of the expedition. Marie of Champagne delayed her departure on crusade because of pregnancy, but did eventually journey as far as Acre after her child was born.⁹¹¹ The risk to very young children on such difficult journeys was also recognised. Mabel of Roucy, wife of Hugh II of Le Puiset, went with her husband on the 1107 crusade, but stopped in Apulia to give birth to a son (Hugh II of Jaffa). As the child's health was fragile he remained there to be brought up by relatives, while Mabel went on to settle in the East.⁹¹² Mabel was in fact the niece of Bohemond of Taranto, which probably influenced their participation in his crusade, as well as her husband receiving the county of Jaffa.⁹¹³ On his death, she was remarried to a certain Count Albert from Liège, and they died soon afterwards, so effectively she had little contact with her son.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁸ RR, 815.

⁹⁰⁹ WM, 2.701.

⁹¹⁰ TF, 477.

⁹¹¹ Villehardouin, 2.124.

⁹¹² WT, 651. La Monte, 'The Lords of le Puiset on Crusade', 102-4.

⁹¹³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 172.

⁹¹⁴ WT, 651.

In the thirteenth century, Eleanor of Montfort also gave birth to a son, Simon, in Apulia during the Baron's Crusade in 1240, and Eleanor of Castille had a daughter, Joan, in Acre 1272. On St. Louis' crusade, his brothers Charles of Anjou and Robert of Artois both became fathers. Beatrice of Provence bore Louis in Cyprus in 1240, and Mathilda of Brabant gave birth to Robert II in 1250, just a few months after her husband died at the battle of Mansurah.⁹¹⁵ Marguerite of Provence herself had John-Tristan in 1250, Peter in 1251, and Blanche in 1253. Joinville went into considerable detail about her experience giving birth to John-Tristan in Damietta. It was indeed a dramatic situation: her husband was defeated and imprisoned, and she was trapped inside the city. She was terrified by the news of Louis' capture, and hallucinating that her room was full of Saracens, to the extent that she feared that the child might die. To comfort her she had an old knight lie beside her bed hold her hand. The name of the knight went unmentioned, but the emphasis on his age was probably in order to justify his presence in such an intimate situation.⁹¹⁶ As the situation worsened, the queen asked the knight to cut off her head rather than let her be captured. The child was born safely, but Marguerite had to break the traditional confinement in order to convince the Italians in the city not to flee. She begged them to take pity on her poor weak child and to wait for her to recover, and in return she would arrange the feeding of the army. She was successful, but in the end she had little time to convalesce before the city was surrendered.⁹¹⁷ Marguerite is usually characterised as a wife rather than a mother throughout Joinville's history, and in this case her duties as Louis' queen even transcended the traditions surrounding motherhood. However, Joinville evidently thought it more conceivable that she would appeal to the Italian contingent to stay through her vulnerability as a mother rather than her diplomatic power as queen of France. Despite the restrictions on sexual activity for crusaders, it seems that noble women were seldom criticised in narrative sources for fulfilling what was seen to be their primary duty, the provision of heirs.

Muslim mothers appeared rarely in the narratives of crusading, and few of the limited

⁹¹⁵ For a list of children born during crusades or on pilgrimage to the Near East, see Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf den Kreuzzügen*, 213-5.

⁹¹⁶ Joinville, 216-8.

⁹¹⁷ Joinville, 218.

references to them touch on the subject of childbirth. For the most part they, like other Muslim women, were associated with the spoils of war. Some authors denigrated their enemies by suggesting that Muslim women had an irreverent attitude to pregnancy and motherhood. Both Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent recorded that women were killed at Caesarea because they were believed to be perverting their maternal capacity by hiding bezants in their wombs. This description may, however, have been influenced by the work of Flavius Josephus.⁹¹⁸ Guibert recorded how women were brought to Antioch by the Turkish army specifically for breeding purposes, but fled when Kerbogha lost the battle, leaving their new-born babies to be found by the crusaders, more concerned for themselves than their children.⁹¹⁹ William of Tyre, however, recounted a legendary tale about Baldwin I's capture of the wife of a powerful Saracen noble. She was heavily pregnant, and he treated her courteously, leaving her to be found by her husband with food and water, a maid to assist her, two camels, and his own cloak. A universal respect for motherhood was, in this case, seen to transcend the boundaries of religion, at least for 'a woman of such high rank'.⁹²⁰

While there were few detailed references to the act of childbirth itself, use of the imagery associated with it was sometimes applied to the crusaders and their enemies. Chroniclers often compared the sounds of suffering or dismay to the cry of a woman in labour, drawing on imagery from biblical sources such as Jeremiah and Isaiah.⁹²¹ Thus Robert of Rheims described the sorrow of Turkish troops at the death of a Turkish emir: 'a trembling seized them, here there was sorrow as if from a woman in labour, and there was a cry of lamentation.'⁹²² Joinville described the noise made by sick soldiers during Louis IX's crusade, as barber-surgeons cut away rotting flesh from their gums. He recounts that 'it was pitiful to hear around the camp the cries of those whose dead flesh was being cut away; it was just like the cry of a woman in labour.'⁹²³ Whether authors drew from

⁹¹⁸ FC, 404; GN, 347. See FC, 404 n. 21 for other versions.

⁹¹⁹ GN, 225.

⁹²⁰ WT, 464; app. 4.15.

⁹²¹ See Isaiah 13:8 and 21:3, Psalm 48 v. 7 and especially Jeremiah 4:31, 6:24, 22:23, 50:43. See also Jeremiah 49:24 'Damascus is undone, she is put to flight, trembling has seized on her: anguish and sorrows have taken her as a woman in labour'

⁹²² RR, 787; app. 4.16.

⁹²³ Joinville, 166; app. 4.17, trans. Shaw, 239.

personal experience or borrowed from biblical sources they demonstrated awareness and even sympathy for the physical suffering that childbirth entailed.⁹²⁴ Guibert, conscious of his own mother's experience, used the analogy of relief after the pain of childbirth to describe the First Crusaders' approach to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Omnipotent God, what intimate feelings, what happiness, what grief they felt there, when after things unheard of and never experienced by an army from any age, like the tortures of birth, they saw themselves to have reached the new joys of their desired vision, just as if new-born children!⁹²⁵

Ecclesiastical imagery often focused on the maternal or 'mothering' qualities of the church.⁹²⁶ Fulcher of Chartres described the institution as: 'our mother of course, by whose milk we were reared, from whose training and example we benefited, and by whose advice we were protected'.⁹²⁷ In his account of Pope Urban's speech at the council of Clermont, Baldric of Dol used maternal imagery to describe the Eastern Church, which had given the West the divine milk through the teachings of the evangelists, calling for its defence.⁹²⁸ William of Tyre was highly critical of the Military Orders, whom he considered arrogant and corrupted by wealth. He likened them to rebellious children, ungrateful to their mother, the church.⁹²⁹ In *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* the bishop of Oporto used vivid imagery of the Church as a mother crying for help to convince the crusaders not to press on to Jerusalem without first aiding the Iberian church.

To you the mother church, as it were with her arms cut off and her face disfigured, appeals for help; she seeks vengeance at your hands for the blood of her sons. She calls to you, verily, she cries aloud. "Execute vengeance upon the heathen and punishments upon the people" ... Therefore, ... raise up the fallen and prostrate church of Spain; re clothe her soiled and disfigured form with the garments of joy

⁹²⁴ Leyser, *Medieval Women*, 124

⁹²⁵ GN 282; app. 4.18.

⁹²⁶ See Jo Spreadbury, 'The Gender of the Church: The Female Image of *Ecclesia* in the Middle Ages', in *Gender and the Christian Religion*, 93-103.

⁹²⁷ FC, 152; app. 4.19.

⁹²⁸ BD, 14

⁹²⁹ WT, 818.

and gladness ... Now, as worthy sons of the mother church, repel force and injury ...

930

It was common practice in medieval literature to consider cities and countries as feminine, and where applicable maternal imagery was also used. Orderic Vitalis told how Urban II 'urged the children of Jerusalem to set out boldly to the rescue of their Holy Mother.'⁹³¹ After the capture of Tyre in 1124, Fulcher of Chartres exclaimed: 'Justly the mother Jerusalem is pleased with her daughter Tyre at whose right she sits crowned henceforth.'⁹³² Oliver of Paderborn described the captured city of Damietta on the Fifth Crusade as an adulterous wife who had returned to her husband, and would now bring forth Christian progeny to defend the faith in the city.⁹³³ Guibert of Nogent recorded how Peter the Hermit was reprimanded by Bohemond for his desertion at Antioch:

When [France], the mother, after God, of virtue and constancy has sent forth men most pure all the way to this place, you, useless babbler and most corrupt of all people, you, she brought forth to her own disgrace and infamy, she had you and henceforth it was just as if she had birthed a monster.⁹³⁴

As well as institutions and places, the nurturing aspects of 'mothering' were used to describe the behaviour of men. Ambrose described King Richard leading his fleet 'as the mother hen leads her chicks to food'⁹³⁵ Similarly, Fulk of Anjou was compared to Martha in his care for the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁹³⁶ Ultimately these examples demonstrate that there was a strong sense of maternal identity which, even when not applied to actual mothers, can shed light on perceptions of motherhood and the concept of 'mothering'. Descriptions of the nurturing activities of mothers demonstrate that medieval authors

⁹³⁰ DEL, 79

⁹³¹ OV 5.19

⁹³² FC, 737; app. 4.20.

⁹³³ 'and you who first conceived bastards, will henceforth bear legitimate sons to the faith of the son of God, firmly possessed by the doctrines of Christ', Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina', ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal Bischofs von S. Sabina* (Tübingen, 1894), 229; app. 4.21.

⁹³⁴ GN, 181; app. 4.22.

⁹³⁵ Ambrose 1.20, lns. 1245-6; app. 4.23, trans. 2.48. See also *Itinerarium*, 179.

⁹³⁶ WT, 637.

expected strong personal bonds to exist within parent-child relationships, and that women had a role in providing wisdom and moral guidance. Mothers deserved to be treated with respect, but as women they were also vulnerable and could be betrayed by ungrateful children, and corrupted or debased at the hands of an enemy.

Mothers and Education

**The monastic rule did not teach you this,
Nor the woman who gave you birth ...**⁹³⁷

So Guibert of Nogent upheld the value of mothers as moral instructors when he chastised Peter the Hermit for leaving the monastic life to go on crusade - and for his immoderate eating. The mothers who were praised in narratives of crusading for educating their children well were invariably involved in their religious education. Adela of Blois was praised by Orderic Vitalis because she 'carefully brought up her young sons to defend the Church.'⁹³⁸ He wrote of Constance, mother of Bohemond II of Antioch that she looked after him 'as a mother should' until he came of age, although she anxiously prevented him from taking up his inheritance until Baldwin II had been released from prison.⁹³⁹ Joinville accredited Blanche of Castille with the spiritual training of her son, Louis IX;

As for his soul. God kept it from harm through the good instruction he received from his mother, who taught him both to believe in God and to love him, and brought her son up in the company of religious minded people. Child as he was, she made him recite all the Hours, and listen to sermons on days of high festival. He always remembered how she would sometimes tell him that she would rather he were dead than guilty of committing a mortal sin..⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁷ GN, 180; app. 4.24.

⁹³⁸ OV, 6.42-3

⁹³⁹ OV, 6.132-5.

⁹⁴⁰ Joinville, 40-2; app. 4.25, trans. Shaw, 181-182

Blanche was renowned for her strict piety, and Joinville seems to have held her in great esteem, but there is evidence to suggest that he may have considered her approach too harsh and overbearing.⁹⁴¹ This did not preclude a loving relationship between the royal mother and her son, however. Blanche kissed the son of St Elizabeth of Thuringia on the forehead assuming that his mother must have done so many times, suggesting that she too offered physical demonstrations of affection to her children. Louis' reaction to her death also implied genuine fondness, although Joinville thought it rather excessive.⁹⁴² In any case, he believed that it was through Blanche's instruction that Louis gained the moral framework which later enabled him to become a saint. Another mother who was given a degree of credit for the pious achievements of her sons was Ida of Lorraine. Guibert of Nogent described her as a learned Lotharingian aristocrat, most remarkable for her innate serenity and devotion to God. He attributed the success of her three crusading sons Godfrey, Baldwin, and Eustace, to her piety and nurturing skills:

The rewards of her sons were due, so we believe, to her remarkable long-standing religious commitment...These three, not in any way departing from their mother in honesty, were distinguished by many glorious deeds of arms and at the same time not lacking in modesty. The glorious woman was wont, when she wondered about the end of that journey and her own sons' fortune, to tell how she had heard a prediction from her son the duke's mouth, something made a long time before the start of that pilgrimage.⁹⁴³

Honesty was evidently perceived to be another key characteristic that mothers could impart to their sons: Joinville asserted that he knew his father's name was Simon because he had his mother's testimony, and believed it unquestioningly.⁹⁴⁴ Ida's prediction, however, became a staple feature of later fictional literature about Godfrey of Bouillon, and was included in William of Tyre's history:

⁹⁴¹ For example in her interference with Louis' marriage. See below, 203.

⁹⁴² See below, 204.

⁹⁴³ GN, 129; app. 4.26-7.

⁹⁴⁴ Joinville, 26.

The mother of these great princes was a religious and saintly woman pleasing to God, and while they were still of tender years, filled with divine spirit, she foresaw the future circumstances and the station which was being prepared for them in adulthood, just like something predicted by an oracle. Now, one time, while they were playing together around their mother, in the manner of children, and provoking each other in turn they often took refuge in her lap, and having hidden under her cloak, it so happened that their father Count Eustace came in, a man of great renown. When they were challenging each other and brandishing their hands and feet, which had been covered by the cloak worn by their mother, the count asked what it was that was stirring so often under there. It is said that she made this response: "Three princes of great power, of whom the first will become a duke, the second a king, and the third a count." This prophecy was implemented afterwards by the kind order of divine mercy, and subsequent events declared the truth of the things the mother predicted.⁹⁴⁵

William here presents a rather cosy vignette of domestic life intruded upon by divine prophecy. Godfrey first became duke of Lorraine through his maternal uncle, then king of Jerusalem; he was followed on the throne by his brother Baldwin, and Eustace became count of Boulogne, thus Ida's prediction was believed to have had merit. This story was but one of many legends surrounding Godfrey and his brothers. It is interesting that William chose to accept the veracity of this one while criticising other historians for including the legend that Godfrey was descended from a swan.⁹⁴⁶ Such predictions were not unique in crusade narratives; Guibert of Nogent referred to the mother of the Byzantine emperor Alexius as a 'sorceress' who predicted that a man of Frankish origin (whom Guibert considered to be Bohemond) would take her son's life and empire.⁹⁴⁷ The minstrel of Rheims suggests that Blanche of Castille knew on the departure of Louis IX for crusade that she would never see him again.⁹⁴⁸ The maternal role imbued women with a kind of innate spiritual knowledge that differed from male learning or scholarship, especially when

⁹⁴⁵ WT, 427; app. 4.28.

⁹⁴⁶ WT, 427.

⁹⁴⁷ GN, 105-6.

⁹⁴⁸ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Rheims*, 192.

it coincided with events that were perceived to be divinely ordained, as the example of Kerbogha's mother will demonstrate further.

Regency and Maternal Authority

i) Crusading and Maternal Power

Many of the mothers who acted as regents for children as a result of crusading were left behind in the West, and therefore relatively few are mentioned in the narratives of crusading. One of the main exceptions was Blanche of Castille, who acted as regent in the kingdom of France for her son Louis IX. She did, of course, have many years of experience: her husband Louis VIII had died in 1226, leaving her in charge of the twelve year old heir to the throne. Even though she was a 'foreigner', 'with neither relations nor friends in the whole kingdom of France',⁹⁴⁹ care of the kingdom had fallen to her purely by virtue of her maternal role. Blanche was in fact in quite an unusual position during Louis IX's minority. The powers bequeathed to her as regent by her late husband Louis VIII were in theory almost absolute, considering that she did not have to abide by any coronation oaths.⁹⁵⁰ Blanche continued to play a role in Louis IX's government even after he reached his majority, although Joinville consistently emphasised Blanche's piety and love for her son, reflecting the high moral standards required to justify women holding power, and perhaps to deflect criticism of the authority she wielded.

Female regency in Capetian France was not markedly unusual, although the first queen to act as regent for a son on crusade was Adela of Champagne, Philip II's mother. Evidently, Eleanor of Aquitaine was unable to act as a regent during the Second Crusade as she accompanied her husband. Had she remained, perhaps her involvement in the conflict between her husband and Thibaut IV of Blois of the early 1140s would have meant that she was a controversial choice to hold political power in the king's absence. It is notable, however, that Louis VII did not entrust the kingdom to his mother either. Adelaide of

⁹⁴⁹Joinville, 42; app. 4.29.ii and 4.29.i, trans. Shaw, 182.

⁹⁵⁰Poulet 'Capetian Women', 109.

Maurienne was passed over in favour of his friend and advisor Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. Poulet asserts that there was no set pattern to regency in France, but mothers were more likely to be regents for minor sons than wives were for absent husbands. Louis IX was evidently satisfied with the Blanche's capabilities during his minority, or he would not have entrusted her once more with the kingdom when he embarked on crusade in 1248. He did not, however, entrust Marguerite with the same authority when he departed on crusade for a second time in 1270, but rather designated a co-regency under Simon of Nesle and Matthew of Vendôme. Poulet suggests that Marguerite's son Philip III also excluded her from legislation, as an 'intriguing and authoritarian parent.'⁹⁵¹ She supposedly made her son Philip swear an oath to hold France under her wardship until he was thirty. On hearing this, Louis immediately got a papal dispensation to release his son from the oath.⁹⁵² This left Marguerite open to criticism for abusing her position as a mother to protect her family's interests in Provence, rather than acting in the interests of her son. As a result, she was excluded from a position of power as both as a wife and a mother.

Shadis has recently emphasised the importance of Blanche's politicised activity even before she became a widow, and the importance of motherhood in providing her with her privileged position as regent.⁹⁵³ As far as Joinville was concerned, Blanche of Castille was evidently a successful regent, but it was important that she maintain her devout and disinterested image, emphasising that she ruled only for the benefit of her son and only took up reins of power reluctantly. Despite her piety, the sources for Louis IX's crusade largely agree that she disapproved of his decision to take the cross. Joinville asserted that when she heard the news 'she mourned as much as if she had seen him lying dead.'⁹⁵⁴ The minstrel of Rheims asserted that Blanche accompanied Louis for three days on the journey from Saint-Denis, against his will. After hearing the farewells of her son, the queen replied in tears:

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 110.

⁹⁵² Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life*, 59.

⁹⁵³ Miriam Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship"', in *Capetian Women*, 137-161.

⁹⁵⁴ Joinville, 62; app. 4.30 trans. Shaw, 191.

“My own very sweet son, how will it be that my heart can endure the parting between you and me? Truly it will be harder than stone if it does not split in two pieces, for you have been the best son to me than any mother ever had.”⁹⁵⁵

Matthew Paris attributed a more political motive to Blanche’s attempts to convince Louis to stay. He included her in a faction of other magnates and councillors trying to dissuade the king from the enterprise;

But his mother had more effect on him, amplifying her emotional words, saying: “Dearest son! Listen and hearken to the counsels of your distinguished friends, without relying on your wisdom alone. Remember what a virtue it is, and how much it pleases God, to obey your mother and to follow her implicitly. Remain behind, and thereupon the Holy Land will suffer no detriment. A military expedition of [far] greater numbers could be sent there than if you had gone to that place in person. For God does not lay blame unjustly, nor does he mock. You are excused, my son, sufficiently, by what your illness did to you...”⁹⁵⁶

Louis was affected by his mother’s plea, and initially he laid down his cross, but promptly took it up again so that he could prove his decision was not just a result of illness.⁹⁵⁷ Blanche had given practical reasons why he should not go, but reminded him that he had a religious duty to obey her. She used a combination of counsel and her authority as a mother to compel Louis to stay, but ultimately he followed his own counsel. Not every source gave Blanche such precedence, however. The Acre continuation of William of Tyre placed Louis’ entire family, his mother, wife, and brothers at his sick-bed, grieving and expecting him to die, and together they tried to convince him to put aside the cross.⁹⁵⁸ For some authors, Blanche may simply have been cast in the traditional role of female ‘inhibitor’- a woman in genuine fear for her son’s life. Accounts like that of Matthew Paris, however, suggest that she and other advisors had sound political reasons for discouraging him, and

⁹⁵⁵ *Récits d’un ménestrel de Rheims*, 191; app. 4.31.

⁹⁵⁶ MP, 5.4; app. 4.32.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁸ ‘L’Estoire de Eracles Empereur’, 431-2

were prompted by concern for the security of the kingdom upon which Louis had only recently established firm authority.⁹⁵⁹

Although Blanche played an important role in raising funds for her son while he was on crusade, and dealt with popular unrest characterised by the ‘Crusade of the Shepherds’ in 1251, neither of these activities found their way into Joinville’s narrative.⁹⁶⁰ He did recount that the king received a letter from her when he escaped captivity and arrived at Acre, in which she begged him to return. She was concerned about a grave threat to the security of the realm posed by King Henry III of England.⁹⁶¹ The fact that Louis decided to stay in the East despite the problems besetting his mother is a testament to his faith in her abilities as a ruler, although he did send his brothers home.⁹⁶² It was only when news arrived of her death in Acre in the summer of 1253 (she died in November 1252) that Louis recognised that he would soon have to return. Joinville expressed surprise at the grief of Queen Marguerite on hearing the news. The author himself appears to have been called in to comfort her, and asked her why she was upset ‘for it is the woman who hated you most who is dead.’⁹⁶³ Joinville detailed how Blanche strongly restricted Louis’ access to his wife Marguerite so that in the early days of their marriage they had used to arrange secret trysts when they lived at Pontoise.⁹⁶⁴ At another time, when Blanche tried to extract her son from the bedside of his gravely ill wife, Marguerite is said to have cried out ‘Alas! Whether I live or die, you will not let me see my husband!’⁹⁶⁵ The dynamic between the two queens has been the subject of much historical discussion, usually focusing on whether it sprang from personal jealousy and rivalry, or there were more fundamental political issues at stake.⁹⁶⁶ Joinville focused strictly on the personal relationship between the two, and although he may have sympathised with Marguerite’s exclusion from her husband’s political life, he never

⁹⁵⁹ See Jean Richard, *Louis IX, Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrell, (Cambridge, 1992), 12-19, 41-61, and Sivery, *Blanche*, 229-43.

⁹⁶⁰ See W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton, 1979), 105-116.

⁹⁶¹ Joinville, 229.

⁹⁶² Joinville asserts that he said to his barons ‘“I have come to the opinion that if I stay there will be no danger of losing my realm, since the Queen Mother has people enough to defend it.”’ Joinville . 238; app. 4.33, trans. Shaw, 272

⁹⁶³ Joinville, 332; app. 4.34.

⁹⁶⁴ Joinville, 332.

⁹⁶⁵ Joinville, 332; app. 4.35 trans. Shaw, 316.

⁹⁶⁶ For recent accounts see Sivery, *Blanche*, 203-216, and McCannon, ‘Two Capetian Queens’, 163-176.

suggested that Blanche was not entitled to her position or abused her authority. To him, Marguerite explained her sorrow at Blanche's death as a reaction to her husband's grief and fear for her daughter in France, which demonstrated proper wifely and motherly behaviour.

Certainly Louis himself was very upset at his mother's death – Joinville asserts that he spoke to no one for two whole days, organised many services for her in the Holy Land and sent a chest full of letters to various ecclesiastical establishments to pray for her soul.⁹⁶⁷ In a similar vein, King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, despite considerable conflict with his mother Melisende, was described as terribly upset at her death:

... how much he had sincerely esteemed her is borne witness by these verifiable proofs as he gave himself to lamentation and would receive no consolation for many days hence.⁹⁶⁸

It is with a note of sadness that William of Tyre described the last debilitating illness of Queen Melisende. He reiterated how well she had ruled the kingdom, but was 'after losing her memory for some time, her body nearly consumed' and had taken to her deathbed.⁹⁶⁹ In a touching account, he described how her sisters Hodierna and Yveta, two of the most powerful noblewomen in the Levant, cared for her assiduously in her last days, and few others were allowed to see her.

It was only Joinville, who was close to the king, that recorded Louis' grief at his mother's death. Blanche of Castille had little impact in general on the Rothelin continuator, and the Acre continuation only briefly referred to her death without recording Louis' reaction.⁹⁷⁰ The relationship between mother and son presented by Joinville has led Jordan to suggest that Louis' crusade was part of a 'broader "commitment" to the integrity of his own selfhood' in terms of liberating himself both personally and politically from his overbearing

⁹⁶⁷ Joinville, 330.

⁹⁶⁸ WT, 858; app. 4.36.

⁹⁶⁹ WT, 851; app. 4.37.

⁹⁷⁰ 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur', 440.

mother, but this seems rather excessive.⁹⁷¹ It is true that he left her with fewer powers than she had during her first period of regency – he took his seal with him, and his own curia was very active while he was on crusade.⁹⁷² However, it was Blanche's proven trustworthiness and ability which enabled him to undertake the crusade he desired, and he obviously had no fears about ambitions on her own behalf. Perhaps it was the way he had managed to maintain a harmonious relationship with his mother that made him peculiarly well qualified to mediate in the dispute between the sixteen-year-old Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and his mother, Lucienne of Segni, who was unwilling to give up the regency to her son. Both of them visited the king during his stay at Acre, and Louis fulfilled the traditional role of a western king by adjudicating between them, although Joinville makes it clear on whose side his sympathies lay. The young Bohemond reportedly recognised that he ought to remain under her guardianship for a further four years but he accused his mother of squandering his inheritance.⁹⁷³ Whether this was through poor judgement or malice is open to question. Louis responded by providing military aid to the young Bohemond, and helping to persuade his mother to relinquish some of her power.⁹⁷⁴

Eleanor of Aquitaine, like Blanche, was perceived as an authoritarian and politically active mother, but because of the reputation she had developed as a wife and a divorcee she could not employ the shield of piety and chaste widowhood to deflect criticism so effectively. As a mother, she has been accused of neglect and favouritism when it came to her children, especially because she left behind two daughters when she divorced Louis VII. They remained in the custody of their father, and William of Newburgh asserts that they were married 'by paternal provision' to men of Louis' choice.⁹⁷⁵ DeAragon, however, argues that this was not at all unusual for the time, and that Eleanor did on occasion take her children with her on difficult and dangerous journeys, suggesting that she desired their company.⁹⁷⁶ Eleanor had also been involved in a serious revolt against her husband Henry

⁹⁷¹ Jordan, *Louis IX*, 3.

⁹⁷² Sivery, *Blanche*, 230, 232.

⁹⁷³ '...the city of Antioch is being ruined in her hands.' Joinville, 286; app. 4.38, trans Shaw, 296.

⁹⁷⁴ Joinville, 286. Jordan also considers this friendship significant. Jordan, *Louis IX*, 12, 132.

⁹⁷⁵ WN, 1.93; app. 4.39.

⁹⁷⁶ RáGena C. DeAragon, 'Wife, Widow, and Mother: Some Comparisons between Eleanor of Aquitaine and Noblewomen of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin World', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, 102-3.

II with her sons in 1173, for which she had been imprisoned, but Richard's succession to the throne bought her freedom, and his decision to take the cross afforded her the opportunity to return to political life. Ralph of Diceto portrayed Richard as overly obedient to his mother's wishes as a result.⁹⁷⁷

Eracles left his audience in no doubt as to who was responsible for King Richard breaking his marriage agreement with Alice of France. Eleanor was allegedly furious when she found out that the marriage had been arranged, especially with the daughter of her hated ex-husband and actively went out of her way to prevent the marriage.⁹⁷⁸ Thus, he asserted, she took it upon herself to negotiate a match with the king of Navarre for one of his daughters. Richard showed little reaction or remorse for breaking his agreement with Alice, apparently 'the king was thrilled by this proposition.'⁹⁷⁹ This perception of Eleanor as a domineering mother has, according to Gillingham, led to some historians considering Richard to be 'an irresponsible crusader, indifferent to important matters of politics like securing the succession to the throne'. Coupled with speculations about his alleged homosexuality, he has been considered a reluctant bridegroom whom Eleanor forced to marry. In fact, Gillingham argues that there is 'not a shred of evidence' that Eleanor conducted the negotiations.⁹⁸⁰ He suggests that Richard had arranged the marriage himself before his departure: he needed Berengaria's dowry quickly to help fund his crusade venture, and an alliance with her father King Sancho VI to protect his southern lands. The negotiations had only been held up because of Richard's previous commitment to Alice.⁹⁸¹ Both Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* simply interpreted her role as that of an escort.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁷ Ralph of Diceto 'Ymagines Historiarum' 2.67-8

⁹⁷⁸ It is impossible that Eleanor was unaware of the match with Alice, which was arranged in 1169, before her imprisonment.

⁹⁷⁹ *Eracles*, 111; app. 4.40.

⁹⁸⁰ Gillingham, 'Richard I and Berengaria', 120, 122.

⁹⁸¹ John Gillingham, 'Some Legends of Richard the Lionheart: their Development and their Influence' in Janet L. Nelson ed. *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, (Exeter, 1992), 61-66

⁹⁸² Ambroise, l.19 lns. 1143-5. *Itinerarium*, 175.

ii) Mothers and Regency in the Latin East

A key factor in achieving approbated maternal influence was that a mother had to act in the best interests of her child. Princess Alice of Antioch was not only portrayed as an unruly daughter but also as a bad mother. William of Tyre criticised Alice's lack of regard for her child, and excluding Constance from her plans 'so that having disinherited her daughter, she could seize control of the principality for herself in perpetuity, whether remaining in widowhood or moving on to a second marriage.'⁹⁸³ Alice seems to have believed that she had a genuine claim to power in Antioch, but William considered her an unpopular ruler because of her sex: 'For in that very city there were God-fearing men, contemptuous of the impudence and foolishness of a woman'.⁹⁸⁴ Evidently the kings of Jerusalem considered her unsuitable for regency, as Baldwin II and later Fulk of Anjou both took on that position in Antioch. However, other women in the Latin East acted as regents, so it seems unlikely that Alice's sex alone was the cause of her exclusion from power. It is only on William's authority that we hear Alice was deliberately trying to disinherit her daughter.⁹⁸⁵ Asbridge argues that there is a lack of supporting evidence to suggest that this was indeed Alice's intention especially as there are questions about William's reliability for the period.⁹⁸⁶ She may have simply been asserting control over the regency, which she considered to be her legal right as a mother. William suggested a further reason – that she desired to make the best possible second marriage for herself.⁹⁸⁷ This may have been true, but did not necessarily mean she was motivated by her own greed. A good marriage could also have bolstered her position as regent, and helped to provide security for her daughter's principality whose future had been uncertain since the death of Prince Roger in 1119.

⁹⁸³ WT, 624; app. 4.41. See also WT 635.

⁹⁸⁴ WT, 624; app. 4.42.

⁹⁸⁵ WT, 624.

⁹⁸⁶ Thomas Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch: a case study of female power in the Twelfth Century', in *The Experience of Crusading: Western Approaches*, 1.29-47. He also notes that the question of female regency in Antioch was 'untested' at this time.

⁹⁸⁷ See *Widows*, 254.

Cahen has argued that the Antiochenes opposed female regencies, although there was probably no legal restraint on women ruling on behalf of minors in Antioch at that time.⁹⁸⁸ This is largely based on the experiences of Alice and Constance, the two most prominent widows in Antioch during the twelfth century, but it is possible that their femininity was not the only factor that excluded them from power. The obvious comparison to make is with Alice's sister Melisende, who ruled the kingdom of Jerusalem in concert her son Baldwin III. The factors which may have influenced the choice of regent aside from gender and family relationship were age and experience. Alice's parents had married shortly before her father's captivity in 1103, and she was their second child. She had married Bohemond II in 1126, at which time she was presumably at least twelve and not more than twenty-one, thus she was unlikely to have been older than her mid-twenties in 1130, with only four years in a public position in the principality. Thus in experience she contrasted strongly with her sister Melisende, who had ruled jointly with her husband and son for twelve years before becoming regent in her thirties, and she was also an heiress in her own right. The age of their children may also have been significant – Constance was two on her father's death, which meant a considerable period of regency would ensue, whereas Baldwin III was thirteen, and was to come of age, (officially at least), in two years time. Alice's situation is also comparable with that of her daughter Constance when she was later widowed on the death of Raymond of Poitiers at the Battle of Inab in 1149. Baldwin III decided to involve Patriarch Aimery of Antioch in the rule of the principality, possibly because of the length of time Antioch would be without male leadership in waiting for an heir to succeed:

For the wife of the prince, Constance, with two sons and as many daughters still underage, had been left alone to deal with public affairs and the administration of the principality, neither was there anyone to perform the duties of a prince and raise the people from despair.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁸ Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 440. See also Phillips, *Defenders*, 47.

⁹⁸⁹ WT, 773; app. 4.43.

Constance had the same number of male children as Melisende on widowhood, but they were much younger.⁹⁹⁰ As a result, we are told, Patriarch Aimery came forward as a protector, and William paid particular attention to his liberal use of wealth.⁹⁹¹ He may therefore have assumed the position as a result of his ability to provide necessary resources and finance, but as a member of the secular clergy he could not act in that all important military capacity required of a lay ruler. It was probably also significant that Constance was only 22 and possibly perceived as too young for the responsibility. The past actions of her mother may also have weighed against her. For the immediate aftermath, Baldwin III assumed the official responsibility for the military protection of Antioch. After setting affairs in order he returned to Jerusalem, and was seemingly content at that point to leave Constance nominally in charge, with the support of Aimery, although soon afterwards he encouraged her to remarry.⁹⁹²

The current political situation was also important when considering female regency, although in a frontier society like the Latin East there was always a degree of vulnerability. Antioch's situation in the 1150's after the fall of Edessa and battle of Inab was much worse than the circumstances of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the death of Fulk of Anjou in 1143. The newly unified Muslim threat it faced required military support that could not be provided effectively by an already over-stretched king. Antioch's need for a dynamic military ruler was more acute at this time, hence the pressure upon Constance to remarry. Alice of Antioch's husband had also died unexpectedly in battle, but it was probably her choice of allies that most perturbed the kings of Jerusalem when it came to the issue of her regency. In the 1130 attempt to seize power, Asbridge notes that important men of Antioch such as the constable Renaud Masoir and the patriarch, Bernard, did not appear in the list of nobles supporting the king, and may have supported Alice, although it was Renaud who ended up with the official position of regent in 1132.⁹⁹³ Apparently she even intended to approach the Turkish ruler Zengi who had recently come to power in Aleppo for aid, in order to gain Antioch for

⁹⁹⁰ The heir, Bohemond III was 5 when his father died.

⁹⁹¹ WT, 773.

⁹⁹² WT, 774. Perhaps he was unable to discuss her remarriage at that point because she was entitled to a year's mourning.

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.* 34.

herself in perpetuity and to make her position more secure.⁹⁹⁴ It is uncertain whether this accusation is true, but there were examples of female rulers negotiating with Muslims in times of hardship. Melisende of Jerusalem and her son communicated with Unur of Damascus, and in the thirteenth century Isabella of Ibelin, the lady of Beirut, concluded a treaty with Sultan Baybars.⁹⁹⁵ In particular, after Baldwin's death, disillusionment with the rule of Fulk of Anjou meant that Alice became a rallying point for nobles dissatisfied with the new king, and her powerful accomplices included Count Pons of Tripoli, Count Joscelin II of Edessa and William, lord of Saone and Zardana.⁹⁹⁶ She also attracted the rebels Hugh II, count of Jaffa, and Ralph of la Fontanelle to her court at Latakia in 1134.⁹⁹⁷

Hugh's revolt was evidence of discontent with Fulk as a ruler, but some of his problems may have been inherited from Baldwin II.⁹⁹⁸ The exact authority of the kings of Jerusalem over principalities such as Antioch and Tripoli was still questioned, and Baldwin's policy of dynastic marriages for his daughters may have caused some concern about royal intentions. Although William of Tyre claimed that Alice had bribed him for support, Pons of Tripoli had long been concerned about the king's growing power, as he had tried to refuse Baldwin II feudal service in 1122, an act that almost led to military conflict.⁹⁹⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that after Baldwin II's death both the new ruler of Edessa, Joscelin II, and Pons took the opportunity provided by Alice to resist his successor Fulk. Fulk had to assert his authority first by military means, and then he was able to use the relatively weak position of Antioch to choose a suitor for Constance, Raymond of Poitiers.¹⁰⁰⁰ It was this marriage that eventually overturned Alice's hold on the city, as her claim to power came through regency, rather than inheritance. In 1135, before Raymond's

⁹⁹⁴ WT, 623-4.

⁹⁹⁵ See Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 122-4, and P.M. Holt, 'Baybars' treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269,' in *Crusade and Settlement*, 242.

⁹⁹⁶ WT, 636.

⁹⁹⁷ Murray, 'Baldwin II and his nobles', 82-3. On the basis of these visits, Asbridge argues that the date of Hugh's rebellion may have been earlier than previously thought. Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', 43.

⁹⁹⁸ This was evidenced by the concern of the nobles of Jerusalem that the king was wasting too many of their resources in northern Syria, as well as the offer of the throne to Charles the Good. See A. V. Murray, 'Baldwin II and his nobles', 60-85.

⁹⁹⁹ WT, 566, 636

¹⁰⁰⁰ Phillips, *Defenders*, 51-2

arrival, she had taken control of the city for a third time, and she went unopposed for a time, perhaps because of support from the new and controversial Patriarch Ralph, or the aftermath of Fulk's political difficulties in Jerusalem. The king may have been unwilling to damage the fragile reconciliation with his wife and her entourage by taking action, as William asserted that Queen Melisende supported her sister.¹⁰⁰¹ Alice also had the support of certain unnamed nobles, and Asbridge notes that once more, the constable and acting regent of the city Renaud Masoir appears to have offered no resistance.¹⁰⁰² Her success was short-lived, however, as Raymond arrived and married Constance in the following year.¹⁰⁰³

William's portrayal of Alice as a devious and disruptive force in the politics of the Latin East contrasts sharply his depiction of her sister Melisende, who participated in a civil war against her own son Baldwin III of Jerusalem in 1152. Melisende's capacity for administration and her right to govern were above question in William's history. This was partly because of her rights as an heiress: he emphasised that she was crowned jointly with her son.¹⁰⁰⁴ He also praised her ability, and crucially, her experience as a ruler:

There was, however, his mother, a most prudent woman, having much experience in almost all worldly affairs, clearly transcending the nature of the female sex, so that she could put her hand to strong things, and strive to emulate the glory of the most magnificent princes, and follow in their endeavours without false steps. As the designated heir was still young in age, she ruled with the kingdom so much hard work, and managed affairs with such control she was said to equal her forefathers in merit for her part; and for as long as her son desired to be ruled by her counsel, the people enjoyed a longed-for tranquillity, and the business of the realm progressed with prosperity.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰¹ WT, 658.

¹⁰⁰² Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', 44.

¹⁰⁰³ See below.

¹⁰⁰⁴ In contrast, the French translator of William of Tyre suggested that the king was crowned with his mother because the young king was as yet unmarried. 'Guilelmi Tyrensis Chronicon' in RHC *Occ.* 1.707.

¹⁰⁰⁵ WT, 717; app. 4.44. See also WT, 761 for Melisende as an equal of princes at the council of Palmarea in 1148.

Evidently William considered the rule of an experienced regent preferable to that of an untried youth. It is also significant that he associated Melisende's rule with peace, although she had to cope with crises such as the fall of Edessa in 1144, and the failed attack on Damascus in 1148. Her experiences as queen during the reign of Fulk had prepared her well for the intricacies of regency politics, but she had to rely on her constable, Manases of Hierges, for military leadership. Baldwin III, despite his youth, embarked on a military career soon after his father's death, but with mixed results. He had achieved some success at Wadi Musa in 1144 but met with abject failure in the Haurān region in 1147, and Mayer suggests that Melisende deliberately used these to exclude her son from power, resulting in civil war.¹⁰⁰⁶ William, on the other hand, blamed the dispute on the arrogance of Manasses of Hierges and on certain nobles (probably the Ibelins) who had inflamed Baldwin against his mother.¹⁰⁰⁷ These nobles argued that having come of age 'it was shameful that he should be ruled by female judgement,' and 'declaring it to be unseemly that the king, who ought to rule all others, always hung from his mother's teat like the son of a commoner.'¹⁰⁰⁸ William's chronology is rather confusing at this point, he asserts that it was after the civil war, and Melisende's restriction to Nablus, that her vassals refused Baldwin's summons as a king. Mayer, however believes this occurred in 1150, and was in fact the main precipitant of the war. Melisende was effectively creating a separate court for herself with her own administration, much as Alice of Antioch had after 1132 at Latakia.¹⁰⁰⁹ Crucial acts of patronage included the queen's gift of the county of Jaffa to her younger son Amalric in 1150, and the lordship of Ramla and Mirabel to her cousin Manasses of Hierges through a prestigious marriage in 1151.¹⁰¹⁰

It has been argued that the civil war was a result of Melisende gradually squeezing Baldwin out of power, and that William of Tyre may have purposely obscured the fact Melisende's other son, Amalric, supported his mother in order to spare his patron political embarrassment.¹⁰¹¹ From the charter evidence of the period, Mayer suggests that

¹⁰⁰⁶ Mayer 'Queen Melisende', 117-8, 124.

¹⁰⁰⁷ WT, 777-8.

¹⁰⁰⁸ WT, 778, 717; app. 4.45-6.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', 39-41

¹⁰¹⁰ Mayer 'Queen Melisende', 163, 155.

¹⁰¹¹ *Ibid.* 98, 124-5

Melisende was a woman obsessed by retaining her own authority, and applying the concept of *'divide et impera'* even at the expense both her sons' power. This is an image more in tune with William's perception of Alice of Antioch, and does seem rather a strong condemnation. Perhaps she saw Baldwin as unready for the demands of kingship: too inexperienced and inclined to take risks, evidenced by his earlier military failures. If William's history explicitly took the part of his patron Amalric, he could have emphasised the role that Amalric played in supporting his 'wronged' mother without portraying him as a rebel: none of Melisende's followers were explicitly referred to as such. Mayer asserts that Baldwin was the better ruler once he had come of age, and that Melisende should have given way 'honourably and with dignity' but 'her thirst for power was greater than her wisdom.'¹⁰¹² On the other hand, the fact that the church and a considerable portion of the nobility initially supported her suggests that many of them also shared reservations about Baldwin III's ability, or at least his choice of supporters, who were undoubtedly an ambitious group.¹⁰¹³ Melisende was ultimately unsuccessful in retaining her inherited authority in the kingdom because she was a woman. It was inevitable that she had to step aside in favour of a male heir, and when matters reached a head her supporters ultimately recognised that her position was untenable; but this was not necessarily a comment on her ability as a ruler.

The conclusion of her joint-rule did not end Melisende's political role in the kingdom. William of Tyre asserts that, in concert with her son, she attempted to persuade Princess Constance of Antioch to remarry, and to bring about a reconciliation between her sister Hodierna and Raymond II of Tripoli.¹⁰¹⁴ Mayer, however, asserts that this meeting of the *Haute Cour* took place in 1152 after Melisende's defeat, and was in fact a demonstration of Baldwin III's success that he could force his mother and her supporters to participate.¹⁰¹⁵ Still, it is notable that her assistance was required in what was traditionally a more feminine field of politics, matrimonial negotiation. In 1153, with the capture of Ascalon, Baldwin III firmly established his military credentials and secured his position,

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 123, 122-5.

¹⁰¹³ *Ibid.* 143.

¹⁰¹⁴ WT, 784-5.

¹⁰¹⁵ Mayer 'Queen Melisende', 161.

but even then, William of Tyre asserts that he distributed the possessions and lands he had taken ‘with the advice of his mother.’¹⁰¹⁶ Melisende was also involved in organising later military campaigns such as the capture of a fortress across the Jordan in 1157.¹⁰¹⁷ Both Melisende and her sister Hodierna were involved in the preparations for the marriage of Melisende of Tripoli in 1160, even though Baldwin’s role as marriage broker proved unsuccessful.¹⁰¹⁸

Ultimately, William portrayed the civil war as a minor event, a temporary and unfortunate upheaval in an otherwise congenial relationship between mother and son. Edbury and Rowe suggest that it was William’s respect for the authority given by consecration which made him support Melisende consistently, as he remained uncritical of queens such as Theodora and Maria Comnena, who were accused by others of acting unwisely or unjustly.¹⁰¹⁹ Lambert argues that ‘Melisende was still defined by her relations with men, as wife, widow and mother, but her role as queen required her to transcend such gendered constraints’ and that William emphasised her right to rule because of his own legal training and interest in the law.¹⁰²⁰ The fact that Melisende was a particularly keen patron of the Church, and praised by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, may also have influenced William’s opinion.

Agnes of Courtenay was not so fortunate, and came under severe criticism for wielding undue influence over her son, Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, and fomenting discord between the king and Raymond III of Tripoli.¹⁰²¹ A maternal regency was not possible for Baldwin IV as the marriage of his mother Agnes of Courtenay had been annulled, and therefore neither she nor the dowager queen Maria Comnena who was his step-mother had rights of regency.¹⁰²² In any case, if Agnes was an unacceptable queen-consort, whether because of bigamy or her political activities, there is no reason to suggest that she would ever have been officially recognised as a regent. When Baldwin IV inherited as a minor, no regent

¹⁰¹⁶ WT, 804; app. 4.47.

¹⁰¹⁷ WT, 838.

¹⁰¹⁸ WT, 856. See *Daughters*, 95.

¹⁰¹⁹ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 65, 80-3.

¹⁰²⁰ Lambert, ‘Queen or Consort’, 157 and 155.

¹⁰²¹ WT, 1019.

¹⁰²² Hamilton, *Leper King*, 84.

was chosen, but Miles of Plancy, the seneschal of the kingdom, looked after the government of the kingdom until his murder by the Brisebarres.¹⁰²³ In the absence of a seneschal, Raymond of Tripoli became regent, but Agnes still exercised considerable patronage amongst the nobility and the church through her position as the king's mother. In doing so she seems to have alienated many members of the Jerusalem baronage, and William of Tyre¹⁰²⁴ His bitterness towards Agnes is understandable, but he was significantly less scandalised by Melisende and her son when they tangibly interfered with the election of the royal chancellor, Ralph, in his bid for the archbishopric of Tyre.¹⁰²⁵

Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric of Jerusalem appears as another domineering mother, even though she never officially acted as a regent. She was seen as particularly influential in arranging the separation of her daughter Isabella from Humphrey of Toron, and her subsequent remarriage to Conrad of Monferrat. The *Eracles* chronicle records that after being approached by Conrad, it was Maria who challenged the validity of Isabella's marriage, and advised her to leave Humphrey.

'This angered her mother, and she remonstrated with her repeatedly and explained that she could not become lady of the kingdom unless she left Humphrey.'¹⁰²⁶

She also reminded Isabella of Humphrey's cowardice in not making a bid for the throne against Guy of Lusignan, and eventually Isabella consented to her mother's wishes. *Eracles* also suggested that Maria had a personal grudge against Humphrey because he hated her and tried to stop her from seeing her daughter after they married. Interestingly, *Eracles* asserted that 'he was acting on the advice of his own mother, Stephanie, the lady of Kerak', which added to Humphrey's image as a weak ruler.¹⁰²⁷ His mother Stephanie of Milly, heiress to the lordship of Oultrejordain, was a powerful woman in her own right, and could have influenced him to do so, but not without good cause.¹⁰²⁸ It is entirely possible that Baldwin

¹⁰²³ See Bernard Hamilton, 'Miles of Plancy and the Fief of Beirut', in *Horns of Hattin*, 136-146.

¹⁰²⁴ Hamilton, 'Titular Nobility', 197-203.

¹⁰²⁵ He was described as 'a man of considerable learning but far too wordly' WT, 738-9; app. 4.48.

¹⁰²⁶ *Eracles*, 105; app. 4.49, trans. Edbury, 95.

¹⁰²⁷ *Eracles*, 106; app. 4.50; trans. Edbury, 96.

¹⁰²⁸ After the defeat at Hattin, Stephanie appears negotiating with Saladin once more. According to Ibn Al

IV had taken the decision to marry Isabella to Humphrey in the first place to remove her from the political intrigue surrounding the Ibelins. In 1180, when the marriage was arranged, Sibylla was the designated heir, and her new husband Guy had not yet fallen from grace.¹⁰²⁹ In the account of *Eracles*, although the author was troubled about the legality of the divorce, Maria can still be seen to be acting in her daughter's best interests, encouraging her to inherit the kingdom of Jerusalem and to leave a husband who was a coward and prevented a mother from access to her child. The author of *Itinerarium* was more candid in his criticism. Violently opposed to Conrad and Balian II of Ibelin whom Maria Comnena had married after the death of Amalric, he describes her as godless, pliable, fraudulent and 'steeped in Greek filth from the cradle.'¹⁰³⁰ The author claimed his vitriol was based on the unlawfulness of their actions although it seems more likely that his prejudice against Conrad and the Ibelins was responsible.

As problems of succession in the kingdom of Jerusalem continued into the thirteenth century, inheritance through the maternal line became more common. In 1256 Bohemond VI prince of Antioch brought his sister Plaisance with her young son Hugh II of Cyprus to inherit the throne of Jerusalem. Marriage to a mother who had the guardianship of a young heir could sometimes be as lucrative as marriage to an heiress, and raise the prestige of an ambitious knight, and Plaisance was married to Balian of Ibelin, son of John of Arsuf in 1254.¹⁰³¹ Her regency was controversial, however, as her son's claim faced opposition. The Templars, barons, and Teutonic Knights supported the choice along with the Venetians and Pisans, but the Hospitallers and the Genoese claimed that Hugh was not the true heir. They supported Conrad's son, as the grandson of Isabella II.¹⁰³² The marriage was dissolved in 1258 for the sake of peace between Bohemond and the lord of Arsuf, but Edbury suggests that the couple separated as early as mid-1255.¹⁰³³ Although Bohemond has been seen as the instigator of this divorce, Edbury demonstrates that in fact during the time of the separation another

Athir she attempted to negotiate for her son's freedom from captivity. Saladin agreed as long as she secured the surrender of Kerak for him, Ibn Al-Athīr, *Extrait du Kamel-Attevarykh*, 709.

¹⁰²⁹ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 161.

¹⁰³⁰ *Itinerarium*, 121; app. 4.51; trans. Nicholson, 123.

¹⁰³¹ 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur', 441.

¹⁰³² Rothelin, 634.

¹⁰³³ 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur' 443. Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), 88.

marriage negotiation was underway between the two families, thus he argues that personal, rather than political factors may have ultimately been responsible for the split.¹⁰³⁴ The queen then returned to Tripoli with her son and brother, the prince of Antioch, but the regency remained in the hands of John of Ibelin (lord of Arsuf). When Plaisance died on 22 Sept 1261, the regency of Cyprus passed on to Hugh of Lusignan.¹⁰³⁵

An Unusual Case Study: Kerbogha's Mother

The conversation between Kerbogha and his mother in the *Gesta Francorum* stands out quite dramatically from the rest of the text both in style and content,¹⁰³⁶ a fact which has in the past caused speculation that the passage was written by a collaborator on the *Gesta* rather than the same person.¹⁰³⁷ Although crusade narratives occasionally portray women as attempting to dissuade men from fighting, there are no distinct literary precedents for a Turkish woman attempting to prevent her own son from fighting on the basis of Christian supremacy. Kerbogha's mother occupies a significant amount of the text in those chronicles in which she appears, therefore why as a woman and a non-Christian is she given such attention? Historians have largely dismissed the conversation between mother and son as 'camp gossip', an interesting anomaly with little or no historical value.¹⁰³⁸ In fact, this passage deserves re-examination to determine how it fits into the *Gesta* and other crusade chronicles, and what it can tell us about contemporary attitudes to women, motherhood, and non-Christians.

As the *Gesta Francorum* is considered by most to be the earliest source for the First Crusade, the conversation between Kerbogha and his mother contained within it is likely to be the first extant account of the tale, but certain key elements are shared in all its

¹⁰³⁴ Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 88-90.

¹⁰³⁵ 'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur' 443, 446.

¹⁰³⁶ The conversation appears in GF, 323-330; RR, 811-814; GN, 212-16; PT 93-96; BD, 62-4. Kerbogha's mother appears as 'Calabre' in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, 1.51-2, 1.268-9, 1.523-4. The speech does not appear in the version of Fulcher of Chartres or Raymond of Aguilers, nor in the later histories of Albert of Aachen, William of Tyre, Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury.

¹⁰³⁷ Bréhier includes the speech of Kerbogha's mother in a list of suspect passages which he suggests could have been added to the original text. *Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade* ed. Louis Bréhier (Paris, 1924), vi. .

¹⁰³⁸ See Hill, *Gesta*, xvi and August C. Krey, 'A Neglected Passage', 78, n. 47.

versions. Kerbogha's mother, on hearing that her son has besieged Antioch, comes to visit him from Aleppo, and begs him not to undertake battle with the Christians. While she does not doubt the prowess of her son, nor is she a Christian herself, she fears the God who fights on behalf of the Christians. Kerbogha does not initially believe her, responding: 'I think that you are mad or possessed by tormenting spirits', because her prediction does not correspond to military reality - his forces outnumber the Franks.¹⁰³⁹ She uses biblical quotations from David and the prophets to prove her case. Kerbogha then asks who has told her about the Christian people and their God, wanting to know the origins of her fears. She replies: 'by observing and calculating most ingeniously I have gazed at the stars of the sky, and I have accurately scrutinised the planets and the twelve signs and innumerable other oracles.' From these, she has predicted the defeat and death of her son.¹⁰⁴⁰ Kerbogha refuses her advice and she returns to Aleppo 'taking with her all the booty which she could assemble.'¹⁰⁴¹ Whether this was included to add to the finality of her words or simply to demonstrate the greed of the enemy is open to interpretation.

Prevailing opinion of the conversation remains that of Hagenmeyer and Hill, that it is a recounting of a tale told around the camp.¹⁰⁴² If so, the story may have been concocted to rally the Frankish troops before the battle.¹⁰⁴³ It is even possible that Kerbogha's mother visited her son in actuality, and her departure fuelled rumours that she believed in his imminent defeat. However, such explanations are purely hypothetical and it seems more prudent to assume that she was a predominantly fictional creation, developed from some literary precedent of a mother dissuading her son from fighting. The 'reconstructed' nature of this episode is crucial when it comes to understanding the importance of the conversation in its written context.

Edgington considers the dialogue between Kerbogha and his mother as similar to other conversations held between Turks in the *Gesta*, 'they must be dismissed as historical

¹⁰³⁹ GF, 325; app. 4.52.

¹⁰⁴⁰ GF, 328; app. 4.53.

¹⁰⁴¹ GF, 330; app. 4.54.

¹⁰⁴² Hill, *Gesta*. xvi.

¹⁰⁴³ My thanks to Professor P.M. Holt for this suggestion.

evidence, but ... they make interesting historiographical evidence.'¹⁰⁴⁴ However, the most curious element to this episode is that Kerbogha's mother argues in defence of Christianity. She contrasts strongly with William of Tyre's view of the mother of Timurtash of Mardin as a war-monger, reproaching her sons with 'incessant ... urging' to take back the city Jerusalem from the Franks in 1152.¹⁰⁴⁵ Ultimately, Christian rhetoric, rather than issues of gender or race, is paramount to understanding the role of Kerbogha's mother within the text. Rather than dismissing the episode as gossip, historians should recognise that the author of the *Gesta* seized the opportunity to use Kerbogha's mother as a mouthpiece for his own justifications of the superiority of Christianity. As such, it fits within the *schema* of other set piece speeches in crusade narratives, but in this case a unique perspective is provided by her femininity and her role as a mother.

Kerbogha's mother demonstrated many values attributed to western mothers in addressing her son: piety, honesty, wisdom, and the requisite nurturing qualities. She was concerned for her son's welfare but careful not to offend his pride. She tried to instruct him on religious matters like a Christian mother, and demonstrated her own knowledge and wisdom accrued from various sources. A fond relationship between Kerbogha and his mother is demonstrated through the use of endearments. In the version of Robert of Rheims, his mother called him 'the solace of my old age and the only pledge of all my love.'¹⁰⁴⁶ In the end, however, she was unable to persuade her son of his imminent danger, and had leave him to his fate.

Whether the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a layman of limited education, or a cleric influenced by the style of set-pieces in *chansons*,¹⁰⁴⁷ the words of Kerbogha's mother justifying the superiority of Christianity can be used as further evidence to support the idea that the crusade message was understood by participants. Textual variations appear in later versions of the conversation, and even if it was initially intended by the author of the

¹⁰⁴⁴ Susan Edgington, 'Romance and Reality in the sources for the sieges of Antioch, 1097-8', in C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, J. Herrin eds *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot, 2003), ch. 3.

¹⁰⁴⁵ WT, 787; app. 4.55.

¹⁰⁴⁶ RR, 812; app. 4.56.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See Theory, 33.

Gesta as a vehicle for his opinions, it comes as no surprise that others used the dialogue to impose their own interpretations. Robert of Rheims reinvented her speech using different biblical references, elaborating it into a rhetorical exercise justifying Christian supremacy and associated the crusading army with avenging angels.¹⁰⁴⁸ Perhaps his efforts were genuinely a result of wanting to correct and improve the *Gesta* version as he claimed, but if so he made good use of the opportunity to underline the divine origins of crusading.

The character and opinions of Kerbogha's mother also changed under the influence of different authors. In the version of Baudri of Bourgueil, Kerbogha's mother employed arguments similar to profeminine ones about the duty due to mothers; she criticised her son for entering into combat with the Franks without consulting her, and appears far more authoritative.¹⁰⁴⁹ In his *Dei Gesta Per Francos*, Guibert of Nogent portrayed Kerbogha's mother as more critical of the Christians, calling them weak and ignorant. Kerbogha himself is less affectionate towards his mother; he does not refer to her as 'beloved' and when she returns to Aleppo it is 'very much suspected by her own son'.¹⁰⁵⁰ In contrast, Robert of Rheims played on the emotions of mother and son, and his embellishments took the form of more colourful descriptions, especially about the sources for Kerbogha's mother's knowledge.¹⁰⁵¹ He also omitted the story claiming that Bohemond and Tancred could eat two thousand cows and four thousand horses in one meal – evidently a tale that was intended to ridicule Kerbogha's superstitious nature. Perhaps Robert feared its levity was not in keeping with the dramatic atmosphere he was trying to create.

Kerbogha's mother stands out amongst the women portrayed in crusade narratives for her knowledge of the arcane. There were other accounts of Saracen women with supernatural powers, but these usually involved accusations of witchcraft. The *Eracles* chronicle tells of a Saracen sorceress who, captured and tortured by soldiers, admitted to casting spells 'by the devil' on their camp. She then supposedly prophesied correctly that few of them would

¹⁰⁴⁸ The *Gesta* focused on the prophet David in Psalms and in what Hill calls 'a rather confused recollection' of verses from Romans or Galatians, he saw the crusaders as the heirs of Christ. Hill, 54. Robert of Rheims quoted more extensively from Deuteronomy, and from Exodus, RR, 812.

¹⁰⁴⁹ BD, 62.

¹⁰⁵⁰ 'de filio suo nimium suspecta' GN, 216; app. 4.57.

¹⁰⁵¹ Including soothsayers, magi and prophets, oracles, entrails and animal limbs. RR, 813-4.

escape capture or death, and her power was attributed to the devil.¹⁰⁵² Interestingly, although Raymond of Aguilers did not include the episode concerning Kerbogha's mother, he included an incident where two Saracen women were killed by the very siege engine upon which they were casting spells.¹⁰⁵³ Orderic Vitalis, who also omitted the account of Kerbogha's mother despite his inclusion of Melaz and Fatima, described a sister of Belek, Baldwin II's captor, and 'a very experienced sorceress', who prophesied by the stars.¹⁰⁵⁴ Popular sources also attested to this belief in the oracular power of Saracen women. In the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, Thomas of Marle met just such a woman on his entrance to Jerusalem, who predicted his death not at the hands of pagans or Turks but his overlord, Louis VI.¹⁰⁵⁵

Such extraordinary powers were not only limited to so-called 'pagan' women, as Christian women, especially mothers, were portrayed as prophetic.¹⁰⁵⁶ In connection with warfare in the Latin East, Walter the Chancellor recorded that a 'moon struck' woman made a prophecy of doom on the eve of the Field of Blood.¹⁰⁵⁷ Kerbogha's mother differs from these in that her prophecy does not come from a diabolic, crazed, or maternal instinct but through her own learning and that of her soothsayers. Some of the chroniclers were aware that they were portraying something considered to be out of the ordinary. Guibert of Nogent reports that 'At these words Kerbogha was rendered dumb by the miraculous eloquence of his mother'.¹⁰⁵⁸ Robert of Rheims remarked:

**No-one should be surprised that the woman spoke thus,
For she knew the books of Moses and the prophets well.'**¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵² *Eracles*, 47; app. 4.58.

¹⁰⁵³ RA, 149. See also WT, 406-7.

¹⁰⁵⁴ OV, 6.125.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Chanson de Jérusalem*, 141, lns 4776-4784.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See above, 199.

¹⁰⁵⁷ WC, 83; app. 4.59, trans Asbridge and Edington, 120.

¹⁰⁵⁸ GN, 215; app. 4.60.

¹⁰⁵⁹ RR, 811; app. 4.61.

He implied therefore that some would be surprised at her ability. He also recounted that Kerbogha grew angry after his mother's prediction of his death and tried to discredit her by criticising her 'empty words' and 'unskilled rhetoric'.¹⁰⁶⁰

Kerbogha's mother does not appear in the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres or Raymond of Aguilers.¹⁰⁶¹ Fulcher probably used Raymond's work to fill in the details about events during the crusade at Antioch, which may explain her absence from the chronicle.¹⁰⁶² It seems odd that Raymond with his obvious enthusiasm for recording visions and portents, saw fit to exclude the episode, even though he probably had access to the *Gesta*. John France suggests this is because of the different 'preoccupations' and background of Raymond.¹⁰⁶³ It is possible that Raymond may have considered the story to be 'camp gossip' not worth repeating, certainly in chronicling the events at Antioch he was more concerned with justifying the story of the Holy Lance. However, he may also have balked at ascribing Christian values to a woman and a Saracen, preferring only to give evidence of supernatural power on the side of the Christians. Albert of Aachen also neglected to mention Kerbogha's mother, despite the links between his chronicle and the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Instead, another fictitious conversation between Kerbogha and the Turkish general and ruler of Nicaea, Yaghi Siyan, takes place, in which he warns Kerbogha about the strengths and superiority of the Christian army.¹⁰⁶⁴ Yaghi-Siyan's speech is also reminiscent of that given by his envoy to Kerbogha in the *Gesta*, and was perhaps intended by Albert to be a combination of the two.

The passage also raises the issue of chronology in the First Crusade sources. In the *Gesta*, Kerbogha's mother not only predicts her son's defeat, but also that her son will die within a year.¹⁰⁶⁵ Hill argues that 'the confidence of the prophecy suggests that the Author wrote it in

¹⁰⁶⁰ RR, 813; app. 4.62.

¹⁰⁶¹ See n. 2.

¹⁰⁶² John France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*' 42.

¹⁰⁶³ 'The Anonymous enjoyed retailing fabulous stories and what was probably camp gossip about, for example, Kerbogha's mother or Emperor Alexius, while the story of Mirdalin and Kerbogha playing chess as the crusaders sallied out from Antioch is the only example in the *Historia*.' *Ibid.*, 56-7.

¹⁰⁶⁴ AA, 392-3.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Although you will not die as a result of this battle, you will yet in this year.' GF, 326-7; app. 4.63.

the summer of 1098, after the Great Battle of Antioch.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, the date cited most often by historians for Kerbogha's death is 1102.¹⁰⁶⁷ If the speech of Kerbogha's mother was filled with the confidence of hindsight, why not simply be content with a prediction of Kerbogha's defeat? Why would the author put such a stricture on Kerbogha's forthcoming death? If the *Gesta* was completed in 1101 as is commonly believed, or possibly earlier as Colin Morris suggests, when Kerbogha was still alive, why include a prophecy that appears to be wrong?¹⁰⁶⁸ It is possible that the author was writing later with the benefit of hindsight, confident that Kerbogha was already dead. Obviously, this is not conclusive proof that the *Gesta* was written later than thought. Even if the author was writing in 1102, Kerbogha's mother's prediction of her son's death within a year of the battle in 1098 would still be wrong, yet the prediction is reiterated in all versions of the speech. Hill asserts that Kerbogha may have died as early as 26 October 1101, but would the *Gesta*, or at least this part of it, have been complete in time to be used as the original source for Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres in that same year?¹⁰⁶⁹ John and Laurita Hill suggest that the '*libellus*' seen by Ekkehard of Aura in Jerusalem in 1101 was not in fact the *Gesta*, but may have been an earlier common source used by the *Gesta*, Raymond and Fulcher.¹⁰⁷⁰ A common source may indeed account for the lack of Kerbogha's mother in the accounts of Raymond and Fulcher.¹⁰⁷¹ At present there are no obvious solutions to such questions. However, it is clear that the speech of Kerbogha's mother deserves more than the cursory attention it has

¹⁰⁶⁶ Hill, *Gesta*, 54, n. 7

¹⁰⁶⁷ In Ibn Al-Athir's *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul* Kerbogha's death is cited as 494 (1100-1101) RHC *Hist. Or.* (Paris, 1887), 2.31. In *Extrait du Kamel-Attevarykh* under the year 495 of Hegira (1101 and 1102 AD) is the following 'Kerbouka, surnommé Kivam-eddaulé (soutien l'empire) meurt cette année au mois de doulcada (Septembre 1102)'. RHC *Hist. Or.* (Paris, 1872) 1.208. The *Annals D'Aboulfeda* also has Kerbogha dying in 495, RHC *Hist. Or.* 1.6.

For the date of Kerbogha's death as 1102, see Baldric of Dol, *Historia*, 63 n.a: PT, 95 n. 74: W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), 121 n. 3: S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* 2.41: and Cahen *La Syrie du Nord.*, 237. Rosalind Hill asserts that Kerbogha died some time between 26 October 1101 and 14 October 1102, but gives no source. Hill, *Gesta*, 54.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Colin Morris, 'Gesta', 66.

¹⁰⁶⁹ France, 'The Anonymous Gesta', 58. Fink asserts that Fulcher of Chartres was writing before the death of Stephen of Blois in 1102, using the *Gesta* and Raymond which were finished 'between late 1100 and late 1101'. Fink, *A History of the expedition to Jerusalem*, 20. Also see Susan Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence' in *The First Crusade Origins and Impact*, 55-77.

¹⁰⁷⁰ PT 22-3. See Ekkehard of Aura, RHC *Occ.* 5.21.

¹⁰⁷¹ In the chronicle of Albert of Aachen, Kerbogha responds to the warnings of Yaghi Siyan again with reference to his own death. 'If I am lucky enough to live, before six months shall pass I shall put these Christians to the test and find out whether they are as strong as you claim, and I swear by my god that I shall destroy them in such a way that all their posterity shall grieve.' AA, 393-4; app. 4.64, trans. Edgington.

attracted so far in the debate surrounding the primacy of the *Gesta* as the original source for many chronicles of the First Crusade.

In sum, Kerbogha's mother is unique in crusade literature, a knowledgeable non-Christian woman arguing in defence of Christianity.¹⁰⁷² While her character is largely fictional, it seems that historians have been unjustified in dismissing the conversation as 'highly fanciful' and 'camp gossip'.¹⁰⁷³ Only the *Chanson d'Antioche* took the trouble to supply her with a name, Calabre, and describe her physically. At 70 years old, we are told, 'she was an old and wrinkled woman' with hair straggling down past her ears, shaggy eyebrows and completely grey hair.¹⁰⁷⁴ This suggests that most authors of historical narratives did not consider Kerbogha's mother to be significant in herself: it was the validity of her message that they wished to impress upon their audience. The conversation is valuable in two ways; firstly, the author is primarily concerned with using Kerbogha's mother as a mouthpiece for his propaganda on crusading, and secondly, she herself can still provide an interesting study for views on both women and motherhood. Perhaps it is by virtue of Kerbogha's mother's very 'otherness', as a woman and a Saracen, that the audience would have found it acceptable for her to be well educated, conversant with the Christian faith as well as her own, and deciphering prophecies from the stars. On the other hand, she may provide a mirror for the experience of Christian mothers, providing wise and devout advice to her son, in his best interests, but ultimately unable to protect him from his fate.

¹⁰⁷² Possible parallels could be drawn with Saracen heroines of the *chansons de geste*, although these like Melaz (see *Daughters*), are normally required to betray their own kin to the Christians. See De Weever, *Sheba's Daughters*, xii.

¹⁰⁷³ See Krey, 'A Neglected Passage', 78 n. 47 and Hill, *Gesta*, xvi.

¹⁰⁷⁴ 'Vielle estoit et mousue', 'Li poil par les orelles li sont aval gisant / Les sorcius avoit lons et le poil tot ferrant.' *La Chanson d'Antioche* 1.268-9 lns 5253, 5263-4.

Conclusion

It is impossible to say that there was a single accepted view of motherhood in the chronicles of the crusades; but it is true that some aspects of motherhood were perceived to transcend the boundaries of status, wealth, and even religion. Whether they were applied to real mothers, men or inanimate subjects, maternal qualities were used to elicit sympathy in a variety of ways, often focusing on the pain of childbirth, vulnerability, and the combination of love and apprehension for their future that characterised a mother's relationship with her children. Crusaders' affection for parents was sometimes seen as an inhibiting factor, but when it came to specific aristocratic mothers some chroniclers explicitly recognised their contribution to the crusade effort, whether it took the form of educating pious sons, guarding their inheritances, providing funds or preserving aristocratic dynasties in the Latin East. Perceptions about a woman's capacity for motherhood and maternal love were the crucial foundations supporting her authority to educate and act on behalf of her children. Parsons writes; 'As wives, queens were interlopers and potential adulteresses who inspired distrust and suspicion, but their maternal instinct to protect their children and their children's inheritance deserved sympathy and respect.'¹⁰⁷⁵ Historical narratives of the crusades and the Latin East reflect these views to an extent, but chroniclers were also able to use the heightened idealisation of motherhood to highlight the shortcomings of certain women. Individuals such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Alice of Antioch, and Agnes of Courtenay were considered by some to have perverted or overstretched the bounds of their authority as mothers. Conversely Melisende's conflict with her son was presented by William of Tyre almost as an extension of her maternal desire to protect him (and their inheritance) from the unruly influence of troublemaking cronies – a case of 'mother knows best', reflected in the example of Kerbogha's mother. The development of her conversation with Kerbogha through successive texts shows how even the re-examination of an individual case-study can provide yet more new and relevant insights into the ideas of crusaders and the relationship between texts and authorship.

¹⁰⁷⁵John Carmi Parsons, 'Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship', in *Medieval Queenship*, 6.

Chapter 5 - Widows

Introduction

During the medieval period, life expectancy was relatively low because of disease, epidemics, warfare and poor medical care, thus the death of a marriage partner was common. Amongst the aristocracy, male life expectancy was curtailed by their traditional military role - 'because noblemen were warriors and thus subject to violent death, women could expect to be married more than once.'¹⁰⁷⁶ It has been estimated that 46 per cent of aristocratic men in England who survived past the age of 15 during the late medieval period died violently.¹⁰⁷⁷ Even where death was not linked specifically to the battlefield, sustained campaigns like the crusades led to high mortality through starvation and diseases such as dysentery. Traditional noble activities such as hunting and jousting could also prove fatal. Lower down the social scale, Bennet estimates that single women (often widows) in rural English society held 10-15% of all village holdings. She describes a rudimentary model of marriage which lasted approximately twenty years ending in the death of a partner, with widows seemingly living on for an average of up to a decade or more.¹⁰⁷⁸

In general, the widow was perceived as quintessentially female, but she often had to act in a masculine way. Her control of property meant that she was more 'visible' in official documents than other women, whether charters selling or donating property, endowments to the church, or in wills. Widows were also more likely to have access to political authority, especially if they were guardians for minor heirs. The maternal aspects of regency have already been considered, but widows also held their own rights to dower lands and property which sometimes led to conflict with other relatives. Remarriage was

¹⁰⁷⁶ Amy Livingstone, 'Powerful Allies and Dangerous Adversaries; Noblewomen in Medieval Society', in Linda E. Mitchell ed. *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York, London, 1999) 7-30, 17.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See T.H. Hollingworth, 'A demographic study of the British ducal families', *Population Studies* 11 (1957), 4-26, and J.T. Rosenthal, 'Medieval Longevity and the secular peerage, 1350-1500', *Population Studies* 11 (1973), 287-93. For an earlier study based on north-west France, see Georges Duby, 'Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XIIe siècle: les "jeunes" de la société aristocratique', *Annales ESC* 19 (1964), 839-43 trans. Cynthia Postan in *The Chivalrous Society*, (Berkeley, 1977), 112-22.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Judith M. Bennet, *Women in the Medieval Countryside; Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague*, (Oxford, 1987), 143-5.

the main issue which informed contemporary debates about widows: a subject on which both clergy and laity often had opposing views. Widowhood as a 'life cycle stage' is dependent upon marital status, rather than maturity, but age was still a key factor in determining how widows were perceived. Ecclesiastical writers favoured the cloister for all widows, but recognised that remarriage was often the best or only course of action for younger women. A widow's womanly nature was considered to leave her vulnerable to vice and sexual licentiousness, not to mention predatory men. Wealth and social status also influenced the portrayal of widows - only widows who took on the trappings of true poverty were worthy of respect. Accordingly, the following background section will explore contemporary opinions about what made 'a widow indeed'.

Background

Traditional Views on Widowhood

According to church doctrine, widows were entitled to be treated with due honour, as long as they behaved in a manner suitable to their condition. St Paul commanded that one should ‘Honour widows that are widows indeed,’ therefore the death of a partner was not the only qualification required. He characterised the true widow as desolate and trusting in God. She should undertake continual prayer, and care for the family that remained to her, children, nephews, and parents, to ward off the sin of *luxuria* ‘she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.’¹⁰⁷⁹ Charity and humility were also necessary criteria, as long as her children were grown and her duties as a mother fulfilled.¹⁰⁸⁰ Paul recommended that women under sixty should remarry, have children, and ‘give none occasion to an adversary to speak reproachfully’, for otherwise they would become idle gossips, susceptible to sin.¹⁰⁸¹

The key issue that drove the church fathers to write about widows was engendered by the discourse about marriage and celibacy as a whole. The attitude prevailed that if a woman had married once, and thus fulfilled the worldly duty required of her, she could legitimately and, indeed, ought to remain celibate. In *De Viduis* (c. 378), St. Ambrose praised the sacrifice of young women who chose to remain widows, as their chastity was more arduous to maintain; ‘For she certainly is the more noble who represses the heat of youth, and the impetuous ardour of youthful age’¹⁰⁸² Appropriate dress was also required to make a widow, not only to demonstrate grief but also to reinforce a woman’s widowed state. Other suitable signs of mourning included weeping, which had many benefits and could even be a defence mechanism for chastity.¹⁰⁸³ Deborah was the archetypal example of a woman who, despite *fragilitas sexus*, ‘showed that widows have no need of the help

¹⁰⁷⁹ 1 Tim. 5:3-6.

¹⁰⁸⁰ 1 Tim 5:10

¹⁰⁸¹ 1 Tim. 5:9, 11-15

¹⁰⁸² St. Ambrose, col. 251; app. 5.1, trans. de Romestin, 392.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.* col. 258.

of a man.¹⁰⁸⁴ She governed men and led armies, but Ambrose made it clear that he did not advocate political power for women as a rule. He interpreted it as a parable to reassure widows that they are capable of valorous decisions, and should not rely on feminine weakness as an excuse for remarriage.

In the eyes of the medieval church, widows were classed with other *miserabiles personae* such as orphans.¹⁰⁸⁵ As a part of this group they featured consistently in clerical appeals for the knighthood to stop their violence.¹⁰⁸⁶ If a widow was being forced into a new marriage, she had the nominal right to the protection of bishops and the king.¹⁰⁸⁷ If she was left destitute by the death of a husband she could receive charity. If a widow was wealthy, however, she could be a lucrative source of income, whether as a patron or a prospective entrant to the cloister. Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the foremost theologians of his day, corresponded with several widows. He praised Ermengarde, countess of Brittany, for her humility in giving up her great estate for the cloister.¹⁰⁸⁸ Conversely, he also wrote to Ida, Countess of Nevers, whom he chastised for her conflict with the Abbot of Vézelay.¹⁰⁸⁹ Of particular interest to this study are the letters he sent to Melisende of Jerusalem, offering comfort and counsel on the death of her husband, Fulk of Anjou. He spoke of her great power and noble lineage, but reminded her that these things are transient and changeable.¹⁰⁹⁰ He warned her that ‘although a woman, you must act as a man...so that all may judge you from your actions to be a king, rather than a queen.’¹⁰⁹¹ He saw the key to achieving this as prudence, strength, and discretion. He reassured her that although she may think ‘I am only a woman, weak in body and changeable of heart’, God would lend her aid to perform tasks beyond her natural strength and wisdom.¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁸⁴ St. Ambrose, col. 261; app. 5.2, trans. de Romestin 398.

¹⁰⁸⁵ James A. Brundage, ‘Widows as Disadvantaged persons in Medieval Canon Law’, in Louise Mirrer ed. *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, (Michigan, 1992), 194.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 21-79. See also Carlson, ‘Religious Writers and Church Councils’, 141-171.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Sheehan, ‘The Influence of Canon Law’, 18.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Letters 116 and 117, SBO 7.296-7. See also Theory, 41.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Letter 375, SBO 8.338.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Letter 354, SBO 8.297

¹⁰⁹¹ Letter 354, SBO 8.298; app. 5.3; trans. James, 346.

¹⁰⁹² *Ibid.*; app. 5.4 trans. James, 346.

In a further letter he praised her rulership and her courageous decision to remain a widow, stressing that the virtue in a widow's humility was also becoming in a queen. The good fortune of her birth and widowhood was a 'double honour', and gifts from God.¹⁰⁹³ He also addressed the importance of acting appropriately in front of men, especially in her prominent position, equating her conduct in widowhood with the defence of her political authority:

Before God as a widow, before men as a queen. Remember that you are a queen whose worthy and unworthy actions cannot be hidden under a bushel, but are set up on high for all men to see.¹⁰⁹⁴

Significantly, perhaps because of her role as queen, he advised her to use Jesus himself as a role model for her widowhood:

'Give yourself unto him to be ruled, and to be taught how you ought to rule. Learn of him as a widow, for he is meek and humble of heart; learn of him as a queen, because he gives the poor redress and rights the wrongs of the defenceless. When you think of your dignity, bear in mind that you are a widow because, to speak plainly, you cannot be a good queen unless you are also a good widow.'¹⁰⁹⁵

At the other end of the spectrum, courtly literature often portrayed widows as avaricious and foolish, sexually demanding or power-hungry. In the later medieval period, scathing literary stereotypes of the widow were epitomised by Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Corbaccio* (c. 1355) which embodied the negative perception of the ageing widow as *luxuria*: wealthy, lustful, malicious, even murderous.¹⁰⁹⁶ In general older women were portrayed in less than flattering terms; those past childbearing age might be ridiculed as shrivelled and worthless, but old widows in particular were often criticised for clinging on to youthful vanities. Conversely, the main stereotype of a young

¹⁰⁹³ Letter 289, SBO 8.205; app. 5.5

¹⁰⁹⁴ Letter 289, SBO 8.206; ; app. 5.6, trans. James, 347.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid* ; app. 5.7, trans. James, 348.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Corbaccio* trans. Anthony K. Cassell (Urbana, 1975), 54-5.

widow in Old French literature was provided by the “Widow of Ephesus” fable, a story that linked the characteristics of excessive grief and sexual availability.¹⁰⁹⁷

Widows, Wealth and Political Authority

There was a dichotomy between the economic positions of men and women on widowhood. As the man held the legal rights to a married couple’s property, he could still provide for himself in the event of the death of a partner, and often kept the dowry from his wife’s family, especially if they had children. A wife, however, had to be provided for in case the worst happened. When a husband died the property that he owned was divided amongst his dependants, and consequently bereaved women relied on the protection of relatives and the law to support themselves. It was to address this problem that the dower, the gift of a husband to his wife on marriage, developed. The husband was expected to provide his wife with the means to support herself after his death. Canon law could not enforce the provision of a dower because of its views on consent; customary specifications such as dowry, dower, banns, and the blessing of a priest were not necessary to the ratification of a union, but they were recommended.¹⁰⁹⁸

The dower often took the form of a specific estate or dwelling, or approximately one third of her husband’s land, that a widow was entitled to until her death, usually even if she remarried but local custom and tradition varied. Bennet asserts that a widow in England was entitled to one-third of her husband’s property under common law, but under customary law she might be entitled to half or even the entire estate.¹⁰⁹⁹ In Genoa, however, the customary right to the widow’s third was taken from them in 1143.¹¹⁰⁰ On a widow’s death, dower land usually reverted back to her husband’s heir, but she was sometimes entitled to distribute up to one third of her husband’s moveable goods, referred to as *legitim*, as she wished by leaving a will.¹¹⁰¹ In certain cases widows were able to

¹⁰⁹⁷ See Heather M. Arden, ‘Grief, Widowhood and Women’s Sexuality in Medieval French Literature’, in *Upon My Husband’s Death*, 306-7, 309. See also Marie de France, *Fables*, 92-5, and below, 272.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Sheehan, ‘The Influence of Canon Law’, 21.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Bennet, *Women in the Medieval Countryside*, 143-144.

¹¹⁰⁰ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 45.

¹¹⁰¹ Leyser, *Medieval Women*, 169.

dispose even of their dower lands, especially if it had formed a part of their own dowry; they passed it on for their own daughter's marriage, creating a link with particular family lands to the female line.

A widow's dower was often contested and her rights to it sometimes depended upon the new heir, whether her own child or a more distant relative. In cases where the heir was a minor, a widow might become a regent and manage her child's property until it came of age, although both she and the child were usually in wardship. As property owners or regents, widows were able to take on more masculine roles as heads of households, providing patronage, directing their own financial affairs and even providing military service. A recent collection of essays entitled *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France* brings together a wealth of evidence on this subject. Evergates asserts that in Champagne, the dowers of aristocratic women were increasingly focused around fiefs. Administrative developments such as secular dower letters confirmed by the feudal lord and the recording of women who held fiefs 'in dower', appear with more regularity in the feudal registers throughout the twelfth century.¹¹⁰² He confirms that such widows were perceived as having a legitimate place within the aristocratic ruling hierarchy in medieval society.

Livingstone warns against the assumption that widowhood was a universally liberating experience for women, however. She argues that the women from the Chartrain who assumed power after the death of a husband were often continuing authority they had held as wives, but others had little authority as wives or widows. In some cases widowhood may have been an aristocratic woman's first experience of autonomy, but the degree to which she exercised power still relied upon political and familial circumstances.¹¹⁰³ Even aristocratic widows could fall into poverty if their position was usurped by encroaching family, or their means for support was eroded through war or other economic factors. During the thirteenth century, much of the early strength of the comital household in Flanders was encroached upon by increasingly powerful towns and the French kings

¹¹⁰² Evergates, 'Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne', 94-95.

¹¹⁰³ Amy Livingstone, 'Aristocratic women in the Chartrain', 68-71.

exploiting a series of female regencies, despite the fact that some of these women were evidently capable rulers.¹¹⁰⁴

Remarriage and the Cloister

Following on from the ideas of the Church Fathers, some medieval canonists attempted to put strictures on the remarriage of widows,¹¹⁰⁵ but the economic, political and social bonds of their society revolved around the marital bond. Within the general population, it is likely that many remarried after the death of a partner if they had the opportunity to make a suitable match. Some may have chosen to remain unmarried, but vocational celibacy within the monastery was the lot of only a select few. Amongst the aristocracy, it might be suitable for a widow to remain unmarried and politically active as a regent, but once her children were of heritable age, a dowager could be a drain on the resources of an estate. Under these circumstances some families encouraged widows to remarry or enter a convent. When it came to remarriage, the king or feudal overlord could intervene in cases of wardship, and their choice was not always in accordance with a family's wishes. The concerns of the nobility in England on this subject were reflected in Henry I's pledge to respect the rights of widows, and their mention in *Magna Carta* following the 1185 *List of Rich Widows and Orphaned Heirs and Heiresses*.¹¹⁰⁶ It was common practice to levy fines on those widows who wished to remain unmarried or choose their own marriage partner. The widow of Ralph of Cornhill paid the king two hundred marks, three palfreys and two goshawks to avoid marrying Godfrey of Louvain, and to retain her right to her lands with the marriage partner of her choice.¹¹⁰⁷ Men who wished to marry widows under guardianship were also expected to pay for the privilege. When the remarriage of aristocratic widows could provide such a lucrative income, it took perseverance and wealth to purchase freedom of choice. Guibert of Nogent related the struggle of his own mother to remain a widow

¹¹⁰⁴ See David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, (Harlow, 1992), 150-161. Karen Nicholas challenges the traditionally negative view of female regency in Flanders. See Nicholas, 'Countesses as Rulers in Flanders', 111-137.

¹¹⁰⁵ See Shahar, 93-4

¹¹⁰⁶ Leyser, *Medieval Women*, 171-2.

¹¹⁰⁷ From *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati tempore regis Johannis* ed. J.D. Hardy (London, 1835), 37. Translated in Jennifer Ward *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry 1066-1500* (Manchester, 1995), 42.

against the wishes of her family in his *Memoirs*, and how she sought protection in the name of Christ.¹¹⁰⁸ Her discussion with her persecutor demonstrated that young widows were perceived to desire remarriage for worldly reasons, and that the church could preserve the rights of those who wished to remain celibate.

To an extent, the widow in medieval society represented the two extremes of female power. The wealthy noble widow with access to a considerable dower could act independently as the head of a family, command a feudal host, control her image by patronising art and literature, and politick with both Church and the nobility. Conversely they could be portrayed as the weakest and most vulnerable members of society who required charity and special protection. This chapter will now go on to address the appearance of these key concepts as they dominated discussions about widows in the narratives of crusading, but first the relationship between the crusade movement and widowhood must be considered.

¹¹⁰⁸ Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 92-5.

Widows in the History of Crusading and the Latin East

Widows and Crusading

The role of the widow in crusade narratives has seldom been given close scrutiny beyond accounts of women grieving on the departure of crusaders already discussed in this thesis. This was at least in part because authors were more concerned about the activities of crusaders than their loved ones left behind. To an extent, even the wives of crusaders left in the West had attained a status akin to widowhood. Fulcher of Chartres, on describing a crusading husband leaving his wife, told how she ‘mourned him in this life as if he were dead already.’¹¹⁰⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux famously wrote to Pope Eugenius III in May 1146 that he had been so successful in preaching the Second Crusade, ‘Towns and castles are emptied, one may scarcely find one man among seven women, so many women are widowed while their husbands are still alive.’¹¹¹⁰ Conversely, the persecution of widows could actually be a stimulus to crusading, as it was seen to be a particularly ruthless crime. According to Baudri of Bourgueil, Urban II included preying on widows, orphans and clergy in his criticism of the knighthood in his speech at Clermont, and he exhorted knights to atone for such sins by going on crusade.¹¹¹¹ The protection extended by the church to the wives and families of crusaders was undoubtedly a reassurance for those concerned about dying on crusade. This was reinforced by the positive emphasis on the prospect of martyrdom as the ultimate benefit of crusading, with salvation as the grand prize. A young Welsh crusader named Gruffud reportedly remarked:

“What...person of manly spirit shrinks from this journey of pilgrimage, when amongst all the troublesome things which he imagined could happen to him, nothing could be more unfortunate, nothing worse could befall him than that he might return?”¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁹ FC, 163. Wives, 124.

¹¹¹⁰ Letter 247, SBO 8.141; app. 5.8; trans. James, 399.

¹¹¹¹ BD, 14.

¹¹¹² GW ‘Itinerarium’, 15; app. 5.9.

Crusaders, having heightened perception of their impending mortality, sought further protection for their legacies by making charters to confirm their wishes if they did not return.¹¹¹³ Recent studies suggest that at least one in three crusaders died on the journey, although these calculations are usually based upon the aristocracy and clergy - the death rate amongst poorer pilgrims was probably much higher.¹¹¹⁴ Crusading must therefore have had a considerable impact on widowhood in Europe, but accurately gauging its effect is difficult. Some women entered convents or remarried on hearing of the death of their husbands, but in certain cases, it was impossible to certify whether crusaders had died. Ida of Louvain went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1106 in order to search for her husband, Baldwin of Mons, who had gone missing in Asia Minor.¹¹¹⁵ Such women lingered in the shadow of widowhood. Remarriage was the usual way for a widow to secure her future, but without confirmation of her husband's death she risked committing the sin of bigamy. This was an issue of serious concern to canonists, who debated how many years a crusader's wife should wait before remarriage, if she had the right to do so at all.¹¹¹⁶

Crusading did not necessarily lead to a greater number of women running fiefs, as we have already seen, they periodically acted in a public capacity for other reasons, but the death of a husband on crusade did allow certain women to consolidate their political activity. When Stephen of Blois died on crusade, it could be argued that the position of Adela of Blois did not change significantly, as she had directed the affairs of her family during both of her husband's expeditions, and she decided on Stephen's successor without censure.¹¹¹⁷ Alice of Montlhéry's husband had died before the First Crusade in 1094, but as a widow she took control of the family inheritance while her son Evrard III of Le Puiset

¹¹¹³ See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 135-9: Giles Constable, 'Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades', in *Crusade and Settlement*, 79-80,

¹¹¹⁴ Powell asserted that 34.1 per cent of known crusaders died on the Fifth Crusade, James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), 170. Riley-Smith estimates that between 35.2 and 37.3 per cent of his sample group, which included 112 knights, 22 churchmen and 3 women died on the First Crusade, although he uses the same system as Powell. Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Casualties and the Number of Knights on the First Crusade', *Crusades* 1 (2002) 13-28, 18. Phillips estimates that of the German contingent on the Second Crusade, approximately one in three died. Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, (Forthcoming).

¹¹¹⁵ Giselbert of Mons, *Chronique* ed. L.Vanderkindere (Brussels, 1904), 45, AA 629. See Riley Smith, *First Crusaders* 147 and Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf den Kreuzzügen*, 209.

¹¹¹⁶ Brundage, 'Crusader's Wife revisited' 243-25.

¹¹¹⁷ WN 1.31. See also LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois', 35.

and daughter Humberga took part in the expedition. She employed her other sons to support her in various political disputes and was severely criticised for persecuting the church of Chartres. Bishop Ivo eventually excommunicated her in 1098-9.¹¹¹⁸ At the other end of the scale, the implementation of a crusader's will could cause legal complications that might leave a widow impoverished. Crusading was expensive, and lands that had been associated with a marriage agreement might be alienated or mortgaged. After the First Crusade the widow of Geoffrey Jordan of Vendôme was excommunicated for trying to repossess a church that her husband had left to a local abbey.¹¹¹⁹

The close association of wealthy widows with ecclesiastical institutions meant that some helped to provide finance to prospective crusaders. Mathilda of Tuscany did not embark on crusade herself, but she was praised in crusade narratives for her protection of both Gregory VII and Urban II during the late eleventh century.¹¹²⁰ Mathilda and the dowager empress Agnes of Germany had considerable resources at their command and as a result featured in the plans for Gregory's proposed 'crusade' to the Holy Land in 1074.¹¹²¹ As widows were usually entitled to a share in their husbands' moveable goods they could be a lucrative source of ready cash, something that crusaders always needed. By the time of the Fifth Crusade, ten out of the fifteen wills in Genoa that donated money to the expedition, were drawn up by women.¹¹²² On the other hand, dowagers could be a hindrance to financing crusades, by draining the resources of a patrimony. Joinville complained about his problems raising sufficient cash for the crusade in 1248 because his widowed mother was still alive, and the income from his estates was no more than 1000 *livres*.¹¹²³

It was the unique position of the widow, as a woman with access to her own money and military service, which later allowed the church to re-think its traditional views on women taking the cross. Some widows travelled to the Holy Land with retinues of their own knights, whether to provide military aid for a specific crusade, or if they simply

¹¹¹⁸ Livingstone, 'Aristocratic women in the Chartrain', 69

¹¹¹⁹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 131

¹¹²⁰ FC, 149. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter* (London, 1972), 129. For further details see Patricia Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society 500-1200*, (Harlow, 2001) 136-41

¹¹²¹ See H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074' in *Horns of Hattin*, 36.

¹¹²² Powell, 'Women on the Fifth Crusade', 296.

¹¹²³ Joinville, 64; app. 5.10, trans. Shaw, 192.

needed personal military protection to complete the pilgrimage. Hostiensis' *Summa Aurea* of c. 1253 asserted that a woman could go on crusade if she was of sufficient age, wealth, and character, even if her husband did not accompany her.¹¹²⁴ Evidently this was unlikely to occur unless she was a widow, and they were still excluded from power on the battlefield. Purcell asserts that even 'acknowledged leaders of feudal hosts, were simply unarmed pilgrims, subordinate in planning, at least to the military needs of the expedition, and considered only obliquely useful.'¹¹²⁵

Remarriage to widows in the Latin East was a significant factor in encouraging crusaders to the Holy Land. In legal terms, aristocratic widows in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were affected by the nature of the frontier society in which they lived. Brundage, in his assessment of marriage law in the collected *Assises de Jérusalem* asserts that a widow was entitled to half of her husband's estate, based on the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* and the treatise of Jacques of Ibelin, although this probably reflects the equality of property rights during marriage also prevalent in the laws of the kingdom.¹¹²⁶ As women could hold fiefs in their own right, so widows could hold dower land, but like heiresses they were required to be married so that the king could have access to the requisite military service.¹¹²⁷ This was directly at odds with opinions espoused by western canonists, not only on remarriage but on the issue of free consent itself. Jurists in the East therefore attempted to curtail the rights of the lord in arranging marriages, while accepting that such marriages were a necessity.¹¹²⁸ They stipulated that only those women who inherited a fief with personal military service attached to it were required to marry, but that the lord must provide three candidates suitable to her rank from whom she (or her family) could choose, thus preserving a pretext of consent. She did have the right to refuse, but ultimately this could result in the loss of her fief. Brundage asserts 'it is striking that the jurists of thirteenth-century Outremer expected widows to remarry as a matter of course and ...[they] could be forced to remarry.' He also mentions that legal sources stipulated a 'mandatory waiting period' for widows before

¹¹²⁴ Cited in Brundage, 'Crusader's Wife', 438.

¹¹²⁵ Purcell, 'Women Crusaders', 58.

¹¹²⁶ Brundage 'Marriage law', 265.

¹¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹¹²⁸ St. Ambrose condemned those who attempted to force remarriage by law, St. Ambrose, *De Viduis*, cols. 273-4.

remarriage that had not been in use since the ninth century.¹¹²⁹ According to William of Tyre this was approximately one year,¹¹³⁰ and presumably it was reintroduced to give feudal lords time to find suitable candidates who might have to travel from the West.

Widows, Wealth and Political Authority

A dower was one way of ensuring that the women left behind by crusaders would be provided for. Richard of Devizes emphasised that King Richard had issued an act recognising the dowry of his mother Eleanor before his departure on crusade, freeing her from dependence on the Exchequer by giving her an income of her own.¹¹³¹ Presumably this was so that she could have sufficient power in her own right to withstand challenges to her authority in his absence. Richard of Devizes went on to praise her care of the people on her dower lands, and in particular resolving the dispute over the excommunication of the bishop of Ely, so that her vassals could bury their dead. He asserted that the queen demonstrated great compassion for her subjects and travelled to London to argue on their behalf with great success, for ‘who could be so barbarous or hard-hearted that the lady could not bend him to her wishes?’¹¹³² Thus Eleanor mediated with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Exchequer barons and the Bishop of Ely in order to fulfil her own duties of lordship, as well as undertaking a role in government on behalf of her son.

Dower could also have a financial impact on specific crusade expeditions. During the Third Crusade, the dower received by Joanna, queen of Sicily drew considerable attention from contemporary historians. By the time the crusaders reached Sicily she had recently lost her husband King William II in 1189. It is thought that he had intended to take part in the Third Crusade with the kings of France and England. Richard I was probably expecting some kind of contribution to the expedition in terms of an equipped naval force, but in the event of William’s death Joanna’s dower had to suffice. It was William’s naval power that had saved Tripoli from Saladin’s forces after the battle of Hattin, and Gerald of Wales

¹¹²⁹ Brundage ‘Marriage law’, 269-70.

¹¹³⁰ WT, 981.

¹¹³¹ Richard of Devizes, 14.

¹¹³² *Ibid.* 60.

asserted that negotiations for a fleet had taken place as early as 1188.¹¹³³ William had left a will designating a large amount of money and one hundred war galleys to Henry II, which Richard claimed on behalf of his late father. However, Tancred of Lecce, the illegitimate son of William II's uncle, had usurped the throne and was holding Joanna captive. Richard had to extend his stay in the Mediterranean and launched an attack on Messina to retrieve his sister's dowry. The *Itinerarium* emphasised Richard's feelings of responsibility towards his widowed sister and asserted that Richard compelled Tancred to give up the dowry on her account.¹¹³⁴ Even the hostile *Eracles* chronicler wrote that Joanna was pleased to see her brother on his arrival, but he did not consider the king to be entirely motivated by fraternal duty.¹¹³⁵ *Eracles* described Richard pleading with his sister to sell her dower and promising to repay her, but implied that the king had already made arrangements behind her back. Richard was described as 'devious and greedy' because he had already come to an agreement with King Tancred over its sale.¹¹³⁶

After the capture of Messina on 4 October 1190, Richard was in a better position to demand the dower from Tancred. According to the *Itinerarium* Joanna was entitled not only to an adequate dowry but 'her share of her husband the king's treasury which belonged to her by right,' - presumably at least the traditional third - 'and also a gold table to be equally divided with the wife of its late owner'.¹¹³⁷ Richard of Devizes described Joanna's dower more fully - as well as a twelve-foot long golden table and seat, she was to receive a silk tent, sixty thousand quarters each of wheat, barley and wine, and twenty-four golden plates and cups. Most importantly for the imminent crusade, King Richard demanded the hundred galleys stipulated in William II's legacy together with the necessary funding to supply them for two years.¹¹³⁸ Richard of Devizes considered this dower to have had a direct influence on the military strategy of the English king. In a speech to his followers Richard stated explicitly that it was his intention to hold Messina

¹¹³³ GW 'De Principis', 245.

¹¹³⁴ *Itinerarium*, 154.

¹¹³⁵ *Eracles*, 104.

¹¹³⁶ *Eracles*, 109; app. 5.11.

¹¹³⁷ *Itinerarium*, 166; app. 5.12 trans. Nicholson, 164-5. For Richard's demands See Ambroise 1.14 lns. 868-873, and Ambroise 1.16-17 lns. 975-1033 for the resolution of the agreement. For a description of the dower see also Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 3.61.

¹¹³⁸ Richard of Devizes, 17.

to ransom for it, even before the riot that initiated the taking of the city.¹¹³⁹ What the majority of crusade chroniclers do not mention, however, was Tancred's agenda in capturing Joanna. Precarious as his claim to inherited power was, he was also facing a severe challenge from the Emperor Henry VI, who was claiming Sicily in the right of his wife, Constance. He was in desperate need of allies, and appears to have used these negotiations about the dower to extract support from Richard against Henry.¹¹⁴⁰ Thus Joanna's dower was not only vital to the financing of the Third Crusade, but to the wider field of contemporary European politics.

Although it brought much needed finance, the dower also became a bone of contention between the French and English contingents of the Third Crusade, and this was reflected in the contemporary sources. Unsurprisingly, the *Itinerarium* asserted that Richard kindly offered to share the money with the French contingent to support the expedition:

Although he was not bound by the terms of the alliance to divide the money received for his sister's dowry he wished to do so out of pure liberality. This bought him glory and approval and wiped out his enemies' envy to some degree.¹¹⁴¹

Conversely, the French chronicler Rigord recorded that Philip only received a third of Richard's profits, and that this was his due after mediating peace between the English and Italians; in fact he thought that Philip should have been given half of the profit.¹¹⁴² According to the *Itinerarium*, only half of the 40 000 ounces of gold promised by Tancred was in fact Joanna's dower, the other half was a dowry for the usurper's daughter to marry Arthur of Brittany, Richard's nephew, and seal their alliance.¹¹⁴³ Of course, Joanna's dowry was only one of a number of factors which led to conflict between the English and

¹¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 21.

¹¹⁴⁰ Matthews, *The Norman Kingdom*, 289.

¹¹⁴¹ *Itinerarium*, 169-70; app. 5.13, trans. Nicholson, 168. See also Richard of Devizes, 25.

¹¹⁴² Rigord 'Chronique' ed. H. F. Delaborde in *Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton* 2 Vols. (Paris, 1882), 106

¹¹⁴³ See also Ambroise l. 19, lns. 991-3.

French contingents, but as disunity was a hindrance to the successful outcome of the Third Crusade, its significance should not be underestimated.¹¹⁴⁴

Although not strictly a crusader, Adelaide of Sicily travelled to the Latin East as a widow and received considerable attention from crusade chroniclers on account of her large dowry. She had previously been married to Roger I of Sicily, brother of Robert Guiscard, and had been widowed in 1101. William of Tyre called her ‘a noble, powerful and rich matron.’¹¹⁴⁵ After receiving King Baldwin I’s offer of marriage, she consulted with her son and they made a joint decision to agree to it, on the condition that if the union did not produce a child, Roger would become king of Jerusalem. Adelaide was on the cusp of her forties and while producing a child was a physical possibility, the combination of her age and high infant mortality meant that it was increasingly unlikely as the marriage progressed, so Roger’s succession was a real possibility.¹¹⁴⁶ William of Tyre stated unequivocally that Baldwin desired her primarily for her wealth, although he was childless.¹¹⁴⁷ His envoys had been told to agree to any conditions, as the king barely had enough to run his household and pay his knights. Adelaide, ‘held everything in abundance since she was in good favour with her son’, and could expect a large dowry: ‘hence, he longed to relieve his own lack of wealth with her excess.’¹¹⁴⁸

Accordingly, she arrived at Acre with grain, wine, oil, salt meat, armed men, splendidly mounted knights, and a huge amount of money.¹¹⁴⁹ Albert of Aachen, although not an eyewitness, added to this list a detailed description of the ships, armour and bejewelled vestments she brought with her, and asserted that the ship upon which she travelled was very richly decorated.¹¹⁵⁰ William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis also emphasised her enormous wealth, but Orderic was extremely hostile to Adelaide and asserted that she had

¹¹⁴⁴ See Gillingham, *Richard I*, 157, 163-6.

¹¹⁴⁵ WT, 525; app. 5.14.

¹¹⁴⁶ WT, 526-7. Murray asserts that Adelaide was probably born in 1075, making her around 38 at the time of her remarriage. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 179. See Wives, 160.

¹¹⁴⁷ Orderic Vitalis echoed this view. OV, 6.433. Hamilton has said that Baldwin was motivated by the need for an heir but his choice of bride does not suggest it was his primary concern. Hamilton, ‘Women’, 145.

¹¹⁴⁸ WT, 526; app. 5.15-16

¹¹⁴⁹ WT, 526.

¹¹⁵⁰ AA, 696-7,

accumulated it by murdering her husband as well as other crimes.¹¹⁵¹ William makes it clear that as a widow Adelaide was still dependent on her son, and although she was party to the negotiations for the match, it was her son who stood to benefit if Baldwin died. Unfortunately for him, the marriage was dissolved,¹¹⁵² and his investment, the dowry, was not returned as was common custom. Orderic Vitalis thought this a fitting end for Adelaide's crimes, but William asserted that the insult to Roger II and his mother (and the loss of their wealth) created bad relations with Sicily for some time. There is, however, evidence to suggest that William may have exaggerated on this point.¹¹⁵³ As Phillips points out, William was clearly not taking into account several attempts by the Sicilians to become involved in the Latin East. Roger II had an interest in the succession of Antioch through his relationship to Constance, and later sent envoys to Louis VII suggesting a sea route for the Second Crusade but was turned down probably for fear of angering the Byzantine Emperor. Roger was also a target for calls for a crusade in 1150.¹¹⁵⁴ Later in 1174 William II of Sicily sent a fleet to Egypt which William of Tyre recorded himself.¹¹⁵⁵ Evidently William was critical of Baldwin for his treatment of Arda and Adelaide both, but recognised that material wealth was crucial to supplying the Latin kingdom in its infancy.

Margaret of Austria was widowed on the death of her husband, King Bela II of Hungary in 1196 and used her dower to finance an expedition to the East. In many senses she epitomised the type of widow whom the Church considered suitable to take the cross. A 'matron' in her thirties, she had no immediate family commitments to children or her husband's family, so she sold her dowry and used her wealth to gather a retinue for an expedition to the Holy Land. Crusading tradition was strong in her family, for she was the daughter of Louis VII (to Constance of Castille), and the aunt of Henry of Champagne, king of Jerusalem, through her half-sister Marie. According to the *Eracles* continuator, 'she had

¹¹⁵¹ WM 1.689; OV, 6.433. Chibnall suggests that Orderic was influenced in this by by an oral source, Robert, son of William of Grandmesnil, who was an enemy of Roger II if Sicily, see 6.432 n. 1.

¹¹⁵² See Wives, .

¹¹⁵³ OV 6.433; WT, 542-3.

¹¹⁵⁴ Phillips, *Defenders*, 113-5. See also OD 10-15.

¹¹⁵⁵ WT, 963. Prutz asserts that the section about Adelaide was written before that date. Hans Prutz, "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus" in *Neues Archiv der Gesellachft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 8 (1883), 115-17

conceived a longing to go to Jerusalem and visit the Holy Sepulchre,¹¹⁵⁶ showing genuine pious motivation. Apparently she brought with her ‘a fine company of knights,’¹¹⁵⁷ and accompanied other Germans to Tyre. There was, however, a suggestion that she was rather naïve. The *Eracles* chronicler asserted, ‘because the emperor had sent such a great army, she expected that he would recover the whole kingdom of Jerusalem’, and, ‘she imagined that with the arrival of the Germans, the city of Jerusalem would be won back from the Saracens.’¹¹⁵⁸ The author could have been praising her for her devout belief in divine support for the crusade, or implying that she was unworldly and, because of her femininity, not conversant with military realities. Ultimately her hopes were unfulfilled, as she died in Tyre within eight days of her arrival, but *Eracles* mentions that she gave all her wealth to Count Henry because he was her nephew.¹¹⁵⁹ Margaret thus demonstrated all the admirable qualities in an aristocratic widow and, with the end of her married life, she gave herself over to spiritual service. Even her death benefited the cause of the Latin Christians in the Holy Land.

Other crusading widows met with a more unpleasant end. Albert of Aachen recounted the story of Countess Ida, the widow of Margrave Leopold II of Austria, who took part in the 1101 crusade.¹¹⁶⁰ Ida was counted amongst the leaders of the expedition, and presumably at least some of the ‘enormous army of cavalry and infantry and of the female sex,’ came from her own personal retinue.¹¹⁶¹ Other leaders included William IX of Aquitaine and Welf IV, duke of Bavaria, and Ida’s comparative status was demonstrated by the fact that like these noblemen, her oath of fealty was required by the Emperor Alexius.¹¹⁶² The crusaders were eventually ambushed and defeated by Kiliç Arslan at Heraclea,¹¹⁶³ but Albert was unsure of Ida’s fate.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Eracles*, 193; app. 5.17.i.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Eracles*, 193; app. 5.17.iii.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Eracles*, 193; app. 5.17.iv and ii, trans. Edbury, 143.

¹¹⁵⁹ *Eracles*, 193.

¹¹⁶⁰ AA, 579

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.* 580.

¹¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 580-1.

Countess Ida was either captured and taken away, or was torn limb from limb by the hooves of so many thousand horses: to this very day her fate is not known, except that they say she was carried off among the many thousands of women into the land of Khorasan in eternal exile.¹¹⁶⁴

Ida's case demonstrates how very difficult it was to discern what happened in the aftermath of battle on crusade, even to important noblewomen, especially when some were taken captive. Ekkehard of Aura also described the battle, and although he was not an eyewitness to the event, Hagenmeyer suggests that the un-named margravine whose death he records was in fact Ida.¹¹⁶⁵ Later, the *Historia Welforum Weingartensis* recounted that Ida was carried off by a Saracen prince and became the mother of Zengi, probably to explain his successful capture of Edessa through his military prowess.¹¹⁶⁶ Purcell notes that it was Ida's companion, the bishop of Salzburg, who died in a following encounter 'who became the legendary martyr and the margravine who took a more literally mundane part in her legend'.¹¹⁶⁷ Albert of Aachen is possibly the best narrative source for the 1101 crusade,¹¹⁶⁸ but he was not an eyewitness, and his emphasis on the suffering of women throughout his history indicates that he was inclined to mistrust the participation of any women in crusade expeditions, regardless of status.¹¹⁶⁹

Widows in the Latin East could also command substantial dowers, but for the most part these were discussed in the context of remarriage to the crusaders or settlers who were to benefit from their wealth. This is perhaps not surprising bearing in mind the pressure on Levantine noblewomen to marry and remarry under the laws of the kingdom. Such widows will be considered in the following section, but there were some women who managed to maintain a degree of autonomous political power through their dowers. After the first of Alice of Antioch's failed attempts to seize power, her father allowed her to keep the cities of Latakia and Jabala, 'which nevertheless her husband, in his final will,

¹¹⁶⁴ AA, 581; app. 5.18; trans. Edgington.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita* ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Tubingen, 1877), 170. 'marchisiam Idam trucidatam' in RHC Occ, 5.32, n. h.

¹¹⁶⁶ 'Historia Welforum Weingartensis', in MGH *Scriptorum* 21, (1869), 462.

¹¹⁶⁷ Purcell, 'Women Crusaders', 58.

¹¹⁶⁸ Alec Mulinder, 'Albert of Aachen and the Crusade of 1101', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem 69-77*.

¹¹⁶⁹ His accounts of Florina and Emeline of Bouillon suggest this.

had intended for her, for the sake of dowry at the time of marriage.¹¹⁷⁰ In fact, Asbridge questions whether he would even have had the right to take them away under Antiochene law at the time.¹¹⁷¹ Alice was believed to have gained enough wealth from her dower and the guardianship of Constance to provide gifts expensive enough to bribe both her Christian and Muslim allies.¹¹⁷² William emphasised the problems and fears of the Antiochene nobility about encroaching Muslim power, and the barons appealed to the new king, Fulk of Anjou, for aid. Fulk duly arrived and won the hearts of the people of Antioch by saving them from a Muslim attack, even those who had been swayed by Alice's patronage.¹¹⁷³ Therefore in William's interpretation Fulk weathered the conflict by acting in his capacity as military protector in opposition to the corrupt form of monetary politics offered by Alice, a woman unable to engage in the most important aspect of medieval rulership, warfare. In fact, many of her supporters had their own reasons for opposing the king as previously discussed, so whether money actually changed hands or not, William deliberately made use of perceptions about femininity to accuse her of nefarious activities.

Widows were evidently perceived to act in a capacity that drove them to overcome the natural deficiencies of their sex, but in some cases the situation was too desperate for anyone to rule effectively. After the fall of Edessa in 1144, the surrounding county was largely taken over by the Muslims. Count Joscelin II himself was captured in 1150, and Countess Beatrice and King Baldwin III of Jerusalem were forced to sell the remaining castles in the area to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus.¹¹⁷⁴ William of Tyre saw female rule as less than ideal, and interpreted the regencies of widows Beatrice of Edessa and Constance of Antioch as a sign of divine displeasure;

Therefore in recompense for our sins, both regions, bereft of better councillors, barely surviving by themselves, were ruled by the judgement of women.¹¹⁷⁵

¹¹⁷⁰ WT, 624; app. 5.19. See *Daughters*, 71.

¹¹⁷¹ WT, 636, Asbridge 'Alice of Antioch', 36.

¹¹⁷² WT, 636.

¹¹⁷³ WT, 639.

¹¹⁷⁴ WT, 781-2.

¹¹⁷⁵ WT, 775; app. 5.20.

Such a statement stands in stark contrast with his approval of Melisende, however:

...left with two children still under legal age, and just as much by hereditary right, care and administration of the kingdom fell to her responsibility, acting as the legitimate guardian of her sons. With the advice of the barons of the region, strenuously and with good fortune, transcending the strength and spirit of women, she managed this up to that time.¹¹⁷⁶

William, along with most contemporary writers, believed that rulership was an unnatural activity for women, and saw most widows in positions of power as the unhappy victims of fortune, struggling to manage tasks for which they were evidently unequal. Melisende must have exhibited a certain amount of skill as a ruler in order to transcend her sex and become a worthy exemplar in William's eyes, but she was bolstered by her designated hereditary right to rule that supported her legal position. She also had the resources of an entire kingdom at her disposal, and retained a lucrative income from dower lands at Nablus even after the conflict with her son.¹¹⁷⁷ Beatrice, on the other hand, had nowhere near enough resources to restore the shattered infrastructure of the county of Edessa – in the end the cost was too much even for the kingdom of Jerusalem to bear. Only the fabulously wealthy Byzantine Empire had the necessary resources to preserve what remained, and William recognised that renouncing their claim and settling for the limited wealth afforded by a pension was the only viable option for the countess and her children.

Remarriage

i) Remarriage in the context of Crusading

In common with other medieval literature, remarriage features strongly in any mention of widowhood in crusade narratives. However, while some ecclesiastics were at pains to dissuade widows from remarriage, the authors of crusade narratives did not often criticise

¹¹⁷⁶ WT, 777; app. 5.21.

¹¹⁷⁷ Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 172-3.

a new union unless it was unsuitable in terms of status, organised by force or with undue haste. On the burial of Hugh of Landricourt during St. Louis' crusade, John of Joinville heard six of his own knights talking loudly in the chapel. When he rebuked them for their impropriety, they laughed and said that they were arranging the remarriage of the dead man's wife. Joinville considered this most scandalous and recounted the divine justice meted out to them;

And God took such vengeance on them that the very next day, in the great battle of Shrove Tuesday, they were all of them either killed outright or mortally wounded, so that the wives of all six were in a position to marry again.¹¹⁷⁸

Criticisms of remarriage could be used to denigrate the morality of the crusaders' enemies. Guibert of Nogent attempted to discredit the origins of the Muslim faith by focusing on the rich widow (presumably Khadija) who married the prophet Mohammed.¹¹⁷⁹ She foolishly allowed herself to be persuaded into the match by a corrupt hermit, and enabled the prophet's rise to power through her wealth. She had remained unmarried previously because there was no one of a suitable rank available, but now the widow was seduced not by Mohammed's appearance or wealth but by his prophetic power, and her desire for knowledge about past and future events. Guibert described the union as lustful and corrupt, saying that the marriage bed brought on bouts of a disease akin to epilepsy in the prophet, and when the widow complained, the hermit claimed they were divine visitations. The widow foolishly believed these words, and accepted a marriage with a man whom Guibert considered little better than an imbecile because of her 'womanly levity.'¹¹⁸⁰ His design was evidently to ridicule the prophet, but his scorn for the widow in this case was perhaps all the more palpable because it drew a stark contrast with the experience of his own mother.¹¹⁸¹ In general, marriage to a wealthy widow was viewed as an easy path to power in comparison to honourable advancement through achievement on the battlefield, and could be used as an insult. After Nureddin's death in 1174, Saladin took the opportunity to

¹¹⁷⁸ Joinville, 164; app. 5.22, trans. Shaw 238.

¹¹⁷⁹ See Jonathan Berkey 'Women in Medieval Islamic Society', in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, 100.

¹¹⁸⁰ GN, 96-7; app. 5.23.

¹¹⁸¹ See above.

make himself overlord of Damascus by marrying his widow. She was the daughter of Unur of Damascus, and therefore aided Saladin's claim to overlordship of the city. It seems that she was also capable of acting on her own behalf, however. When King Amalric besieged Banyas on Nureddin's death she reportedly demanded that he desist and accept a truce 'surpassing womanly courage.'¹¹⁸² The *Itinerarium*, however, bitterly lamented Saladin's good fortune in marrying the widow and gaining the status and wealth that she provided.¹¹⁸³

Some widows actually took the opportunity provided by crusading to arrange a new marriage. Albert of Aachen is the only source to mention the fate of the widow Florina, daughter of the duke of Burgundy. She was making her way through Rum with the man she hoped to marry, (Prince Svend of Denmark), when Turkish raiders attacked them. Albert described in tragic terms how despite six arrow wounds she clung to her fleeing mule in an attempt to escape death, but she was caught and killed along with her intended.¹¹⁸⁴ With this story Albert added to his catalogue of misfortunes which befell women on crusade, although he did not explicitly blame Florina's desire to remarry for her unhappy end.

There was definite interest about the possibilities of Joanna of Sicily's remarriage during the Third Crusade, as she was only twenty-four on her husband's death.¹¹⁸⁵ As a dowager queen she was significant enough to be visited socially by the king of France on her release from captivity under Tancred of Lecce, and Roger of Howden suggested that the recently widowed king may have wanted to marry her.¹¹⁸⁶ According to the *Eracles* chronicler it was Richard's promise to secure her a suitably rich and powerful husband that enticed her to sell her dower and give the proceeds to him.¹¹⁸⁷ This implies that Richard was playing upon his sister's perceived feminine weakness and lust. Perhaps the author saw Joanna as rewarded for her gullibility by Richard's later attempt to arrange a

¹¹⁸² WT, 956; app. 5.24.

¹¹⁸³ *Itinerarium*, 10.

¹¹⁸⁴ AA, 377.

¹¹⁸⁵ He died on 16 Nov. 1189. Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 3.29

¹¹⁸⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica* 3.56, and 'Gesta', 2.126

¹¹⁸⁷ *Eracles*, 109. See above, 240.

scandalous match with Saladin's brother, Saif al-Dīn. This surprising move was not simply a creation of the *Eracles* author: Bahā' ad-Dīn also records that such an offer took place, but that the alliance fell through because Joanna refused marriage to an 'infidel'.¹¹⁸⁸ According to *Eracles*, fear of this proposed alliance was enough to coerce Saladin into offering a truce, although Muslim sources demonstrate that he was actually involved in the negotiations, if not in person.¹¹⁸⁹ Despite his antipathy for Richard, the *Eracles* chronicler noted that Saif al-Dīn's conversion to Christianity was a stipulation of the proposed match: even he did not have the temerity to suggest that the king of England would barter with his own sister's immortal soul. It was considered shameful even to treat with the Muslims, so bestowing a daughter of royal lineage in this way must have been controversial. Gillingham suggests that the negotiations were kept completely secret, but the *Eracles* author evidently knew about it, and as the proposal came to nothing, perhaps the *Itinerarium* and Ambroise felt justified in not mentioning it at all in order to preserve Richard's image as the model crusader.¹¹⁹⁰

As a widow, the emphasis chroniclers placed on the role of Joanna's dower and speculation about her remarriage has ultimately eclipsed the crusade of the woman herself, when her presence should not be underestimated. Whether Richard was portrayed as coming to her rescue, or abusing her trust, contemporary historians highlighted her vulnerability, although she was evidently capable of taking decisive action. When Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus tried to capture Joanna and Berengaria, it was the queen of Sicily who reputedly forestalled the emperor until her brother arrived, and she was able to refuse a marriage partner she deemed unsuitable.¹¹⁹¹ She was not an acknowledged leader and little is known about her activities in the Latin East beyond measures taken for the protection of the two queens, but it is likely that she did not just accompany Richard for her own safety.¹¹⁹² Released from captivity and her family duties in Sicily complete, she could easily have returned to England with her mother, Eleanor. Evidently, her role as an

¹¹⁸⁸ Bahā' ad-Dīn, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), 187-7 and 196. Imād ad-Dīn also refers to these negotiations. See John Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999), 184

¹¹⁸⁹ *Eracles*, 151. See also Gillingham, *Richard I*, 186-8, Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, 342-5.

¹¹⁹⁰ Gillingham, *Richard I*, 188.

¹¹⁹¹ *Eracles*, 115 ; trans Edbury, 101. The *Itinerarium*, and Ambroise, however, played down her role in order to portray Richard as the hero. *Itinerarium*, 187-8. Ambroise, 1.23-4 lns. 1436-46.

¹¹⁹² See Wives, 132.

escort for Berengaria was crucial as far as Cyprus, and perhaps by that point she was committed to the full expedition, but it seems far more likely that Joanna herself desired to take the cross. She may have intended to accompany her husband to the East before his death, and thus fulfilled the vow in his honour. She had also invested heavily in the expedition, and perhaps she wished to remain close to her brother in order to ensure he protected her interests as best he could.

ii) Remarriage in the Latin East

In accordance with marital law, it seems that a high number of aristocratic widows in the East entered into more than one marriage. Some husbands preferred to arrange for the remarriage of their own wives, particularly if they had no heirs. On his deathbed, Bohemond's nephew Tancred supposedly arranged just such a marriage for his wife Cecilia of France with a dowry including two Antiochene fortresses, Arghzan and Rugia. Her husband was to be Pons of Tripoli, the son of Tancred's old enemy Bertrand of Toulouse.¹¹⁹³ There was a lapse of time between Tancred's death in 1112 and the marriage in 1115, and Asbridge asserts that this may have been to wait for Pons to come of age.¹¹⁹⁴ Considering the political friction that had characterised the relationship between Antioch and Tripoli until this point, there may have been a degree of uncertainty over whether the union would come to fruition. Asbridge asserts that this story was probably a 'fanciful invention'.¹¹⁹⁵ Even if this was the case, circulating the story that the marriage was the final wish of Tancred might have helped to ensure that the nuptials went ahead as planned.

The age at which widows were no longer required to marry in the Latin East was sixty - way beyond childbearing years. The provision of heirs, therefore, was not necessarily the deciding factor in the remarriage of a widow, especially if she had already provided heirs through her former husband. The political stability provided by a husband to perform military duties was considered to be more important. When Raymond III of Tripoli married widow Eschiva of Galilee they had no children: she had several already by her

¹¹⁹³ WT, 522, 636.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 123. Albert of Aachen dates the marriage to 1115, but says that Baldwin I arranged it. AA, 701.

¹¹⁹⁵ Thomas Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), 122.

first husband, and Raymond apparently loved them as if they were his own.¹¹⁹⁶ William thus emphasised the magnanimity of Raymond, whose regency he considered to be the best hope for the kingdom. While it may also indicate that he had genuine feelings for Eschiva, Raymond's interests were served by the marriage alone, as it provided him with the requisite wealth to pursue his political and military ends. The fragile power balance in the Latin East demanded that to some extent the normal ecclesiastical views on remarriage were suspended, but certain individuals did attract censure.

Men were sometimes criticised for taking advantage of widows, as indicated by the sources for Baldwin I and Adelaide. William of Tyre had excused Baldwin's role in the affair on the grounds of poverty, but blamed Patriarch Arnulf for deceiving the 'noble and honest woman', who 'in her own sincere manner' thought that the king was in a suitable position to make a legal marriage.¹¹⁹⁷ In his account Adelaide was portrayed as the innocent victim of political machinations, while in direct contrast Orderic Vitalis ridiculed her in conventional terms as a widow eager for remarriage. He called her 'insatiably greedy for pomp and honour', and considered Baldwin justified in repudiating a woman 'wrinkled with age' and 'stained with many crimes'.¹¹⁹⁸ William interpreted the lack of children as a sign of God's displeasure at Baldwin's behaviour, but the king had not produced any children from his two previous marriages, and Adelaide's age may also have been a factor.¹¹⁹⁹ William of Malmesbury, however, followed Orderic's line by giving dark hints about the origin of her wealth, but made no mention of her age. He said that Baldwin put her aside because 'she was afflicted with some disorder, which caused an incurable cancer to attack her privy parts'. He expressed no surprise that the marriage did not produce children, because Baldwin was a warrior 'for whom leisure was a form of illness', and found the embraces of a wife 'repellent'.¹²⁰⁰

¹¹⁹⁶ WT, 967.

¹¹⁹⁷ WT, 526; app. 5.25

¹¹⁹⁸ OV 6.433.

¹¹⁹⁹ See above, 242.

¹²⁰⁰ WM, 1.689. The similarities between the works of Orderic and William has been pointed out by several historians, although their accounts appear to have been independent. Thompson and Winterbottom suggest that the two may have met to discuss 'work in progress'. WM 2.255.

After the death of Baldwin III in 1163, his young widow Theodora Comnena was later seduced and abducted by her relative Andronicus. William of Tyre said that Andronicus had acted ‘like snake in the bosom or a mouse in a wallet’ and absconded with Theodora to Damascus with the aid of Nureddin.¹²⁰¹ Despite the scandal, King Amalric probably benefited from the situation as Theodora had held the important port of Acre as her dower, and Andronicus had been enfeoffed with Beirut. Taking in to account the dower of Nablus that the king had promised to his own wife Maria Comnena, Lilie estimates that ‘nearly a quarter of the kingdom had come under Byzantine influence’.¹²⁰² It has been suggested that Andronicus’ affection for Theodora was genuine, because after a pardon given in 1180 he lived with her and their children in Pontos until 1182, by which time Hamilton suggests she may have died.¹²⁰³ At that point, Andronicus was called to Constantinople by the opponents of Maria of Antioch, and married Agnes of France in 1183.¹²⁰⁴ Even if Theodora was still alive, Andronicus was obviously not too concerned about committing bigamy, as he had two wives already when he abducted her.¹²⁰⁵ Robert of Clari retold Theodora’s story in his history of the Fourth Crusade, with a considerable amount of embellishment and inaccuracy: he asserted that Andronicus had come to escort Theodora to the wedding of Alexius II and Agnes of France, although this did not occur until 1180 and the abduction took place in approximately 1168.¹²⁰⁶ He accused Andronicus of falling in love with Theodora during the sea voyage to Constantinople, taking her by force, and then abducting her.¹²⁰⁷ Western sources were evidently unaware of some of the political circumstances and preferred to focus of the more salubrious details of the story, so that Andronicus’ treatment of both Theodora and Agnes were used as examples to criticise his treacherous nature, and vilify the Greek race as a whole.¹²⁰⁸

¹²⁰¹ WT 914; app. 5.26. For Byzantine accounts see Kinnamos, 188-9 and Choniates, 80-1 and 128.

¹²⁰² Lilie, *Byzantium*, 195. See also Ernoul, 15.

¹²⁰³ Lilie, *Byzantium*, 195; Hamilton, ‘Women’, 162.

¹²⁰⁴ See *Daughters*, 99. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 117.

¹²⁰⁵ He had recently married Philippa of Antioch (sister-in-law to the emperor) and already had a wife in Constantinople. WT 978-9. Choniates, 79-80. Kinnamos, 188.

¹²⁰⁶ He may have become confused with King Amalric’s marriage to Maria Comnena, which occurred while Andronicus was in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

¹²⁰⁷ RC, 20.

¹²⁰⁸ Hamilton, ‘Women’, 162. For an assessment of Byzantine explanations for Andronicus’ behaviour see Lilie, *Byzantium*, 194-5 n. 218.

Marriage to a wealthy widow may have invited criticism, but for the most part it was an accepted way of consolidating and building upon family power. It was perhaps not quite as lucrative in the long term as a marriage which brought heritable property, but even temporary access to rights over fiefs and moveable goods could help to finance military ambitions, and occasionally included other political benefits. The Ibelin family seem to have profited considerably from Balian of Ibelin's marriage to the widow of Amalric, Maria Comnena. On his marriage, Balian gained her dower of Nablus, weakening the royal domain, and also took control of future heir to the kingdom Isabella.¹²⁰⁹ Although his first attempts to convince Humphrey of Toron to oppose the coronation of Sibylla and Guy were unsuccessful, after Sibylla's death he was involved in arranging Isabella's remarriage to Conrad of Monferrat.¹²¹⁰ Later still, the *Eracles* tells us that in 1194 'Count Henry gave the office of constable to John of Ibelin, the brother of queen Isabella', undoubtedly because of their family relationship.¹²¹¹ On the other hand, widows were given in marriage as a form of feudal patronage, and this could stimulate resentment. Miles of Plancy gained considerable wealth by his marriage to widow Stephanie of Kerak and Montreal, which aroused jealousy, and he was eventually murdered.¹²¹² Similarly Manasses of Hierges was rewarded for his services to Melisende in 1150 by marriage to Helvis, lady of Ramla and the widow of the elder Balian of Ibelin.¹²¹³ As a result of this and his close connection with the queen, Manasses became increasingly unpopular with Baldwin III's allies who, unsurprisingly, included the Ibelin sons Hugh, Baldwin and Balian the younger. His influence was a significant factor in the outbreak of the civil war, after which he was eventually forced to leave the kingdom.¹²¹⁴

In some cases it was the widow herself who was criticised for entering into remarriage, usually motivated by avarice and lust. William of Tyre portrayed Alice of Antioch as ultimately falling victim to her own feminine desire for a new husband. He asserted one of

¹²⁰⁹ Praver, *Crusader Institutions*, 28.

¹²¹⁰ *Itinerarium*, 121.

¹²¹¹ *Eracles*, 125.

¹²¹² WT, 964.

¹²¹³ WT, 778. See Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 115 for the date of the marriage and *idem*, 'Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas', 102-118 for an explanation of the complex genealogical problems surrounding Helvis of Ramla and the Ibelin family.

¹²¹⁴ WT, 779. See Mayer, 'Queen Melisende', 155-6.

her reasons for taking control over the city was so that she could exercise choice over her new marriage partner, and therefore fell for a ruse that Raymond of Poitiers intended to marry her, rather than her daughter Constance.¹²¹⁵ Ralph, who had become patriarch of Antioch in 1135 with Alice's help, persuaded her to believe the lie, and 'excessively credulous, she was fooled by that vain hope'.¹²¹⁶ Recent studies suggest that although he had initially supported Alice, Ralph may have feared that her diplomatic overtures to the Byzantine Empire in 1135 would result in the loss of his position to an orthodox patriarch.¹²¹⁷ Asbridge has argued that Alice's involvement in a proposed match between Constance and Manuel at this time cannot be taken for granted, but it seems unlikely that either Baldwin II or Fulk would have encouraged Byzantine overlordship of Antioch. Both kings had shown themselves willing to become involved in expeditions to the principality rather than allow this to happen, to the extent that they risked the support of their own nobles.¹²¹⁸ It is also unlikely that the Antiochene nobility would have made such an offer independently. Although some may have recognised the benefits of an alliance, the Latin Antiochene populace were vigorously opposed to Byzantine influence, as shown by their reaction to Emperor John's attempt to establish his overlordship in 1138.¹²¹⁹ When Raymond finally arrived, he gave an oath of fealty to Patriarch Ralph for the hand of Constance and the principality. Significantly, Ralph was supposed to secure a marriage between Alice and a brother of Raymond's named Henry as part of the deal, including her dower of Latakia and Jabala.¹²²⁰ This part of agreement has largely been dismissed by historians because no record of such a brother has been found, and there is no evidence that a remarriage consequently took place. That does not necessarily mean that Raymond had no plans for Alice's future, however: she could not have been much older than thirty in 1136, she was of royal blood, and her dowry was extremely lucrative. In fact, remarriage to a loyal dependent might have been the easiest way to neutralise her activities, so it is perhaps surprising that the kings of Jerusalem had not forced her into such a match earlier. This suggests that either the protection offered by her dower was too powerful, or

¹²¹⁵ 'to enter into a second match through her own choice.' WT, 635-6; app. 5.27.

¹²¹⁶ WT, 658; app. 5.28.

¹²¹⁷ See Bernard Hamilton, 'Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch (1135-40)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984), 8-9. Phillips, *Defenders*, 61-2.

¹²¹⁸ Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', 45-6. Murray, 'Baldwin II and his nobles', 66-8, 82-3.

¹²¹⁹ See WT, 678-9.

¹²²⁰ WT, 658.

that they could not find a trustworthy husband of suitable rank whose loyalties would remain with the crown. Once Alice discovered Raymond's deception, we are told, she retired to her lands, 'afterwards pursuing the prince with relentless hatred'.¹²²¹ With these final remarks William consigned Alice to the role of the spurned woman, and while her date of death is uncertain, the marriage of her daughter unquestionably sounded the death knell for her political life in Antioch.

Later, as a widow herself, Constance came under criticism for her initial refusal to remarry. Baldwin III persistently asked her to do so, apparently fearing that Antioch would suffer the same fate as Edessa because he was unable to provide personally for the protection for the principality. Amongst a list of possible suitors were Ives, count of Soissons, who was desirable because of his French connections; Walter of Falkenburg, who was discreet, courteous, wise and valiant; and Ralph of Merle, a high-born noble with good sense and experience on the battlefield. These qualities were evidently desirable in a husband and in a future prince of Antioch, and the fact that there were three candidates suggests that they may have been offered to Constance by Baldwin in accordance with the law of arbitrary choice. In William's account, her reason for rejecting these suitors was as follows:

She, however, fearing the shackles of wedlock and resolving to have a free and independent life, was largely ignoring that which the people wanted, being more concerned about pursuing matters of the flesh according to her own desires.¹²²²

William thus considered her to be failing in her duty as a ruler to remarry. A general council to discuss the matter was called at Tripoli in 1152. Queen Melisende may have attended the council under duress, but it is significant that female kin were perceived to have an influence in matrimonial politics. Both aunts, Melisende and Hodierna, the countess of Tripoli were drafted in to help persuade the reluctant widow to remarry. Despite this pressure neither the king, nor the rest of her family were able to force Constance to do so, possibly because she had a strong ally in the church. Aimery of

¹²²¹ WT 659; app. 5.29.

¹²²² WT, 786; app. 5.30.

Limoges, the successor to Ralph as patriarch of Antioch, had aided her in government since the death of her husband in 1149. He supported her refusal to remarry through the ecclesiastical tradition of protecting the rights of widows, although William suggested that Aimery was doing so to expand his own power.¹²²³ In addition, Constance was the legitimate heir, and she had already produced four children, so there was no urgent dynastic vacuum - remarriage for military protection had to be the primary issue for the principality. It is notable that while there was considerable pressure on Constance to remarry, there never seems to have been a question in William's mind over whether Queen Melisende should enter into a new union. This may have been because she was more mature on widowhood, but more importantly her remarriage might have upset the delicate political balance in a kingdom where she was designated joint heir.

William's assertion that Constance did not want the 'shackles' of marriage was later proved wrong. He does not mention that Constance reputedly sought a marriage alliance with Byzantium, although the candidate chosen by Emperor Manuel, Caesar John Roger, apparently proved unsatisfactory to her - John Kinnamos said she thought him too aged.¹²²⁴ Instead, he played on perceptions of the inconstant nature of women to explain her behaviour: 'many illustrious and noble men were seeking her hand in marriage, [but] she refused in the manner of women.'¹²²⁵ It is possible that Constance's experiences as a minor, eclipsed by a domineering mother and then married to an ambitious prince when still only a child, may have increased her determination to experience autonomy and choose her next partner when the chance arose. Eventually Constance found her match in Reynald of Châtillon, a knight of the king's retinue, but this decision was controversial because he was considered to be her social inferior. William wrote:

Many were astonished that a woman so distinguished, powerful, and illustrious, and [once] the wife of such an excellent military man, would deign to marry a virtual commoner.¹²²⁶

¹²²³ WT, 786.

¹²²⁴ Kinnamos, 97. See also 136 for a reference to the proposed marriage.

¹²²⁵ WT, 795; app. 5.31.

¹²²⁶ WT, 796; app. 5.32

He said that she chose Reynald secretly, because she wanted to get the consent of the king first. Reynald accordingly rushed to the king during the battle of Ascalon in 1153 to get his approval for the marriage. The fact that Constance was perceived to have chosen her husband and married below her station may indicate that it was for reasons of love. Perhaps she admired Reynald's legendary ambition and pugnacious attitude towards the Muslims, and saw in him exactly what the harried principality of Antioch needed in a ruler. On the other hand, William's assessment of Aimery's ambition may have been correct, and Constance may have feared the encroaching power of the patriarch within her principality. Aimery was certainly unhappy about her new marriage, and subsequently he and the prince entered into a conflict that famously resulted in Reynald torturing the patriarch by smearing his head with honey and making him sit in the hot sun.¹²²⁷ As well as his shock at this event, William of Tyre considered Reynald to have more fundamental character flaws. Hamilton has argued that Reynald may have been involved in the election of Patriarch Eraclius, and that William went out of his way to obscure the important role that Reynald played in the politics of the kingdom, especially after his release from captivity in 1176.¹²²⁸ In any case, this reflected badly on Constance, as she had exhibited poor taste in her decision to marry him.¹²²⁹

The idea that Constance was motivated to remarry to keep control over her inheritance is supported to an extent by the fact that she reputedly sought to maintain it in 1163 even after her son Bohemond III had come of age.¹²³⁰ She appealed to the Greek general Constantine Coloman for aid, but this resulted in rioting from the people in Antioch. She was replaced by her son and exiled, probably to the same dower lands her mother Alice had held, dying soon afterwards.¹²³¹ The parallels between their two careers are marked:

¹²²⁷ WT, 809

¹²²⁸ See Hamilton, 'Elephant', 97-108.

¹²²⁹ Baldwin III apparently considered Reynald's treatment of Aimery insane and foolish, WT, 809 and William was critical of his raids on Cyprus, WT, 823-5, and his dispute with Thierry of Flanders over Shaizar, WT 837. In particular, he was disgusted by Reynald's obeisance to Emperor Manuel when attempting to restore relations between Byzantium and Antioch WT, 844-5.

¹²³⁰ There is some dispute over the exact chronology of events, but Lilie seems to favour the idea that Constance's appeal came after Manuel's marriage to Constance's daughter Maria in 1161, and that she took the opportunity provided by King Baldwin III's death to press her claim. Lilie, *Byzantium*, 187, n.189.

¹²³¹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed.

both women displayed a tendency to appeal to Byzantium despite the empire's well-attested unpopularity amongst the Antiochene population. Perhaps as female regents they were in greater need of a powerful overlord to enforce their authority over unruly vassals. It was possible that by following her mother's example in appealing to the Byzantines for aid, Constance fell into same trap that had forced her into marriage with Raymond of Poitou at such a young age. As well as mentioning her distaste for the match, John Kinnamos asserted that it was the Antiochene nobility who dissuaded Constance from the proposed marriage to John-Roger, and shortly afterwards she entered into an unexpected marriage with Reynald.¹²³² Perhaps the most persuasive interpretation is that her remarriage to Reynald was neither inspired by love nor a deliberate attempt by Constance to exercise choice, but was instead a necessary act of reassurance for disgruntled vassals who feared submission to a Byzantine overlord.

The match between Queen Sibylla of Jerusalem and Guy of Lusignan in 1180 also illustrates contemporary perceptions about a widow's decision to remarry. By that year, Sibylla had already fulfilled her dynastic duty and produced a male heir to the throne by her first husband, William of Montferrat. The marriage had been short-lived, but almost immediately after William's death, Philip of Flanders reputedly tried to use his connection of kinship with the two royal heiresses, Sibylla and Isabella, to further his own cause in the East. William of Tyre had a low opinion of Philip, he criticised his refusal to act as regent for the kingdom during the king's illness, and accused him of having ambitions of overlordship in Egypt. When the count complained that no one had approached him on the marriage of his kinswoman Sibylla, William saw this as proof that Philip's aim was to supplant the king.¹²³³ He suggested that Philip wanted to marry off both princesses to the sons of Robert V, the advocate of Bethune, who had agreed to give up certain property claims to Philip's western lands in return for the marriages. There is also the possibility that Baldwin of Ibelin had strong objections to the idea, as Ernoul states that he intended to marry Sibylla himself.¹²³⁴ The king, however, needed Philip's military aid and could

and trans. Jean Chabot, 4 vols, (Paris 1899-1924), 3.324.

¹²³² Kinnamos, 97. See also 136 for a reference to the proposed marriage.

¹²³³ WT, 979-80.

¹²³⁴ Ernoul, 60.

not afford to offend the count openly. Baldwin IV's response was to play for time, and to do so he used the established customs relating to remarriage. To arrange a new marriage for a widow, especially a pregnant one, within a year of the death of her husband would not allow an honourable period for mourning.¹²³⁵ He pointed out that Sibylla had been widowed scarcely three months, but they were prepared to listen to Philip's advice on the matter if he would put forward a candidate. The count, however, refused to do so unless all barons swore to abide by his decision - a situation which Baldwin IV and his nobles found untenable - and Philip harboured a grudge as a result.¹²³⁶ Philip's crusade ended in substantial failure for a variety of reasons, but this particular attempt to assert his authority through matrimonial politics did little to improve relations between the crusaders and settlers.

By 1180, negotiations for Sibylla's remarriage were already underway, William of Tyre asserts that Baldwin was planning to marry her to the duke of Burgundy (Hugh III). However, the king was experiencing worsening paranoia exacerbated by his medical condition. Threatened by the intimidating presence of Bohemond III of Antioch and Raymond III of Tripoli in his kingdom in 1180, he made a hasty decision to marry Sibylla to Guy of Lusignan. William stated rather enigmatically that Baldwin chose Guy 'on account of various things that had occurred.'¹²³⁷ The marriage was also celebrated unexpectedly during Easter, which was against established custom. Several contemporaries opined about what these 'reasons' may have been, and in order to explore them fully it is necessary to return to ideas about love within marriage. Guy of Lusignan was a crusader from Poitou in the royal entourage, and was evidently a capable soldier. Roger of Howden described Guy as 'handsome in appearance and proficient in arms', and believed that Sibylla chose him to be her husband because of his good looks. Afraid to tell her brother King Baldwin of her preference, 'she loved him secretly, and he himself slept with her.'¹²³⁸ Baldwin responded violently in Roger's account, threatening to have them tortured or stoned but finally responded to more lenient advice and allowed them to marry.

¹²³⁵ WT, 981. In fact, Hamilton argues that the links to Flanders and England resulting from such a match would have been beneficial to the Latin Kingdom. Hamilton, *Leper King*, 126-7.

¹²³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²³⁷ WT, 1007; app. 5.33.

¹²³⁸ Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, 1.343; app. 5.34-5.

If Sibylla had indeed indulged in an illicit relationship of this kind, it is possible that William may have wished to obscure it in his history. Sibylla was, after all, the mother of the future heir of the kingdom, Baldwin V, at the time when he was writing, and he would not have wanted to call into question the legitimacy of his succession. Ernoul was much more outspoken, suggesting that Guy had interfered with a prior arrangement, made by Sibylla herself, to marry Baldwin of Ibelin. Sibylla was then persuaded to change her mind by Guy's brother Aimery of Lusignan and her mother Agnes, whom he accused of having a scandalous affair with each other.¹²³⁹ In his account no mention is made of her mooted nuptials with Hugh of Burgundy, a fact that leads Hamilton to suggest that the tale was concocted by the pro-Ibelin author to provide 'an explanation of Baldwin's hatred of Guy which was acceptable within the terms of the chivalric code', or at least within the conventions of contemporary chivalric literature.¹²⁴⁰

Prejudice against Guy in narratives of the Latin East was evidently not entirely based on his involvement in the disaster of Hattin in 1187.¹²⁴¹ William of Tyre, writing no later than 1184, was probably influenced by the breakdown of relations between Baldwin IV and his brother-in-law after the 1183 campaign against Saladin and his removal from regency.¹²⁴² Antipathy had existed between Guy and Raymond III of Tripoli since that date, and the latter was William of Tyre's preferred regent of the kingdom. William's history ends with the king's attempt to separate Guy and Sybilla. On hearing of Baldwin's plans to annul the marriage, Guy fled to Ascalon sending word to Sibylla in Jerusalem to meet him there because he was afraid that the king would physically prevent her from returning to her husband.¹²⁴³ His fear was not without justification, as the forced separation of queen Isabella from Humphrey IV of Toron would later demonstrate.

¹²³⁹ Ernoul, 56-60.

¹²⁴⁰ Hamilton, *Leper King*, 154.

¹²⁴¹ Smail has argued that Guy's reputation as an inept ruler and military leader is unjustified. R.C.Smail, 'The predicaments of Guy of Lusignan 1183-1187' in *Outremer*, 159-72.

¹²⁴² *Ibid.* 168-72; Hamilton, *Leper King*, 189-92.

¹²⁴³ WT, 1063. See also *Eracles*; 'He asked the patriarch to summon them, saying that he wanted to challenge the validity of the marriage and demonstrate that it was neither good nor legal' *Eracles*, 17; app. 5.36, trans. Edbury, 11.

After Baldwin V's death, Sibylla was pressured to divorce Guy in order to take the throne, in the same way that they had made her father Amalric divest himself of an unsuitable wife (Agnes) before his coronation. William of Newburgh wrote in the late 1190's that the Jerusalem nobility accepted her as queen, 'but objected to her unworthy marriage.'¹²⁴⁴ Current scholarship interprets the rather bizarre coronation scene recounted by several historians as proof that Sibylla did in fact divorce Guy, but with the legitimacy conferred on her by coronation, she immediately took back her repudiated husband, forcing the barons of Jerusalem to accept him as king.¹²⁴⁵ *Eracles* described how she called her husband up to be crowned, saying "Sire, come up and receive this crown, for I do not know where better I can bestow it."¹²⁴⁶ As a crowned heiress, the kingdom was hers to bestow, and her husband received the crown from her, but as a woman she was perceived to need a man to help her to govern.¹²⁴⁷ She may have genuinely thought that Guy was the best hope for the kingdom. On the other hand, it seems likely that she had genuine feelings for him; had she been at all dissatisfied with the marriage, she was given several good opportunities to escape it. After Jerusalem had fallen a year later, the *Itinerarium* described the tearful reunion of the couple at Tortosa after Guy's release from captivity:

They exchanges kisses, they intertwined embraces, their joy elicited tears, and they rejoiced that they had escaped the disasters which had befallen them.¹²⁴⁸

Sibylla's apparent devotion to Guy suggests that she did employ her own choice when accepting him as a husband, in accordance with the idea that widows had more freedom over their choice of second husband.¹²⁴⁹ Perhaps she was influenced to take action by her

¹²⁴⁴ WN 255; app. 5.37.

¹²⁴⁵ Sibylla's loyalty to her husband at her coronation was evidently a story that continued to catch the imagination of contemporaries, it was even retold in Robert of Clari's history of the Fourth Crusade. *Eracles*, 32-3; WN, 255; RC, 35. For the divorce see Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 315-6 and *idem. Gesta* 1.358-60; ATF, 859 and Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, RS 84 (1886), 1.138-9. For a full discussion see Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', 196-8. Hamilton adds the Latin continuation of William of Tyre to this list. See *Die Lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, 64-5 and Hamilton, *The Leper King*, 218-20. See also John Gillingham, 'Love, Marriage and Politics in the Twelfth Century', in *Richard Coeur de Lion*, 244-8.

¹²⁴⁶ *Eracles*, 33; app. 5.38; trans. Edbury, 26.

¹²⁴⁷ See *Daughters*, 84.

¹²⁴⁸ *Itinerarium*, 25; app. 5.39, trans. Nicholson, 42.

¹²⁴⁹ William of Newburgh wrote 'by her own choice she contracted a second marriage' WN, 255; app. 5.40.

first experiences of betrothal and marriage. For reasons unknown her first suitor, Stephen of Sancerre, rejected her on his arrival in the East although he was 'obligated and already pledged', an embarrassing situation for both the young woman and her family.¹²⁵⁰ William claimed that Stephen went on to indulge in licentious activities for the rest of his stay and earned the hatred of the settlers, but Phillips suggests that negotiations between Stephen and Amalric may have broken down over the exact terms of the marriage agreement.¹²⁵¹ The husband then chosen for her, William Longsword, was irascible and a heavy drinker according to William of Tyre. The marriage did not last long; after three months he succumbed to a mysterious illness, leaving Sibylla pregnant.¹²⁵² Gillingham concurs that the marriage between Guy and Sybilla was an example of a higher degree of free choice of mate, although he associates this with more general changes in attitudes towards marriage that were occurring in the twelfth century.¹²⁵³

Sibylla's sister Isabella was not so fortunate, however. Her political importance meant that she was subject to a succession of quick remarriages that elicited criticism from contemporary historians. Isabella married her third husband Henry II of Champagne a scant few days after the murder of Conrad of Monferrat by Assassins, although there was some question over her status as a widow because her first husband Humphrey IV of Toron was still alive. The marriage drew much attention from contemporary chroniclers, not only because of the scandal involved, but because once more it exposed conflicts between the French and English contingents of the Third Crusade. According to *Eracles*, it was King Richard who wanted Isabella to marry Henry of Champagne, but the count was reluctant because she was pregnant, and Conrad's heir would be entitled to the kingdom. King Richard reputedly offered bribes of military aid and money, and with the provision that Henry's heirs would take the crown after him, Henry agreed to the marriage.¹²⁵⁴ Despite criticising the speed of the marriage, *Eracles* did suggest that there was political justification for moving so quickly, because the Pisans of Tyre were apparently trying to enlist King Guy in a plot against Richard.

¹²⁵⁰ WT, 947; app. 5.41.

¹²⁵¹ WT, 947. Phillips, *Defenders*, 205.

¹²⁵² WT, 978.

¹²⁵³ Gillingham, 'Love Marriage and Politics', 246.

¹²⁵⁴ *Eracles*, 143-4.

Some Anglo-Norman crusade narratives took yet another approach. Despite their avowed hatred for Conrad for not aiding the crusaders during the famine at Acre, both the *Itinerarium* and Ambroise provided a rather grand death scene for him. They described him receiving the sacraments, and instructing his wife to guard the city of Tyre and not give it up to anyone except King Richard or a lawful heir.¹²⁵⁵ Whether Conrad did indeed survive long enough to give such instructions is open to question, but both texts wanted to assert that it was Richard's right to dispose of Tyre, bolstered by Conrad's dying wish. Later Isabella was seen to be defending king Richard's rights against the French.

“There is no one else,” she said, “who has laboured so much to tear the country from the Turks’ hands and restore it to its original liberty. He has the strongest right to dispose of the kingdom as seems best to him.”¹²⁵⁶

Isabella therefore became a mouthpiece for the author to justify Richard's superiority to the French monarch through his efforts of crusade. Apparently thwarted, the French asked Henry of Champagne to marry Isabella, but he refused to do so until he had consulted his uncle Richard, again asserting English dominance.¹²⁵⁷ According to the *Itinerarium* it was Richard who voiced doubts about the validity of the marriage because of Humphrey of Toron, but agreed that Henry was the choice to rule the kingdom.¹²⁵⁸ It was the French who encouraged Henry to pursue the marriage against Richard's advice, and then Isabella came of her own accord to offer him the keys of the city.¹²⁵⁹ The author of the *Itinerarium* added ‘I don't think that those who persuaded the count to do this had much to do, for it is no effort to force the willing!’¹²⁶⁰ He described the wedding as an attempt to bring peace to the English and French factions, although that aim was not ultimately achieved. The variations on Isabella's portrayal in opposing accounts demonstrates how the role of the

¹²⁵⁵ *Itinerarium*, 340, Ambroise, 1.143 8834-43.

¹²⁵⁶ *Itinerarium*, 342; app. 5.42, trans. Nicholson, 308.

¹²⁵⁷ *Itinerarium*, 343.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 347.

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 348.

¹²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 348; app. 5.43, trans. Nicholson, 313.

widow-heiress and possession of her person and property through remarriage could become the focus of tensions between rival groups on crusade.

Having focused primarily on those widows fortunate enough to retain their wealth and status as desirable marriage partners, this discussion will now turn to those whose circumstances changed considerably on the death of their husbands, and who became recipients of charity. Death rates on the crusades meant that widows made up some of the legitimate poor in crusade armies, and were therefore eligible to receive charity from the nobility, at the instigation of the church. Although women are not specifically mentioned, Ambroise and the *Itinerarium* tell how nobles at the siege of Acre were encouraged to give gifts to the needy by the bishop of Salisbury and celebrate those who were most generous in their charity.¹²⁶¹ After the account of the massacre of the garrison at Acre, Ambroise attempted to justify it as vengeance for the Christian martyrs of the siege of Acre, evoking pity for their families including widows and orphans.¹²⁶² Widows of war sometimes had to marry below their station as a result of the dearth of husbands, however, this was one way they could continue providing for themselves and their families, and preserve their lineage. Wealth and power were not the only features that made a widow desirable, as with all prospective brides, lineage and character were also important. William of Tyre described Beatrice, the widow of William of Saône, ‘a woman of noble blood, but more noble in her actions’ when she married Joscelin II of Edessa.¹²⁶³ Her virtues may have been emphasised to contrast with William’s criticism of Joscelin, whom he asserted was notorious for his licentiousness (and uncleanness).¹²⁶⁴

In accordance with ideas about royal protection, the kings of Jerusalem and crusader-kings took it upon themselves to provide for and arrange marriages for widows as an act of charity, but it could also be a useful means of patronage.¹²⁶⁵ Fulcher of Chartres tells how Baldwin II involved himself in the succession to Antioch and then successfully defeated Il-Ghazi in 1120. He remained in the city until ‘he had married widows, of which he found many there,

¹²⁶¹ Ambroise 1.71-2 lns. 4407-56; *Itinerarium*, 135.

¹²⁶² Ambroise, 1.90, lns. 5567-71.

¹²⁶³ WT, 635; app. 5.44. See *Wives*, 167.

¹²⁶⁴ WT, 635.

¹²⁶⁵ Guy of Lusignan gave land to widows as well as daughters in Cyprus, see *Daughters*, 93.

to husbands in pious affection.’¹²⁶⁶ William of Tyre emphasised his efforts to partner widows with men of suitable rank.¹²⁶⁷ Given the political situation in the aftermath of the Field of Blood in 1119, when a high percentage of the male aristocracy had lost their lives, it must have been difficult to find men of appropriate station. Immediately after the battle, Orderic Vitalis described Prince Roger’s widow, Cecilia of le Bourcq, acting in an overtly military capacity as a feudal lord by knighting squires so that they could protect the city of Antioch.¹²⁶⁸ Asbridge suggests that she herself may have married below her station after Roger’s death, as she is later found to be ‘Lady of Tarsus’ holding lands in Cilicia. These may have been held in dower or given to her by her brother, Baldwin II, on her remarriage.¹²⁶⁹ Saladin, in ‘a great act of courtesy’, also supposedly provided for the ladies of Jerusalem whose fathers and husbands had been killed at Hattin. *Eracles* told how these daughters and widows apparently threw themselves upon his mercy, asking for ‘counsel and aid’ invoking the terminology of the feudal bond.¹²⁷⁰ He agreed to free those husbands who were alive, and provided for the women out of his own wealth, ‘more to some and less to others according to who they were.’¹²⁷¹ However, Saladin was not entirely motivated by generosity if a widow could provide him with something he desired in return. He refused to release the son of widow Stephanie of Milly, whose husband (Reynald of Châtillon) Saladin was said to have killed with his own hands, unless she negotiated the surrender of Kerak. She was unsuccessful, and although she was allowed to leave Jerusalem with all her wealth and retainers, her son remained in prison.¹²⁷²

Grief

Grief was an integral part of the imagery of widowhood that had strong feminine connotations, although it was displayed by both men and women and was used for a variety of purposes in crusade narratives. The *Itinerarium* described the crusaders’ feelings of loss on the death of the emperor Frederick, as surpassing all tears and laments, even those of

¹²⁶⁶ FC, 634; app. 5.45.

¹²⁶⁷ WT, 562.

¹²⁶⁸ OV 6.108

¹²⁶⁹ Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 145-6, 159.

¹²⁷⁰ *Eracles*, 72; app. 5.46-7.

¹²⁷¹ ‘a l’une plus, et l’autre meins, selonc ce eles estoient.’ *Eracles*, 72; app. 5.48.

¹²⁷² Ibn Al-Athīr, *Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh*, 709. Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête de la Syrie*, 105.

mothers for children and widows for husbands.¹²⁷³ William of Tyre recounts how after the defeat of Louis VII's forces at Mount Cadmos during the Second Crusade women searched for their husbands and sons, mourning or waiting anxiously for news for news.¹²⁷⁴ A particularly notable example of a grieving widow occurred in the narratives of both Robert of Rheims and Gilo of Paris, and may have been based on the source they shared, although there were variations in their accounts. Gualo II of Chaumont-Vexin was killed during the siege of Antioch, and both Robert and Gilo gave detailed accounts of his wife's reaction to the news.¹²⁷⁵ Although Robert asserted that she was of high nobility, he did not name her, whereas Gilo identified her as Humberga, the daughter of Hugh I of Le Puiset and Alice of Montlhéry.¹²⁷⁶ He told how, already widowed once,¹²⁷⁷ she had embarked on crusade with her brother Everard III of Le Puiset, and her new husband Gualo, only for him to be slain by an act of treachery outside Antioch during a truce. Robert described her grief in the following terms;

His wife stirred everyone to tears, as she tore at herself in a plaintive manner far beyond what was customary. It moved others with her to grief, and she could neither speak nor cry out because of her sobbing and rapid breath. She was descended from high nobility and, saving the frailty inherent to the flesh, her beauty outshone that of others. Now she was almost as still as a marble column, so that it might have been thought she was dead, had not some warmth of vitality been felt beating in the top of her breast; besides this sign, a vein could be observed pulsing hidden under the frail skin where downy hair separates the swelling eyelids. When she revived, forgetful of

¹²⁷³ *Itinerarium*, 56.

¹²⁷⁴ WT, 753.

¹²⁷⁵ Gilo of Paris, *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, lx.

¹²⁷⁶ She appears witnessing a charter in the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Père de France* ed. M. Guérard, (Paris, 1840), 240.

¹²⁷⁷ Grocock and Siberry assert that her first husband, simply described as 'a count', was Robert, count of Meulan, although he was still alive until 1118. They do not provide a source for this assertion, and the marriage is not mentioned in the account of Robert's life given by Vaughn, who only refers to his marriage to Isabel/Elizabeth of Vermandois, as does Henry of Huntingdon. Orderic Vitalis, on the other hand, asserts that Robert was married first to Godvere of Tosny, before her marriage to Baldwin of Bologne in 1096. Chibnall considers this unlikely as he gave no mention of an annulment, but the fact that both married in the same year is perhaps significant. See Gilo of Paris, 127, n. 6: Sally Vaughn, 'Robert of Meulan and Raison d'État in the Anglo-Norman State, 1093-1118', *Albion* 10 (1978), 352-373; Henry of Huntingdon, 598-9, OV 3.128-9, n. 1.

feminine modesty, she threw herself upon the ground and, tearing at her cheeks with her nails, pulled at her golden hair.¹²⁷⁸

Gilo also emphasised the physical manifestations of her grief, recounting the tearing of her cheeks and hair, as well as her initial inability to speak or move through sorrow.¹²⁷⁹ These images were very stylised and owe much to Ovid's descriptions of mourning women in the *Heroides*, according to Grocock.¹²⁸⁰ William of Tyre used similar conventions of grief to describe Queen Melisende's reaction to the death of her husband Fulk in a hunting accident;

The queen, learning of her husband's death that was so unexpected and struck by the ill-omened event, tore at her clothes and hair, wailing and giving testament to the depth of her grief with sobs and laments, throwing herself onto the ground she embraced his lifeless corpse. The water in her eyes did not suffice for the welling of her continual tears and her voice, expressing her grief, was interrupted by frequent sobs. Nor could she satisfy her sorrow, though she cared for nothing else but to soothe her distress.¹²⁸¹

Conversely, a lack of suitable grief could give rise to criticism. Amongst her other faults, Alice of Antioch was portrayed as a scheming and unnatural widow who demonstrated no grief at her husband's death, and began plotting her wicked plans as soon as she heard the news.¹²⁸²

Some of the more extreme expressions of sorrow were inappropriate for men, although they could weep and lament. For example, as the situation became more desperate around Antioch, Bohemond and Tancred led a raiding party into hostile territory and are ambushed with great loss, Albert of Aachen described how Bohemond wept and 'the

¹²⁷⁸ RR, 795; app. 5.49.

¹²⁷⁹ Gilo of Paris, 128-9.

¹²⁸⁰ C. W. Grocock, "Ovid the Crusader", in Charles Martindale ed. *Ovid Renewed*, (Cambridge 1988), 66-8.

¹²⁸¹ WT, 710-11; app. 5.50.

¹²⁸² WT, 623.

people lamented violently’ after his raiding party sustained heavy losses outside Antioch; the mourners included ‘women, youths, boys, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, who had lost their very beloved friends, sons and relatives.’¹²⁸³ Husbands were also portrayed as experiencing grief at the loss of a partner. During a council of Philip II of France and Richard the Lionheart at Dreux, while they were finalising arrangements for the Third Crusade, a messenger arrived with the news that Philip’s wife, Isabel of Hainault, had died. Despite the fact that he had tried to put her aside in 1184 for political reasons, this was described as a terrible blow to Philip; he was ‘so completely devastated’ that he considered backing out of the expedition.¹²⁸⁴ Similarly, Villehardouin described Baldwin of Flanders’ mourning at the death of his wife, Marie, and how ‘it gave great sorrow to all the Christians, for she was a very good and honourable lady’, whom they had wanted to be empress.¹²⁸⁵ In other cases the death of a wife could inspire a man to take the cross William of Tyre, told how after the death of his wife Count Fulk of Anjou went to Jerusalem in 1120-1 ‘for the sake of prayer’.¹²⁸⁶ Conversely, in some accounts no grief was mentioned. Although Albert of Aachen told how Godvere, whom Baldwin had entrusted to Duke Godfrey in her illness, died and was buried with Christian rites, he did not mention Baldwin’s reaction.¹²⁸⁷

Robert justified his inclusion of the story of Gualo’s widow by asserting the political importance of the killing, as it signified the end of a truce. Although he made no reference to Humberga, Guibert of Nogent also saw Gualo’s death as significant, as he recorded it in his history of the First Crusade.¹²⁸⁸ The story did emphasise Muslim treachery, but this could have been expressed without the use of the widow, and her presence in these texts may have served purposes beyond a simple flair for the dramatic. In Robert’s account the widow prayed to the Virgin for the soul of her husband, and to ensure his martyrdom:

“King in three persons, have pity on Gualo;

¹²⁸³ AA, 375; app. 5.51.

¹²⁸⁴ *Itinerarium*, 146; app. 5.52.; trans. Nicholson, 148. See also Ralph of Diceto, ‘Ymagine Historiarum’, 77. According to the *Itinerarium* the death of William of Apulia also affected the confidence of the general host.

¹²⁸⁵ Villehardouin, 2.126; app. 5.53. Ernoul also mentions her death, Ernoul, 378.

¹²⁸⁶ WT, 633; app. 5.54.

¹²⁸⁷ AA, 358.

¹²⁸⁸ He identifies him as the constable of Philip I of France. GN, 332.

**And confer upon him the gift of life, as you are the one God.
 What had Gualo done wrong, that he should die outside of battle?
 Son of the Virgin Mother, wipe out Gualo's sin,
 A man you have saved from the events of so many battles,
 And whom you have now allowed to be martyred.”¹²⁸⁹**

It is questionable whether the widow was uncertain of her husband's salvation, as he was killed through treachery during a truce rather than in battle. This truce is also recorded by Guibert of Nogent, but does not appear in the other main historical narratives of the First Crusade. Guibert's source for the truce was a letter from the knight Anselm of Ribemont, who asserted that an offer to surrender the city was made around 20 May and a truce followed with an exchange of envoys.

As the constable of the king of France, Gualo was a member of Hugh of Vermandois' contingent, and therefore of considerable importance. Although Anselm described the surrender as a trap, Asbridge suggests that some of the Muslim garrison may have been attempting to organise an unsanctioned surrender at this point, prompting Yaghi Siyan to slaughter the crusaders on discovery of the plot.¹²⁹⁰ A few days afterwards, according to Anselm, news came of Kerbogha's imminent arrival.¹²⁹¹ Perhaps it is not so surprising that the crusaders, who had faced a dire siege and were teetering on the brink of success, lamented the death of Gualo and the end of the truce. Robert asserted that the impact of this death should not be underestimated. On first mentioning the death, he told how:

There was great grief throughout the camp, since the death of Gualo was lamented by all the men and women with frequent sobbing.¹²⁹²

He later asserted

¹²⁸⁹ RR, 795; app. 5.55.

¹²⁹⁰ Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004), 199.

¹²⁹¹ 'Epistula 2 Anselmi', 159.

¹²⁹² RR, 795; app. 5.56.

This incident cannot be passed over lightly, because the truce period had remained intact before the death of this man occurred.¹²⁹³

The likelihood of Asbridge's suggestion is borne out by Yaghi Siyan's brutal murder of Christian captives a short time before these events.¹²⁹⁴ He did this to decrease the likelihood of betrayal, and as Antioch ultimately fell through the treachery of an inhabitant, Firuz, his fears were evidently well-founded. In Gilo's account Humberga spoke of her husband's life 'which this treacherous race could not take away in war, has been taken from you by a trick.'¹²⁹⁵ Perhaps this section was intended to reinforce the message that salvation was a reward for all who took the cross, whether or not they died in battle. Alternatively, it could demonstrate that a wife could have had faith in the spiritual benefits of crusading and that her husband was a martyr to a just cause even while bemoaning her fate. Apparently she regretted that she had not died with him, but this seems to have been more through devotion to her husband than to achieve martyrdom herself, however.¹²⁹⁶ In Gilo's account Humberga also expressed fears for her own safety on crusade without a husband's protection;

“Am I to live without you, far away from the land of my father? Shall a woman live, following the camp without a husband...death is a slight pain to me if I am joined with Gualo in death; if I am not to be enslaved by the savage Turks.”¹²⁹⁷

This demonstrates that Gilo recognised the dangers specific to women who took the cross, and seems to suggest that death was the preferable option to enslavement, or life as a camp follower, both of which held connotations of sexual defilement.¹²⁹⁸ Similar fears were expressed by Queen Marguerite in Damietta, she asserted that she would prefer to have her head cut off rather than be taken captive by the Saracens, presumably again to avoid

¹²⁹³ RR, 796; app. 5.57.

¹²⁹⁴ PT 79-81.

¹²⁹⁵ Gilo of Paris, 128-9.

¹²⁹⁶ RR, 795.

¹²⁹⁷ Gilo of Paris, 129.

¹²⁹⁸ Friedman, *Encounters between Enemies*, 169.

the threat of sexual perfidy; her fears were for herself, not for her unborn child.¹²⁹⁹ Humberga also lamented that she was unable to take part in burial rituals for her husband:

‘Alas, poor me! I have performed no service of pity for you, husband ... I have not wiped your mouth with my dress, nor closed your eyes with my hand, nor washed your wounds with my tears.’¹³⁰⁰

This demonstrates a close resemblance to aspects of the ‘Widow of Ephesus’ fable.¹³⁰¹ Key motifs of this story included the beauty of the widow and excessive grief, the mistreatment and displacement of her husband’s dead body (although on this occasion it is at the hands of the Turks), and, in Gilo’s account, the fear of capture by the Turks suggested her sexual availability. The story does not, however, mention a new love interest, or hold the traditional misogynistic hallmarks that characterised such tales, which were customarily employed to caution men about the fickle nature of women.¹³⁰²

¹²⁹⁹ See Wives, pregnancy and childbirth.

¹³⁰⁰ Gilo of Paris, 129. Cf. ‘Oh, I could be happy if I had been able to close his eyes at his last breath, wash his wounds with my tears, and brush off his hands and garments and put his dear body in the grave.’ RR, 795-6; app. 5.58.

¹³⁰¹ My thanks to Professor Brian J. Levy for bringing this to my attention.

¹³⁰² See Arden, ‘Grief, Widowhood’, 307-10.

Conclusion

The portrayal of widows in the historical narratives of the crusades and the Latin East represents a spectrum of views about women that involved aspects of wealth, age and social status, but also focused on their individual situations. Although primarily defined by their marital status, perceptions about them rested not only on their age, status and power, but also their actions. Younger widows were sometimes portrayed as avaricious and selfish, such as Alice and Constance of Antioch, or conversely as honourable matrons like Margaret of Austria or Adelaide of Sicily with whom less wealthy men made fortuitous alliances. The young were also pitiable as desirable captives carried off to assuage the perceived insatiable carnality of the Muslims - both young and old were seen as vulnerable and deserving of protection, however. In a few individual cases where women held considerable power their authority was admired, but respect was invariably drawn from their ability to manage the difficulty of their circumstances and take on a masculine role 'beyond their sex'. In the history of the Latin East, the rule of widows such as Beatrice of Edessa and Constance of Antioch was interpreted by William of Tyre as symptomatic of the misfortune suffered in the Holy Land because of the sins of Christians. The positions of Alice of Antioch and Melisende as regents in an unstable frontier society had certain similarities, and often both were required to take bold political action. Alice was seen as behaving in a manner unnatural to her maternal and widowed status, but was still quintessentially female because of her devious behaviour, whereas Melisende was endowed with manly status. With a few notable exceptions, it seems that authors of narratives of crusading, and particularly histories of the Latin East, were inclined to give widows a positive hearing, and seldom criticised those who ventured back into the cycle of marriage and motherhood as long as their choice of husband was approved. In some cases, however, the widow fulfilled a more specific function. Although Humberga of le Puiset has been identified as a real participant in the First Crusade, her appearance in the histories of Robert of Rhiems and Gilo of Paris demonstrate little of the practical issues associated with widows such as dower, remarriage or regency. Nor does she fit easily into the prevalent stereotypes of honourable matrons on crusade such as Margaret of Austria. Like Kerbogha's mother she is transformed into an invented character, and defined by love of her husband, and grief at his loss. The account of

Humberga's sorrow provides a counterpoint to his heroism highly reminiscent of contemporary *chansons* and romances, and even if this stylised portrayal was influenced by a lost source, the fact that both Gilo and Robert considered it worthy of inclusion underlines its significance to their overall stucture. Her status as a vehicle in the text, rather than an important individual, is borne out by the fact the Robert, unlike Gilo, did not even take the trouble to learn her name.

Conclusion

By the time of the fall of Acre in 1291, the position of women in medieval society had developed dramatically. Almost two hundred years had elapsed since the calling of the First Crusade; economic expansion and population increases had coincided with changes in marriage law and inheritance that transformed the public role of women. After the loss of the Holy Land, the spiritual and earthly attractions of Jerusalem remained strongly entrenched in Western medieval culture, however. Both historical narratives and fictional literature continued to eulogise crusaders and the noble families of the Levant. A Latin presence persisted in the eastern Mediterranean through the kingdom of Cyprus and the remnants of Latin Greece. In the first half of the fourteenth century a succession of French kings made plans for crusading to the East which never came to fruition through a variety of political and economic misfortunes. Menache asserts that the crusader vow of Philip the Fair and his sons in 1313, along with their accompanying knighthood gave an impression of 'a more accessible monarch who personified the union between the dearest ideals of medieval society: knighthood and crusade.'¹³⁰³ The continuing *Reconquista* in Iberia galvanised support for fighting against the infidel, reinforcing Islam as an ever-present threat to the borders of Christendom. Even after the Reformation, Philip II of Spain's struggle with the Ottomans in the Mediterranean in the late sixteenth century involved a Holy League that included the Papacy, crusade preaching and indulgences.¹³⁰⁴

Realistic prospects of re-establishing a Latin presence in the East were failing. With hindsight, crusading to the Holy Land was effectively curtailed after 1291, and the possibility of mounting a successful expedition from the West grew increasingly distant. Nonetheless, enthusiasm for crusading continued and crusade appeals were still made. Some postulated theories on how to recapture the Holy Land that included roles for women. These usually revolved around marriage and procreation, but Dubois suggested

¹³⁰³ Menache, *The Vox Dei*, 184. See Sylvia Schein, 'Philip IV and the Crusade: A Reconsideration', in *Crusade and Settlement*, 121-6. She asserts that crusade and its leadership were intrinsic to Philip's ideology of monarchy.

¹³⁰⁴ See Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), 136-150.

that women could educate both husbands and Muslim women in the ways of Christ.¹³⁰⁵ In the period 1344-8 Bridget of Sweden exhorted others including Magnus II and VII, king of Sweden and Norway to take part in a crusade against pagans and infidels. The mystic passed on advice given to her by Christ about how to make it successful.¹³⁰⁶ The lack of crusade expeditions to the Holy Land did not prevent both male and female pilgrims making the journey to Jerusalem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹³⁰⁷ Other women donated money; in 1360 Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of Joan of Acre, left 100 marks to support five knights to fight in the Holy Land in her will.¹³⁰⁸ Why therefore, did even the small references to the role played by women recede almost completely from crusade history?

Ultimately we must look to the stylistic developments of crusade history, rather than ecclesiastical disapproval of women's participation in crusading, to explain the shortfall in historical writing about women on crusade. Despite embracing a wide variety of literary forms, from letters to monastic chronicles, narratives about crusading and the Latin East did have certain distinctive features. They reflected a spectrum of traditional views but combined new elements of literary style, lay influence and lay culture into their interpretation of a new historical phenomenon; crusading and the Latin presence in the Holy Land. It coincided with twelfth century developments in historical writing by secular clerks or chaplains attached to households who were more interested in 'chivalrous topics' than monks, who were preoccupied with the patronage of their religious houses.¹³⁰⁹ The lower ranks of the nobility also began to express more of an interest in cataloguing and celebrating their own deeds. By the thirteenth century, vernacular history was becoming the natural way for lay crusaders to record their experiences, and such works, according to Spiegel, 'perfectly suited the tastes and interests of the lay aristocracy' and were 'a new phenomenon in medieval

¹³⁰⁵ See Pierre Dubois, *Theory*, 69. Ralph Niger, *Wives*, 122

¹³⁰⁶ Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades and the Baltic Frontier*, 2nd edition, (London, 1980), 183-185. See also Thomas Lindkvist, 'Crusades and Crusading Ideology in Sweden' in A.V. Murray ed., *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, (Aldershot, 2001), 125-6.

¹³⁰⁷ See Leigh Ann Craig, ' "Stronger than men and braver than knights": women and the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the Later Middle Ages', *JMH*, 29 (2003), 153-75.

¹³⁰⁸ 'The will of Elizabeth de Burgh' in *Testamenta Vestuta*, ed. H.Nicholas, (London, 1836) 1.57

¹³⁰⁹ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), 32.

historiography'.¹³¹⁰ The desire for details about the romantic as well as military exploits of heroes, to gain a deeper knowledge of their intimate lives, focused the attention of the historian on the individual. From the outset of the crusade movement, ecclesiastical authors had striven to appeal to the nobility, but the association of crusading with the chivalric and romantic ideals of the courts, coupled with the physical loss of the Holy Land, meant that their exhortations for knights to crusade to Jerusalem itself lost impetus, and began to be interpreted as more of a literary *topos*.¹³¹¹ From the late twelfth century onwards, romances such as *Flore et Jehane*, or *La Fille du Comte de Pontieu* had capitalised on the exotic elements of crusading to the East to provide a glittering backdrop to their stories.¹³¹² The extreme hardship of crusading that had been firmly associated with penance came to serve as an example of adventurous and daring feats performed by knights to achieve honour. Crusading was appropriated into the family histories of the nobility in the West; nobles both male and female were proud to have ancestors who had taken part and were concerned to honour them in the art and literature that they patronised. Legends about the crusades continued to develop, as can be seen in the later Crusade Cycles or even in the Robin Hood stories. Crusading was increasingly associated with the knightly quest, whether a knight undertook brave deeds for a feudal lord, a lady-love, or the most ultimate of authorities, God. Such a development eventually affected the understanding of the term 'crusade' itself, with the religious basis of the concept subsumed into literary accounts of the military deeds of crusaders. Rather than a doctrine of Holy War, the terminology of crusading has been absorbed into modern culture as a predominantly 'noble cause'; people often talk in terms of 'moral' or 'political' crusades, when in fact such expressions are still regarded by others as the worst form of injustice.

The decreasing need for religious propaganda in literature about crusading to the Holy Land combined with the effects of the Reformation and Enlightenment to engender a 'secularisation' of attitudes towards crusading which is at least in part responsible for the

¹³¹⁰ Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 180.

¹³¹¹ Of course, crusades were still widely used by the church and lay rulers to promote wars elsewhere in Europe and the Mediterranean. See Housley, *The Later Crusades*.

¹³¹² See Trotter, *French Literature and the Crusades*, 127-69.

limited historical studies on women in this field to date. Eighteenth and nineteenth century historians romanticised the military exploits of individual crusaders by emphasising their heroism and prowess, admiring their chivalric sensibilities while retaining mild condescension for their credulous belief in the crusade ideal.¹³¹³ Following the lead of medieval writers, women were excised from their texts as historically unimportant unless they were transmitters of lineage or were perceived to be obstructing military activity. As Siberry's work on the image of crusading in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows, women were usually relegated to the role of neglected bystander, even though contemporary sources explicitly state that women took part.¹³¹⁴

A cursory overview of historical narratives does give the general impression that histories either criticised or were at best were indifferent to the role of women on crusade, but this view is belied by the number of recent studies reconstructing women's activities in relation to crusade and settlement. Even if women did not take the cross personally, by the fall of Acre in 1291 crusading had become an integral part of medieval society that had touched the lives of women all over Europe. Throughout the crusading era women committed themselves alongside their families to the Holy War, and without their support the boundaries of Christendom could not have expanded, nor could a Latin society in the East have flourished for as long as it did. This thesis demonstrates that there can be a *via media*, a way to account for the disparate opinions of women and crusading as they appear in crusade texts. It has been careful to avoid an approach that interprets language too literally, but has attempted to maintain a medieval perspective on the conventions surrounding the portrayal of women and to decipher the meanings that contemporaries intended to impart. Partner wrote of Guibert of Nogent's *Memoires* that interpretation should be 'an activity of translation, not paraphrase'. She goes onto write;

¹³¹³ Many did question the motivation and practicality of the crusade movement, but the idea was still popular in literature and art, and crusading ancestors were celebrated. For more detail see Siberry, *The New Crusaders*.

¹³¹⁴ Siberry 'The Crusader's Departure', 177-190.

We need a new language, a non-twelfth century language, which respects the reality of the carnal letter but which opens onto a new realm of “invisible things”...The psychoanalytic premise which assumes the existence of layers of unseen, unseeable, permanently forgotten experience pressing on consciousness which can be recaptured only through translation, figuration, and allegory allows, as medieval exegesis allowed, things to be what they seem *and* what they do not seem to be, without contradiction.¹³¹⁵

This thesis has revealed that despite the religious and military nature of crusade as subject matter, the histories pertaining to crusading themes can be adequately compared with the literature from ecclesiastical and chivalric origins; in fact, fundamental perceptions of women vary little beyond the choice of model to describe them. Narrative sources were carefully constructed either to justify the actions of crusaders and settlers or to promote concepts, including crusading itself. As a result even brief mentions of women had significance because they were considered by the author to be part of his historical explanation, whether he was attempting to provide the ‘truth’, or edify his audience with didactic examples that were fundamental to the purpose of medieval history. Then, as now, it is the historian who makes the decision about which evidence to use, guided by the principal aims of his or her study. Whether they were ‘real’ women because they were involved in ‘real’ historical events, or invented female characters who acted as mirrors exposing the failings or superiority of men, perceptions of women in historical narratives were governed by the author and the sensibilities of his target audience.

This thesis has aimed to bring crusade narratives back into the wider sphere of medieval history as a source-material for women. Despite initial fears about the shortcomings of crusade narratives, in fact there is a wealth of information available to the historian if he or she is prepared to ask the right questions: or, at least, a different combination of questions. The study of gender is only one of many tools available to assess the way that medieval authors perceived and described the world around them. Narratives must be read in their contemporary context, allowing for written and unwritten influences, and

¹³¹⁵ Nancy F. Partner, ‘The Family Romance of Guibert of Nogent’, 362-3 .

with recognition that the lives of both men and women were restricted by social, political, and economic factors as well as gender in the medieval period. A comparison of life-cycle stages has demonstrated that models for women's behaviour varied with family role, but even these forms of social categorisation overlapped: wives, widows and virgins were subsumed into the wider debate about the relative virtues of chastity and marriage; mothers and wives vied for intercessory power with husbands and children; mothers, wives and widows often shared the role of regent. The most fundamental characteristic shaping the role of women in narratives of crusading and the Latin East was status. In narratives of crusading, individual noble women of sufficient means and status may not have enjoyed a high profile in the text, but they were seldom targeted for taking part in expeditions: Albert of Aachen's account is perhaps the only obvious exception to this rule.¹³¹⁶ Other accounts of the 'inhibiting' influence of women usually focused on general subjects: un-named wives, mothers or children of no specific status. Fears about inappropriate sexual behaviour were also attached to anonymous groups of women: the only noblewoman to be accused of adultery while on crusade was Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was specifically described as acting beneath her status.¹³¹⁷ Histories of the settler society in the Latin East provided scope for considering the activities of noblewomen outside the battlefield. This enabled authors to include more diverse views, but like crusade narratives they remained unequivocally focused on the aristocratic women involved in historical 'events'. The use of gendered language and the introduction of 'fictional' characters such as Melaz, Kerbogha's mother and Gualo's widow also allowed authors to capitalise on contemporary perceptions about the power and status of women. They used such 'set-pieces' to present their own ideas to the audience in a format which would be readily received.

This thesis has only dealt with a small portion of material for crusading; in future its scope could be expanded to compare perceptions of women in other areas of medieval frontier societies such as Iberia and the Baltic. Perceptions of women and crusading could be extended into the centuries after a Latin kingdom existed in the East; Siberry has

¹³¹⁶ See *Wives*, 142, 166, 169; *Mothers*, 191; *Widows*, 244, 249

¹³¹⁷ See *Wives*, 145.

addressed the popular image of crusading in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but no specific study has addressed the role of women in the later crusades.¹³¹⁸ A definitive history of women's involvement in the crusades and settlement of the Latin East has yet to be produced, and there is considerable scope for more work on the effects of crusading on women who stayed in the West. At present, medieval gender as an academic area is expanding rapidly, both methodologically and theoretically, across the boundaries of different disciplines. This thesis has shown how a re-examination of crusade sources using modern critical techniques can benefit the study of medieval women as a whole. It is only a small contribution in the growing collage of research in this field, but the history of crusading is ideally placed for such work: at the juncture of lay and ecclesiastical values that were the dominant force in shaping perceptions of medieval women.

¹³¹⁸ Siberry, 'The Crusader's departure' GC 177-190.

Appendices

A Note On Translation

All translations in this thesis are my own unless otherwise stated. Where an established and reputable translation exists, quotations have been footnoted in the main body of the thesis, and the Latin or Old French reference has also been given. The Latin or Old French text has been included in the following appendix for the writer's reference. Only when the critical editions used are parallel texts in English and Latin has the Latin text been omitted from the appendix. My own translations have been provided where no such reputable translation existed, or when a more literal translation was necessary. If quotes have been abbreviated, whether for grammatical reasons or for the sake of relevant argument, the actual text translated is indicated by use of italics, but where necessary the full sentence or clause is given to provide context.

Appendix 1: Theory

1. 'que chis qui i fu et qui le vit et qui l'oï le tesmongne', RC, 109.
2. 'pro statu plane casuum sermo coaptari debet orantium, ut verborum acrimonia bellica facta ferantur, quae ad divina pertinent gradu temperatiore ducantur.' GN, 79-80.
3. 'me pria si à certes comme elle pot, que je li feisse faire un livre des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre roy saint Looy's', Joinville, 2.
4. 'le vous envoi-je, pour ce que vous et vostre frere, et li qui autre qui l'orront, y puissant penre bon exemple, et les exemples mettre à oeuvre, par quoy Diex lour en sache grei.' Joinville, 10.
5. 'Tales enim magis sunt impedimento quam adjuncto, plus oneri quam utilitati.' RR, 729.

Appendix 1: Theory

6. 'virum nefandis afficeret contumeliis et opprobriis, vix abstinens manibus quin pugno percuteret, aut crines extirparet.' *Itinerarium*, 158.
7. 'et disoient entr'ax que che sanloit des noes que che fussent angle, si erent il bel, pour chou qu'il estoient si belement armé et leur cheval si belement couvert.' RC, 49.
8. 'Plerique colum et pensa sibi mutuo transmittebant [i] *innuentes occultius, ut ad muliebres turpiter demigraret quisquis hujus militiae inveniretur immunis*: ad tam insigne certamen et nuptae viros, et matres incitabat filios, quibus dolor unicus erat [ii] *propter sexus ignaviam, comproficisci non posse*.' *Itinerarium*, 33.
9. 'mulieres, oblite sexus et inolite fragilitatis inmemores, tractantes virilia supra vires armorum usum apprehendere presumabant.' WT, 403.
10. 'Quid dicam de nefanda mulierum constupratione de qua loqui deterius est quem silere?' RR, 728.

Appendix 2: Daughters

1. 'terrīti eramus multitudine filiarum.' *Monuments historiques*, Letter 588.
2. Tacito Burgundiae duce quid de Pictavensi comite loquar, qui preter militiae grandis, quem secum proposuit ductare, *globum* etiam examina contraxerat *puellarum*? GN, 313.
3. 'nequaquam ab illicitis et fornicariis commixtionibus aversis, immoderata erat comessatio; cum mulieribus et puellis, sub ejusdem levitates intentione egressis, assidua delectatio; et in omni temeritate sub hujus viae occasione gloriatio.' AA, 291.
4. 'Fama tam mirabilis facti resonat in civitatibus et villis, [i] *et quotquot audierunt tam masculi quam puelle, parentibus relictis, signum crucis recipiunt* et ad transfretandum se expediunt. Sic per totam Alemaniam et Galliam [ii] *servulorum et ancillarum et virginarum infinitus numerus* ductorem suum prosecutus, venit ad Vienaia, que civitas est mari contigua, et illic aliqui navibus recepti et a piratis divecti, Sarracenis venduntur. 'Aliqui reditum affectantes inedia consumuntur, [iii] *puelle etiam multe que virgines exierant, gravide revertuntur*, et ita liquido datur intellegi, quod hic cursus ex deceptione maligni hostis emanarit, quia multis perditionis cause fuit.' *Chronicon Ebersheimense*, 450.
5. 'pueri et puelle, non solum minores sed etiam adulti: nupte cum virginibus' *Annales Marbacenses*, 82.
6. '*Sic ergo decepti et confusi redire ceperunt*; et qui prius gregatim et per turmas suas et numquam sine cantu celeumatis transire solebant per terras, modo singillatim et in silentio, *nudipedes et famelici redeuntes facti sunt omnibus in derisum, quia plurime virgines rapte et florem pudicie sue amiserunt.*' *Annales Marbacensis*, 82-3
7. 'nullo hortante nec predictante.' *Chronicae regiae Coloniensis continuatio prima*, 17.

Appendix 2: Daughters

8. 'in dialecticae eruditione non hebes, cum minime haberetur ad grammaticae documenta rudis,' GN, 290-1.
9. 'pulchram et disertam', Ranulf of Higden, 8.106.
10. 'in sacris imperii penetralibus nutriebatur', WT, 843.
11. 'nec aderat altrix, quae lactaret aut quae fescenninis mulceret, meditatus est ob id collegium ei forte nocivum timidus deserere et segregatim tutius incedere.' FC, 685.
12. 'quam pater suus ultra omnem creaturam amavit', *Itinerarium*, 202.
13. 'pene decidit ex nimii doloris vehementia in mentis alienationem.' *Itinerarium*, 202, trans. Nicholson, 193.
14. '*filiam scilicet unicam suam captam, ex qua pendebat anima sua*', *Itinerarium*, 202-3.
15. 'et ipsam affectiosus amplexans, pluries insatiabiliter osculatus est, lacrymis ubertim fluentibus.' *Itinerarium*, 203, trans. Nicholson, 194.
16. 'eius arbitrio paritura.' WT, 624
17. 'Verebatur enim proprie filie sue maliciam, ne predictam pupillam temptaret sicut et prius fecerat, exheredem facere.' WT, 625.
18. 'Qui cum genus ex Northmannia ducat, quam Fraciae partem esse constat, ob hoc vel maxime Francus habebitur, quia Regis Francorum filiae coniugo iam potitur.' GN, 106.

Appendix 2: Daughters

19. 'veterum oblitterata vilitate parentum', GN, 138.
20. 'Non enim habebat filium aut filiam.' FC, 210.
21. 'terram totam et regionem sibi tributariam fecit', AA, 393.
22. 'de communi omnium tam ecclesiasticorum quam secularium principum.' WT, 618.
23. 'regni curam et plenam eis traditit potestatem', WT, 625.
24. 'porce que quant sa mere se parti de son pere les enfans ne furent mie jugiés a leiaus,'
Eracles, 20
25. « Nous vorions par vostre los faire coroner Sebile qui ci est qui fu fille le roi Amauri
et suer le roi Baudoyne. Car ce est le plus droit heir dou reume. » *Eracles*, 32.
26. « Dame, vos estes feme. Il vost covient avoir avec vos qui vostre reume vos aider a
governer, et qui masle soit. » *Eracles*, 33
27. 'par dreit heritage', *Eracles*, 105.
28. 'ne poeit ele avoir honor, ne le reiaume son pere', *Eracles*, 105.
29. 'vix annorum octo' WT, 1012.
30. 'tunc Marchisus ille, qui regni haeredem, licet nefarie, sicum supra dictum est *sub
spe regnandi rapuerat in conjugem*', *Itinerarium*, 235-6.

Appendix 2: Daughters

31. 'Marchisia sponte sua accedens ad comitem obtulit ei claves civitatis.' *Itinerarium*, 348.

32. 'qua nondum potuit patienter carere.' *Itinerarium*, 349.

33. 'L'on dit que il fist mettre la damoisele en la balance, et l'or de l'autre part, et l'or qu'ele pesa fu doné au conte, et plus, et por le grant avoir otreia le conte la damoiselle a Plivain.' *Eracles*, 46.

34. 'fist marier les femes a lor avenant et ensi come il lor afereit, et lor dona de son avoir, de quei cil qui les esposeient se tindrent apaié.' *Eracles*, 139.

35. 'Interea dum Greci singula ad unguem perscrutantur et rimantur interius de moribus puelle de occultarum corporis partium dispositione', WT, 856.

36. 'Quod intelligens rex a verbo destitit, pro multa ducens ignominia quod id, quod eius interventu credebatur esse contractum et partibus absolutum suis, in irritum devenisset et proculdubio in suam videbatur redundare inuriam.' WT, 857.

37. 'cotidianum et familiarem habebant tractatum', WT, 857

38. 'que pupilla erat et patris destituta solatio', WT, 857

39. 'tanquam gregarii alicuius filiam', WT, 858

40. 'Hoc modo filia regis Francorum in regno Graecorum optatis speratisque fraudata nuptiis, et scelestissimi hominis contubernio maculata, honore etiam caruit.' WN, 1.225.

Appendix 2: Daughters

41. [Verum] ‘ut factum istud injuriae deprecetur infamiam’, *Itinerarium*, 120
42. ‘regis futuram uxorem.’, *Itinerarium*, 175.
43. ‘[i] *A multo nimirum tempore quo primum comes erat Pictavensis, ipsius puellae [ii] morum illectus elegantia, necnon et generis dignitate, [i] plurimum desideraverat eam.*’ *Itinerarium*, 175.
44. ‘ne soli seculo genuisse liberos videretur’, WN, 1.31.
45. ‘indignum enim videbatur ei, ut regis filia tanquam una ex popularibus in claustro alicui subesset matri.’ WT, 709
46. ‘*Exarserat enim idem Turcus in illius inaestimabilem pulchritudinem*’, AA, 328.
47. Tandem misella, si vi ante deliquit, nunc [i] *blanditiis et vana spe decepta*, ad iniquum sponsum et adulterinas nuptias recurrit, universo ignorante exercitu qua astutia aut lascivia ab eis subtracta sit. Post [ii] *haec a relatoribus innotuit* quod ad eundem Turcum reversa sit in exilio quo erat, non alia de causa [iii] *nisi propter libidinis suae intolerantiam*’, AA, 328.
48. ‘Ipsam autem epistolam quoniam inserere opusculo isti omnino piguit, quaedam ibidem dictorum, verbis tamen vestita meis, proferre collibuit.’ GN, 101.
49. ‘omnemque aetatem gladio extinxerunt; solummodo puellas teneras et moniales quarum facies et forma oculis eorum placere videbatur, juvenesque imberbes et vultu venustos abducerunt;’ AA, 288
50. ‘omnis imberbis juvenus’, AA, 421

Appendix 2: Daughters

51. 'puellae adhuc intactae', AA, 421.
52. 'ut Babyloniorum domini deinceps *bellicosas familias* haberent *de genere Francorum*.' RA 155.
53. 'puberes et majusculae aetatis adultos validoque corpore, virosque reservari, et ut omnes venderet, conduci Antiocham.' RR, 849.
54. 'Pauci quidem de masculino sexu vitae reservati sunt. Feminis quampluribus perpercerunt, ut molas manuales volviturae semper ancillerentur. Quas cum cepissent, alii aliis quam pulchras quam turpes invicem vendebant et emebant, masculos quoque.' FC, 403.
55. 'nisi quod puellaris ad obsequium iuventa servatur'. GN, 347.
56. 'mulieres nuptae et innuptae una cum viris et infantulis detruncantur.' AA, 329.
57. 'Hac crudilitate atrocissimae necis stupefactae ac pavidae tenerae puellae et nobilissimae, vestibus ornari festinabant, Turcis se offerebant, ut saltem amore honestarum formarum accensi et placati, discant captivis misereri.' AA, 330.
58. 'Hac itaque inenarrabili caede peracta, aliquantulum naturae indulserunt; et plures ex juvenibus, tam viros quam mulieres, vita reservaverunt, et suo famulatu mancipaverunt.' RR, 868.
59. 'Granz pities estoit a veoir de tant de corz de genz mortes et de si grant confusion de sanc, se ce ne fussent des ennemis de la foi crestianne.' Rothelin, 604.
60. 'piae hospitalitatis ac beneficentiae inmemores', GN, 122.

Appendix 2: Daughters

61. 'quod ob hoc ipsum haec sibi suisque adversitas potissimum ingrueret', GN, 104.

Appendix 3: Wives

1. 'publicis mulierculis', ATF, 877.
2. 'fornicarias mulieres', Ralph of Coggeshall, 81.
3. 'Iuvenibus etiam coniugatis providendum est, ne temere tantum iter sine conniuentia uxorem suorum adgrediantur', Urban II, 'Letter to the people of Bologna', 138.
4. *donec uxor ejus, et communi patriae vitio in quarto gradu cognata, Gwendoloena scilicet Maidoci Powiensis filia, ipsum a nobili proposito, peccatis exigentibus, muliebriter instans penitus avertit.* GW, 'Itinerarium Kambriae', 6.15.
5. 'Tunc coniunx coniugi terminum ponebat revertendi quod si vita comes fuerit, adnuente Deo, ad eam repatriabit. Commendabat eam Domino, osculum ei porrigens et flendo se rediturum pollicens. Illa autem timens nunquam illum se videre amplius, non valebat se sustentare, quin ad terram exanimis rueret; lugens pro amico suo, quem perdit vivum quasi iam mortuum. Ille vero tamquam nil habens pietatis, et tamen habens nec fletui uxoris suae nec amicorum quorumcumque maerori condolens, et tamen clam condolens, duro sic animo constans abibat.' FC 163.
6. 'in ulnis deportantes parvulos et sugentes ubera', WT, 140.
7. [i] *novum reperirent salutis promerandae genus, [ii] ut nec funditus, electa, uti fieri assolet, monastica conversatione seu religiosa qualibet professione, seculum relinquere cogentur sed sub consuela licentia et habitu ex suo ipsorum officio dei aliquatenus gratiam consequerentur.* GN, 87.

Appendix 3: Wives

8. 'uxores pulcherrimae quasi quidam tabidum vilescebant, omni gemma quondam grationes promiscui sexua pignorum fastidiebantur aspectus', GN, 87-8.
9. 'par l'atitement de sa feme que li disoit que se ele n'estoit empereriz jamais he gerroit a son costé,' *Eracles*, 29.
10. 'il ne savoit se la royne le vourroit faire, pour ce que elle estoit sa dame.' Joinville, 186.
11. 'religiosa et deum timente femina', WT, 876.
12. 'Quant li cuens eut esté en le tiere tant com lui plot, il ala en Betanie à la contesse se femme, si li dist: « Dame, atirés vous, si nous en rirons ariere, en Flandres. » Et la dame li respondi que se Dame Diu venoit à plaisir, qu'en Flandres ne retorroit ele jamais, ne la mer ne passeroit. Ne onques pour proiere que il seust fere, ne li vot otrier qu'ele se partist de la tiere, ne qu'ele s'en remaust.' Ernoul, 21.
13. 'Et quant elle sot que il venoient à li, elle vint à l'abesse, si li demanda les dras pour estre nonne; et l'abesse li donna. Quant là vinrent pour parler à li, si trouverent que elle avoit les dras viestus, si en furent mout dolant. Li patriarches vint à li et li dist que çou ne pooit elle faire, puis que ses sires ne le veut. Elle pria le patriarche et le roi que pour Diu proiassent le conte qu'il laissast; il li proierent, et elle meismes l'en caï as piés, et li cria merchi et que pour Dieu le laissast illeuc pour sa penitance faire, que elle n'i demouroit pas pour mauvesté, se pour penitance non.
Li quens, quant il vit çou, si fu mout dolans, et si en ot grant pitié pour le bonté de li, et par proiere dou roi et dou patriarche li donna congié del demourer. Elle demoura, et li quens prist congié à li et au patriarche et au roi, si s'en revint en Flandres.' Ernoul, 21-2.

Appendix 3: Wives

14. 'La dame li respondi que, se Diu plaist, abeesse ne seroit elle ja; qu'ele n'estoit mie rendue pour estre abeesse, mais pour i estre desciple.' Ernoul, 22.

15. '*urgentissima femineo more rogat instantia*' WT, 638

16. '*Cuius nimia rex motus instantia*', WT, 638.

17. 'La royne et tous li consaus s'acorderunt', Joinville, 358

18. 'dont la royne fut mout liée.' Joinville, 358.

19. 'La royne et nous tuit feismes nos pooirs comment le roys se vousist souffrir.' Joinville, 352.

20. '*Nostrum enim Orientales principes, maxime id efficientibus mulieribus, sprete nostrorum Latinorum phisica et medendi modo solis Iudeis, Samaritanis, Syris et Sarracenis fidem habentes.*' WT, 859

21. 'porce qu'ele l'amoit assez' *Eracles*, 59.

22. 'porce que ele ameit Hanfrai son mari', *Eracles*, 105.

23. 'prudētissima, et bene morigerata', *Itinerarium*, 196.

24. 'in deliciis gloriosus et hilariis' *Itinerarium*, 196

25. 'La bele, od la clere façon / La plus sage feme a devise / Que l'em trovast en nule guise' Ambroise, 1.28, Ins. 1735-7.

Appendix 3: Wives

26. 'il espousa la damoisele que sa mere li avoit envoiee, en une chapele qui est de Saint Jorge.' *Eracles*, 121
27. '*Il meismes enbraça l'espouse et la descendi en terre, et n'i vost découvrir son corage, ne semblant nen fist de l'outrage que le rei Richart li avoit fait. Ce est assaveir de ce qu'ill aveit laissié le mariage de sa seror por le mariage de Belengiere la suer dou rei de Navarre. Il li mostra bien quant il torna en France.*' *Eracles*, 121.
28. 'histrionum videlicet, tibicinum et psaltriarum, que ex omni regione ad diem nuptiarum convenerant; quibus preter spem accidit, nam dum ludicra quererent et lasciviam nuptialem, Martios invenerunt congressus et longe suis studiis dissimiles preliorem occupationes.' WT, 1057.
29. 'episcopi, abbates, clerici, monachi, deinde laici nobilissimi, diversorum regnorum principes, totumque vulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicidae, fures, perjuri, praedones, universum scilicet genus Christianae professionis; quin sexus femineus, poenitentia ducti, ad hanc laetanter concurrerunt viam.' AA, 272.
30. 'eam suscepit thori participem, curarum sociam, et affectione postea tractans maritali contra leges ecclesiasticas', WT, 631-2.
31. *Nam iuxta uxorem suam ipse princeps cum pluribus aliis adulterium impudenter committebat.* FC, 622-3.
32. 'quandam Sibillam, maleficiis utentem et dicitur', WT, 1012.
33. 'qui estoit de mauvaise vie', *Eracles*, 165.

Appendix 3: Wives

34. 'contra regiam dignitatem legem negligens maritalem', WT, 755.
35. 'si l'en ama durement en son cuer', *Récits d'un ménestral de Rheims*, 4.
36. 'la plus gentis dame de crestientei et la plus riche.', *Récits d'un ménestral de Rheims*, 4.
37. 'Hanc reliquit rex Ludovicus propter incontinentiam ipsius mulieris, que non sicut regina se habebat, sed fere communem se exhibebat.' ATF, 841.
38. 'quam etiam obiecti criminis quodammodo respargere videbatur infamia et dolor inmanissimus expulsi comitis macerabat precordia', WT, 655-6.
39. «Ecce in auxilio opportuno misi vos sanos et incolumes in civitatem; et ecce, multam pravam dilectionem operantes cum Christianis et pravis paganis mulieribus, unde immensus fetor ascendit in caelum.» GF, 337.
40. 'Zelo quidem ducebantur super uxoribus suis, cum quibus nonnulli peregrinorum colloquebantur, potius ad ipsos irritandos maritos, quam ad perpetrandum adulterium.' *Itinerarium*, 158.
41. 'Ipsi quidem, quos purae peregrinationis in Terram Sanctam reputabatur perduxisse devotio, relictis castris militaribus, jam amatoriis indulgebant, cantionis mulieribus, et scortantium comessantionibus.' *Itinerarium*, 330-1.
42. 'quae non forent oneri, nec occasio peccati.' *Itinerarium*, 248.
43. 'd'espucer valeient singes.' Ambroise, 1.92, ln.s 5691 trans. 2.110

Appendix 3: Wives

44. 'dehonestabantur coniugia crebris raptibus feminarum', GN, 122.
45. 'cum Deo placitum sit si uxores vos omnes ducatis.' RA, 97.
46. 'eiecerunt feminas de exercitu, tam maritatas quam inmaritatas, ne forte luxuriae sordibus inquinati Domino displicerent.' FC, 223.
47. 'Nus ne se doit merveillier se la terre de Jerusalem fu perdue. Car il faiseient tant de pechiés en Jerusalem que Nostre Sires estoit durement coroucié.' *Eracles*, 49.
48. 'spreto viri thoro, in lupanari prostibulo incestui serviebant', WC, 62.
49. 'quouis aere mercabiles volentibus succumbebant.', WC, 62
50. 'non ob tegendam turpitudinis formam vel restringendam libidinis flammam, sed ut quibus ingratum erat quod licebat, eos acrius ureret quod non licebat.' WC, 62
51. 'nihil aliud mali eis Franci fecerunt, excepto quod lanceas suas in ventres earum infixerunt'. FC, 257.
52. 'ex zelo maritali orta' WT, 786.
53. 'se monacho, non regi, nupsisse.' WN, 1.93.
54. 'incontinentiam ethnicam rex ipse habens non sine ratione suspectam, a thoro proprio prorsus abstentam, mutato habitu, posuit eam cum monachabus aliis apud beatam matrem dei Virginis matris Annam. Ipse vero gaudet vivere celebs, quia non est ei colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed contra mundi rectores.' GN, 349.

Appendix 3: Wives

55. '*absque cause cognitione, non convictam, non confessam lege matrimoniorum neglecta dimisit eamque in monasterio Sancte Anne, matris dei genitricis et semper virginis Marie, monacham fieri comptulit violenter.*' WT, 495-6.
56. 'ut ditiorum et nobiliorum ducendo conditionem suam faceret meliorem et paupertati, qua plurimum premebatur, sumpta dotis nomine aliunde opulentia consuleret', WT, 496
57. 'magnam et valde necessariam cum ea dotis nomine suscipiens pecuniam.' WT, 482.
58. 'ex commentis fraudibus', WT, 496.
59. 'sordibus et immundiciis omnem cepit dare operam depositoque religionis habitu divaricans se ad omnem transeuntem, nec proprie parcens existimationi nec regiam quam habuerat reverita dignitatem.' WT, 496.
60. 'dispensacion por aleauter la dame et ses enfens.' *Eracles*, 20
61. 'mulier plane deo odibilis et in extorqendo importuna', WT, 1019
62. 'religiose et nobilem carne et moribus feminam', WT, 869.
63. 'Se la sentence fu donee selonc dreit, Deu le set. Car la dame n'esteit mie ou poeir de son baron, ains esteit ou poeir et en la seignorie dou marquis, qui tantost l'espousa quant le sentence fu donnee.' *Eracles*, 107.
64. 'Il li ferent come a cele qui esteit le dreit heir.' *Eracles*, 107.

Appendix 3: Wives

65. 'Foemina¹³¹⁹ cui et sexus lubricus, et mens mobilis, et sicut novis gaudet amplexibus, sic notos leviter respuit, citius oblivioni contradit. Puella quidem in pravum docilis turpem monentium doctrinam libentius excipit, et iam se non raptam, sed Marchisum secutam dicere non erubescit.' *Itinerarium*, 121-2
66. 'car cil par qui il avoit esté mis, ce estoient li parent de sa feme, y avoient plus de poeir et de comandement que il n'avoit, si que il sembloit que il n'i fust que ausi come un ombre.' 'L'estoire d'Eracles Empereur', 420.
67. 'Don't il avint que dou despit et de l'engueigne que il en ot, guerpi tout et laissa sa feme et s'en ala son pais.' 'L'estoire d'Eracles Empereur', 420.
68. 'cum uxoribus teneris et carissimis', AA, 571
69. 'tenerrimae et nobiles matronae', AA, 571.
70. 'non coniugorum iam sed scortorum numerositate voluptas procreandorum liberorum superficie palliatur.' GN 98.
71. 'ut succrescens filiorum numerus christiano, quod iam tumet.' GN, 212
72. 'selonc la loi de Mahomet.' Rothelin, 522.
73. 'Cele mescreanz Mahometoiz manjoient char de porc, et gisoient a leur merez et a leur filles et a toutes les fames qu'il pouvaient avoir, contre les loiz Mahomet.' Rothelin, 523.

¹³¹⁹ Virgil Aeneid 4.569

Appendix 3: Wives

74. 'Cognoscens autem postmodum quod non satis prudenter apud hostes se habuerat et maritalis thori reverentiam non satis caute, matronarum more nobilium, observaverat, abiecit eam ad se'. WT, 656.
75. '*in concupiscentia formae captae uxoris Folberti immoderato amore exarsit.*' AA, 436.
76. 'nuptiis his laetatis', AA, 436.
77. 'Uxor vero eius, mulier pudica, sobria et timens deum, quales deus amat, cum filio impubere et filiabus duabus remanserat; que quantum potuit consilio procerum, qui superstites erant, populum regere nitebatur et regionis presidia adversus hostes armis, viris et alimentis communire, vires transcendens femineas, satagebat.' WT, 775.
78. 'plenus vana et iniqua cogitatione', GF, 191.
79. 'venerat ad nos cum uxore sua et armis.' RA 159.
80. 'Contigit interea quendam predicatissimi omnium cenobii monachum, qui monasterii sui claustra fugaciter excesserat et Iherosolimitanam expeditionem non pietate sed levitate provocatus inierat, cum aliqua femina ibi deprehendi, igniti, nisi fallor, ferri iudicio convinci ac demum Podiensis episcopi ceterorumque precepto per omnes castrorum vicus miseram illam cum suo amasio circumduci et flagris nudos ad terrorem intuentium dirissime verberari.' GN, 196.
81. 'per totam noctem immoderatae libidinis suae incesto concubitu eam vexantes, nichilque in eam humanitatis exhibentes.' AA, 371.

Appendix 3: Wives

82. 'vulgares cantus.' RA, 154.

Appendix 4: Mothers

1. 'A ton pere et à ta mere porte honneur et reverence, et garde leur commandemens.' Joinville, 404.
2. 'Diutinis ergo cruciatibus agitata,' Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 18.
3. 'ut eam de talibus disputantem non illiteratam, quod erat, foeminam, sed disertissimum episcopum aestimares.' Guibert, *Autobiographie* 168.
4. 'sa mere envoia ariere / Sa terre garder qu'ot laissee / Que s'onors ne fuct abaisse' Ambroise 1.19, lns. 1155-7
5. 'Il le bailla et laissa à sa mere en baillie et en garde; et elle li envoia tant com il vesqui les rentes de le tiere. Et si [en] paioit les dettes qu'il faisoit à Acre, qu'ele li envoioit pour paiier [chascun an]', Ernoul, 291.
6. 'rogantes eum et deprecantes, ut suum in hac tribulatione adiuuaret populum.' GF, 338.
7. 'pietatis invincibilis virgo et humani generis Maria semper interpres ad deum.' GN, 219.
8. «O Domine mi, *hi sunt pro quibus ego tantum te rogo.*» RA, 74.
9. 'in lacrimas prorupit.' RA, 123-4.
10. 'pour ce que li vens ne li feist mal.' Joinville, 68.
11. 'praesaepio ubi Iesum Maria venerabilis mater reclinavit, praesentialiter pervigiles in orationibus adsisteremus.' FC, 332.

Appendix 4: Mothers

12. 'se ipsum et socios beate virgini commendavit humiliter rogans, ut ipsa filio suo novum conciliaret exercitum.' GP, 116
13. 'Quid referam temporibus ipsis mulierem quamdam, duobus annis continuis impraegnantem, tandemque dirupto utero filium loquentem fudisse; itemque infantulum per omnia bimembrem, alterum vero capito bino,' Ekkehard of Aura,19.
14. 'Quam plures namque fetae mulieres, exsiccatis faucibus, arefactis visceribus, venisque omnibus corporis, solis et torridae plagae inaestimabili ardore exhaustis, media platea in omnium aspectu fetus suos enixae relinquebant. Aliae miserae juxta fetus suos in via communi volutabantur, omnem pudorem et secreta sua oblitae prae memoratae sitis difficillima passione. Non ordine mensium aut hora instanti parere compellebantur; sed solis aestuatione, viarum lassitudine, sitis collectione, aquarum longa remotione ad partum cogebantur: quarum infantes alii mortui, alii semivivi media planitie reperiabantur.' AA, 339-40.
15. 'quaedam illustris femina', WT, 464.
16. 'remor apprehendit eos: ibi dolores ut parturientis, ibi voces ejulantum', RR, 787.
17. 'Grans pities estoit d'oïr braire les gens parmi l'ost ausquïex l'on copoit la char morte; car il bréoiënt aussi comme femmes qui traveillent d'enfant.' Joinville, 166.
18. 'Deus omnipotens, quid ibi viscerum, quid letitiae, quid dolorum fuit, dum post inauditas et cunctis a seculo exercitibus inexpertas quasi partuum tortiones ad nova visionis adeo desideratae gaudia acsi nati filii ses pervenisse conspiciunt!' GN 282.

Appendix 4: Mothers

19. 'mater nostra scilicet, lacte cuius educabamur, documento instrui valebamus, consilio muniebamur,' FC, 152.
20. 'Recte mater Hierusalem gaudet de Tyro filia, cuius a dextera sedit amodo coronata.' FC, 737.
21. 'et que prius parturiebas spurios, amodo paries filios legitimos ad cultum filii Dei firmiter a cultoribus Christi possessa.' Oliver of Paderborn, 229.
22. 'cum virtutis atque constantiae post deum genitrix integerrimos huc usque viros emittat, te, garrule nequam et omnium impurissime, te suo dedecori ac infamiae tulerat, te amodo acsi portentum habeat.' GN, 181.
23. 'Com la geline pociniere / Maine ses pocins en pasture'. Ambroise 1.20, Ins. 1245-6.
24. 'Nil tale monasticus ordo / Nil tua te genitura docet', GN, 180.
25. 'Comme à l'ame de li, le garda Diex par les bons enseignemens de sa mere, qui l'enseigna à Dieu croire et à amer, et li atraist entour li toutes gens de religion. Et li faisoit, si enfes comme il estoit, toutes ces heures et les sermons faire et oir aus festes. Il recordit que sa mere li avoit fait aucune fois à entendre que elle ameroit miex que il fust mors, que ce il feist un pechié mortel.' Joinville, 41-2
26. 'cuius diutinae religioni tam spectabilium debebantur, ut credimus, gaudia filiorum.' GN, 129.

Appendix 4: Mothers

27. 'Hi tres, a matris nequaquam simplicitatem degeneres, cum multa armorum gloria tum modestia non minore floruerunt. Solebat narrare gloriosa mulier, cum huius profectionis exitum et filiorum suorum miraretur eventum, quoddam se audisse ex ore filii ducis tale presagium, multo antequam fieret aliquod huius peregrinationis initium.' GN, 129.
28. 'Horum tantorum principum mater, sancta, religiosa et deo placens femina, dum adhuc essent in etate tenera, spiritu plena divino futuras previdit conditiones et statum qui preparabatur adultis quasi quodam predixit oraculo. Nam dum semel circa matrem, sicut mos et puerulis, luderent adinvicem et sese lacescentes ad matris gremium frequenter haberent recursum, accidit quod, eis sub eius clamide latentibus, vir venerabilis comes Eustachius, eorum pater, ingressus est. Ubi cum mutuo se provocarent, pedes et manus agitanter, matris qua induta erat operi clamide, quesivit comes quidnam esset quod ibi tam crebro moveretur ; cui illa respondisse dicitur «tres magni principes, quorum primus dux, secundus rex, tercius comes esset futurus ». Quod postmodum benigna dispensatione divina implevit clementia et verum predixisse matrem rerum eventus subsequens declaravit.' WT, 427.
29. car sa mere, qui estoit venue d'Espagne, [i] *n'avoit ne parens ne amis en tout le royaume de France*. Et pour ce que li baron de France virent le roy enfent le royne, sa mere, [ii] *'femme estrange*, Joinville, 42.
30. 'elle mena aussi grant duel comme se elle le veist mort.' Joinville, 62.
31. 'Biaus très douz fiuz, comment sera ce que mes cuers porra souffrir la departie de moi et de vous ? Certes il sera plus durs que pierre s'il ne part en deus moitez ; car vous m'avez estei li mieudres fiuz qui onques fust à mere.' *Récits d'un ménestral de Rheims*, 191.

Appendix 4: Mothers

32. ‘Mater autem efficacius ad haec instinctus suos exaggerans, ait «Fili carissime, audi et exaudi amicorum tuorum consilia discretorum, prudentiae propriae non innitens. Memento quanta virtus sit, quantumque Deo placeat, matri obedire matrique obsecundare. Remane, nullumque inde Terra Sancta patietur detrimentum. Mittetur illuc militaris expeditionis multitudo copiosior, quam si in propria persona illuc pergeretis. Non enim Deus calumpniosus vel cavillosus. Excusat te, fili mi, sufficienter, quae tibi infirmitate tua, »’. MP, 5.4.
33. ‘je me sui avisiez que se je demeure je n’i voy point de peril que mes royaumes se perde; car ma dame la royne a bien gent pour le deffendre.’ Joinville, 238.
34. ‘Car ce estoit la femme que vous plus haiés qui est morte’, Joinville, 332.
35. « Hélas! Vous ne me lairés veoir mon signour ne mort ne vive ». Joinville, 332.
36. ‘veris contestans argumentis quanta eam sinceritate dilexisset in lamenta se dedit et per dies multos nullam prorsus recepit consolationem.’ WT, 858.
37. ‘aliquantisper lesa memoria, corpore quasi consumpto’, WT, 851
38. ‘la cités d’Antioche se pert entre ses mains.’ Joinville, 286.
39. ‘paternae provisione’, WN, 1.93.
40. ‘Le rei ot grant joie de ses nouvelles’, *Eracles*, 111.

Appendix 4: Mothers

41. 'ut vel in viduitate consistens vel ad secunda vota demigrans principatum sibi, exheredata filia, perpetuo possideret.' WT, 624.
42. 'Nam in eadem civitate erant viri deum timentes, insanientes femine contempnentes proterviam.' WT, 624.
43. 'Relicta enim erat in rei publice et principatus administratione sola principis uxor Constantia cum filiis duobus et filiabus totidem adhuc impuberibus, nec erat qui principus fungeretur officio et plebis erigeret deiectionem.' WT, 773.
44. 'Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam, sexus feminei plane vincens conditionem, ita ut manum mitteret ad fortia et optimorum principum magnificentiam niteretur emulari et eorum studia passu non inferiore sectari. Regnum enim, filio adhuc puberes annos constituto, tanta rexit industria, tanto procuravit moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur; cuius quamdiu regi voluit consilio filius, optata tranquillitate gavisus est populus et prospero cursu regni procedebant negocia.' WT, 717
45. 'indignum esse ut femineo regeretur arbitrio', WT, 778
46. '*indignum esse dicentes regem, quem omnibus aliis preesse convenit, quasi privati filium semper ad matris ubera dependere.*' WT, 717
47. 'matris consilio.' WT, 804.
48. 'virum utique literatum sed nimis secularem', WT, 738-9.

Appendix 4: Mothers

Appendix 4: Mothers

49. 'Dont il enuia a sa mere, et par maintes fois li amonesta et li mostra raisson qu'ele ne poeit estre dame dou reiaume se ele ne partist de Hanffrei', *Eracles*, 105.
50. 'ce faiset il par le conseil sa mere Estefenie, qui estait dame dou Crac.' *Eracles*, 106; trans. Edbury, 96
51. 'Graia faece a cunis imbuta.' *Itinerarium*, 121
52. « Puto, quod insanis aut furiis et plena. » GF, 325.
53. 'speculando atque ingeniose rimando respexi in coelorum astra et sagaciter scrutata sum planetas et duodecim signa sive sortes innumeras.' GF, 328.
54. 'deferens secum cuncta spolia, quae conducere potuit.' GF, 330.
55. 'hortante ... impropere.' WT, 787.
56. « solatium meae senectutis, et unicum pignus totius meae dilectionis» RR, 812.
57. 'de filio suo nimium suspecta'. GN, 216.
58. 'par le deable,' *Eracles*, 47.
59. 'mulier lunatica', WC, 83
60. 'Ad haec Curbaran ex materni miraculo sermonis redditur hebes', GN, 215.
61. 'Nemo miretur quod mulier sic loqueretur,
Namque libros Moysi bene noverat atque prophetas.' RR, 811.

Appendix 4: Mothers

62. « Ut quid mater aerem concitas *inanibus verbis*, nosque ad fastidium pertrahis *sermonibus imperitus?* » RR, 813.
63. « Tu autem in hoc bello non morieris modo, sed tamen in hoc anno.» GF, 326-7.
64. «*Si.*» inquit, «*vita sospes fuero, non sex mensium pertransibunt dies, et hos Christianos experiar, utrum sic fortes sint ut asseris, quos, in Deo meo juro, sic delebo ut omnis eorum hos posteritas doleat.*» AA, 393-4.

Appendix 5: Widows

1. 'Nam utique illa praeclarior, quae calorem adolescentiae, et junioris fervescentem edomat aetatis ardorem,' St. Ambrose, *De Viduis*, col. 251
2. 'docuit non solum viri auxilio viduas non egere,' St. Ambrose, *De Viduis*, col. 261.
3. 'in muliere exhibeas virum ... ut omnes, qui te viderint, ex operibus regem te potius quam reginam existiment,' Letter 354, SBO 8.298.
4. 'ego autem mulier sum, corpore debilis, mobilis corde,' Letter 354, SBO 8.298.
5. 'Duplex honor' Letter 289, SBO 8.205
6. 'Coram Deo, ut vidua; coram hominibus, ut regina. Attende regina, cuius digna indignave non possunt latere sub modio. Super candelabrum sunt, ut appareant omnibus' Letter 289, SBO 8.206.
7. 'Huic te committe regendam, huic docendam, quomodo regere debeas. Disce tamquam vidua, quod sit mitis et humilis corde; disce tamquam regina, quod iudicet in iustitia pauperes et arguat in aequitate pro mansuetis terrae. Ergo cum cogitas dignitatem, attende et viduitatem, quia ut pure apud te quod sentio proferam, non potes esse regina bona, si bona non fueris vidua.' Letter 289 SBO 8.206.
8. 'Vacuantur urbes et castella, et paene iam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres virum unum, adeo ubique viduae vivis remanent viris.' Letter 247, SBO 8.141; trans. James, 399.

Appendix 5: Widows

9. «*Quis*» inquam, «*animi virilis peregrinationis huius iter abhorreat, cum inter universa quae excogitari poterunt eius incommoda, nihil incommodius cuiquam, nihil deterius accidere posset quam redire?*» Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 15.
10. 'car ma dame ma mere vivoit encore,' Joinville, 64.
11. 'engingnous et coveitous,' *Eracles*, 109.
12. 'et super portione thesauri mariti sui regis, quae eam jure contingeret, super mensa quoque aurea, aequa sorte dividenda illius uxori cujus exstiterat.' *Itinerarium*, 166.
13. 'Dividere vero pecuniam susceptam pro dote sororis, licet de jure confoederationis non teneretur tamen ex mera liberalitate id etiam fieri voluit; quod et ipsi cessit ad gloriam et commendationem, et inimicantium in parte delevit invidiam.' *Itinerarium*, 169-70.
14. 'nobilis et potens et dives matrona', WT, 525.
15. 'filio accepta bonis omnibus habundabat', WT, 526.
16. 'unde et de illius redundantia sue sitiebat inopie subveniri.' WT, 526

Appendix 5: Widows

17. '[i] *ele ot talant d'aler en Jerusalem por visiter le Sepulcre. [ii] Et porce que l'emperere mandeit si grant secors ele cuida que il deust recovrer tot le reiaume de Jerusalem. Por ce vendi ele son doaire au frere de son baron, dont ele resut grant avoir, et por ce prist elle la crois, et amena o lui [iii] bele compaignie de chevaliers, et s'en vint o les Alemans en Surie, et arriva a Sur. Car [iv] ele cuida que por le venue des Alemans la cite de Jerusalem fust recovree des Sarrazins.*' *Eracles*, 193
18. 'Comitissa vero Ida utrum capta et abducta, an pedibus tot milium equorum membratim discerpta fuerit, usque in hodiernum diem ignoratur, nisi quod aiunt eam inter tot milia matronarum in terram Corrozana aeterno exilio deportatam.' AA, 581.
19. 'quas tamen maritus supremo iudicio ei ob donationem propter nuptias destinaverat.' WT, 624.
20. 'Sic igitur peccatis nostris exigentibus utraque regio, melioribus destituta consiliis vix in se subsistens, femineo regbatur imperio.' WT, 775.
21. 'relicta cum duobus liberis adhuc infra annos constitutis, regni tanquam iure hereditario sibi debiti curam et administrationem sortita est, filiorum legitimam agens tutelam. Hanc consilio principum regionis strenue et feliciter, vires et animum transcendens femineum, usque ad illum diem administraverat'. WT, 777.
22. 'Et Diex en fist tel vengeance que l'endemain fu la grans bataille dou quaresme-prenant, don't il furent mort ou navrei à mort; par quoy il convint lour femme remaier toutes six.' Joinville, 164.
23. 'feminea levitas', GN, 97.

Appendix 5: Widows

24. 'virens transcendens femineas,' WT, 956.
25. 'ut illa *nobilis et honesta* deciperetur *femina*. Deceptam quippe negare non possumus eam, que *in simplicitate viarum suarum* regem putabat idoneam gerere personam ad hoc, ut ei nuberet legitime.' WT, 526
26. 'more serpentis in gremio et muris in pera', WT 914.
27. 'pro arbitrio suo ad secunda vota migrare.' WT, 635-6.
28. 'credulamque nimis hac vana spe deludebat.' WT, 658.
29. 'principem postea inexorabili odio persecuta.' WT 659.
30. 'Illa autem, vincula timens coniugalia solutamque ac liberam vitam preponens, non multum attendebat quid populo expediret, circa id plurimum sollicita ut carnis curam perficeret in desideriis suis.' WT, 786.
31. 'licet multos inclitos et nobiles viros, eius matrimonium appetentes, more femineo repulisset,' WT 795.
32. 'non sine multorum admiratione quod tam preclara, potens et illustris femina et tam excellentis uxor viri militi quasi gregario nubere dignaretur.' WT 796
33. 'causis quibusdam intervenientibus', WT, 1007.
34. 'decorus facie et probus in armis.' Roger of Howden, Gesta, 1.343.
35. 'amavit eum occulte, et ipse dormivit cum illa.' Roger of Howden, Gesta, 1.343.

Appendix 5: Widows

36. 'Ilquist le patriarche qui les ajornast, et dist qu'il voleit accuser cest mariage a mostre par raisson, qu'il n'estoit ne bons ne laiaus.' *Eracles*, 17.
37. '*indignum tamen matrimonium ejus causati*,' WN 255.
38. « Sire, venés avant et recevés ceste corone. Car je ne sai ou je la puisse miaus emploier. » *Eracles*, 33.
39. 'miscentur oscula, nectuntur amplexus, suas laetitia lacrymas elicit, et casus quos dolent incidisse, evasisse laetantur.' *Itinerarium*, 25.
40. 'voto proprio secundas contraxerat nuptias', WN, 255
41. 'oblatas et prius placitas.' WT, 947.
42. '«Non est,» inquit, «alter qui terram sic elaboraverit a Turcorum manibus eripere, et pristinae libertate restituere: ipsi quidem merito fortiori debetur regnum, prout viderit, dispensandum.»' *Itinerarium*, 342.
43. 'Comitem quidem ad hoc agendum persuadentes non plurimum laborasse putantur, non enim laborat qui cogit volentem!' *Ibid.* 348.
44. 'Hic nobilem corpore, sed moribus nobiliorem', WT, 635.
45. 'viduas, quas invenit illic multas, maritis pio adfectu coniungeret', FC, 634.
46. 'une grant corteisie' *Eracles*, 72.
47. 'conseill et aide' *Eracles*, 72.

Appendix 5: Widows

48. ‘a l’ une plus, et l’ autre meins, selonc ce eles estoient.’ *Eracles*, 72.
49. ‘Conjux vero illius universos ad lacrymas concitabat, quae se ultra morem aliarum miserabiliter laniabat; et quae alios ad luctum commovebat, propter singultus crebraque suspiria, nec loqui nec clamare poterat. Erat autem illa alto procerum sanguine procreata, et secundum carnis hujus infirmitatem, forma prae ceteris egregia. Erat autem plerumque immobilis velut columna marmorea, ita ut saepius mortua esse putaretur, nisi vitalis calor palpitans in supremo pectore sentiretur; sed et adhuc pulsitabat vena lateens sub cute minime pilosa pubem quae ciliorem discriminat. Quum vero respirabat, oblita feminei pudoris se in terram volutabat, et genas unguibus secans, aureos crines disrumpebat.’
50. ‘Regina vero, comperta mariti morte tam inopinata et sinistro saucia casu, veste et capillo lacera eiulans et doloris immensitatem suspiriis contestans et lamentis, in terram corruens corpus complectitur exanime. Non sufficit humor oculis pre flebus ubertate continui et vox, dolores interpres, crebis interrumpitur singultibus nec doloris satis fit, licet nichil aliud sit sollicita quam dolori satisfacere.’ WT, 710-11.
51. ‘Hac miserrima attritione Boemundo disturbato et ad exercitum et confratres in humilitate lacrimosi vultus relato, luxit populus vehementer, mulieres, juvenes, pueri, patres, matres, fratres et sorores, qui dilectissimos amicos, filios et cognatos amiserunt.’ AA, 375.
52. ‘vehementer desolatus est’, *Itinerarium*, 146.
53. ‘dont granz duels fu a tote la crestienté, car ele ere mult bone dame et mult honoree.’ Villehardouin, 1.126

Appendix 5: Widows

54. 'orationis gratia.' WT, 633.
55. ' «Quid meruit Gualo, quod mortuus est sine bello? / Virgine matre satus,
Gualonis terge reatus, / Quem de bellorum tot casibus eripuisti, / Et permisisti
nunc tandem martyrizari.»' RR, 795.
56. 'Luctus in castris permaximus habetur, quoniam ab omnibus viris ac mulieribus
mors Gualonis crebris singultibus lamentatur.' RR, 795.
57. 'Illud sane praetereundum non est, quod ante mortem viri hujus contigit, dum
tempus induciarum integrum et fidele mansit.' RR, 795.
58. 'O me saltem felicem, si licuisset mihi in supremo spiritu oculos claudere, vulnera
lacrymis abluere, et manibus vesteque detergere, et dulcia membra sepulcro
committere!', RR, 795-6

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