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**'MORE OF A BURDEN RATHER THAN A BENEFIT':
PERCEPTIONS OF CRUSADING WOMEN AND
HOW THEY DEVELOPED FROM THE ELEVENTH TO
FOURTEENTH CENTURIES**

CALUM LEATHAM

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts by Research in History

The University of Huddersfield

May 2018

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Abstract

Robert of Rheims perception of crusading women in the First Crusade was that they were 'more of a burden rather than a benefit'. This thesis questions Robert's attitude towards crusading women and explores if this really was how medieval contemporaries perceived female crusaders. By expanding upon previous works by analysing crusading women in the Baltic crusading front, as well as the home front of Europe, this thesis catalogues opinions of crusading women through the crusading periods of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. It then uses these opinions to argue that perceptions towards female crusaders did develop and change through the crusading periods. Finally, the thesis concludes with an examination into how crusading developed and opened up opportunities and roles for women in medieval society.

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Introduction

Brutal and epic battle between the East and the West, larger than life figures leading Christian armies across the globe in the name of God, royalty abandoning their country in the name of a cause, these are the images that come to mind when studying the crusades. From iconic events such as the heroic siege of Antioch (illustrated within bed chambers of royalty), to the involvement of the papacy (who declared and defined crusades), to the saintly crusader kings of France (who waged war in the East), to the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres or William of Joinville, these are just a few examples of how the crusades are perceived when reading the historical evidence and they are all associated with men and masculinity. Contemporary sources and modern scholarship both emphasise the role of men above all. Crusading women, in comparison, are only given brief acknowledgement. The perception that women could not be anything more than a 'burden than a benefit', as Robert of Rheims wrote, and had only a minor role within the crusades, is prevalent in both primary sources and, until recently, modern studies.¹ However, was this the whole truth? Were women only a 'burden' to the crusades or did they challenge this perspective and benefit the movement? Did these perceptions of crusading women, as a 'burden', remain unchanging across the medieval period, or did they develop alongside the centuries of crusading? Also, did the crusades affect and develop the roles of women in the Middle Ages?

In recent years scholars have asked comparable questions to more accurately assess the realities of women's roles in crusading and the Middle Ages more broadly.² Historians, such as Helen Nicholson, Michael R. Evans, Christoph Maier and Natasha Hodgson, have examined in depth the roles women held within the crusading movement within the Latin East, as represented in contemporary sources. Furthermore, Hodgson's study was the first monograph to analyse attitudes towards crusading women and, as such, an important and influential work. However, Hodgson's analysis is mostly concerned with depictions of attitudes towards women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and does not include later materials. The same is true of the other publications noted above. Thus, there is still a lack of research into the development of attitudes towards crusading women in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This thesis's primary hypothesis is that the eleventh century perceptions of crusading women, as 'more of a burden rather than a benefit', evolved throughout the twelfth to fourteenth century, partly in response to circumstances, but also as contemporaries observed the benefits of women's involvement in the crusading movement. In addition, it will

¹ For primary document stating crusading women are more a 'burden than a benefit' see Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.42-45.

² For discussion on recent scholarly interests into crusading women see Maier, C. T. (2004). The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), Pp.61-2.

explore the chronological and geographical gaps left by prior scholars to demonstrate how Crusading had a profound effect on twelfth to fourteenth century women outside the Latin East – such as the effects Crusading had on women in the 'home front' of Europe.

Thus, this thesis will analyse the scattered and limited historical evidence surrounding crusading women to establish a fuller narrative of their actions and how contemporaries perceived them. This entails a study of not only the roles women were expected to play in the crusading movement but also a discussion of how the crusades, and how the roles within it, were gendered. The thesis argues for a greater understanding of the importance of crusading women within the movement, asserting that women were not constantly perceived as more a 'burden than a benefit'. Lastly, it analyses how the nature of crusading shaped and developed the roles and attitudes towards women in medieval society. Given the lack of research into women's involvement in later crusades, noted above, this dissertation therefore makes an important, original contribution to an understanding of women's crusading activities, and of the dynamics of later crusades and crusading ideologies more broadly.

Before analysing the historiography and presenting the research methodology, it is first necessary to identify the chronological and geographical boundaries of this thesis. In addition, there needs to be a contextualisation of the term 'crusading women' to understand the selection of medieval women this thesis analyses. The crusades raged for almost five hundred years, spanning a vast period of history from the end of the eleventh century until the early fifteenth century.³ Since such a vast period of history is beyond the scope of this thesis, a select, more manageable, crusading period must be examined. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the most active period of crusading, 'the age of the crusades' as noted by Jean Richard, principally the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries, with brief discussions on the fourteenth century efforts.⁴

These crusades were the large western European campaigns against the pagan forces in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, beginning with the start of the crusading movement, immediately after Urban II (1088 - 1099) preached his sermon outside the cathedral at Clermont on 27 November 1095.⁵ Although the crusading armies did not begin to leave for the crusade until almost a year after Urban II's speech, Urban and those who witnessed the sermon, had already begun building the foundations for the theology behind crusading. From the start, in consequence, before the first Latin armies set foot in the Holy Land, stances on men and women and their roles within the crusade had already begun to be established. The First Crusade resulted in a victory and its main goal, Jerusalem, was conquered in 1099 and held under the crusaders' control. From this point onwards, the crusaders had established a colony which was the foundation of the Latin East. After the First Crusade, there were a number of

³ Tyerman, C. (2011). *The Debate on The Crusades*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Pp.1-3.

⁴ Richard, J. (1999). *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. X.

⁵ Tyerman, C. (2007). *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. London: Penguin. Pp.58-59.

sizeable campaigns across the next two centuries, with smaller crusading actions joining them.⁶

For many historians the crusading period ended with the loss of the Holy Land in 1291.⁷ However, this study is not limited to the crusading efforts in the Holy Land. Rather than focusing solely on the Latin East, this thesis's intention is to expand upon research about the Holy Land by analysing the crusading theatres of both the Baltic Crusades and the European Home Front in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Baltic Crusades were the crusading efforts in twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Northern-Europe against the Pagans along the Baltic Coast.⁸ The Home Front of crusading was the movements and individuals who campaigned and supported the crusades without traveling on crusades themselves. By doing so this study can collect a wider selection of historical documents relating to women and the crusades.

However, what is a 'crusading woman'? Is a 'crusading woman' a woman who simply travelled to the East on crusade? On the one hand, Maureen Purcell, in her discussions into if contemporaries perceived women as 'crusaders', argues that women were not true crusaders. Purcell concluded that they took the roles of pilgrims rather than crusaders, except for their participation in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹ On the other hand, Christoph Maier argues that the primary aim of an 'individual crusader's effort' was to seek salvation for his or her soul for his or her service on crusade'.¹⁰ For this thesis it is vital to note that women could obtain salvation for their soul through crusading efforts without becoming a pilgrim and travelling East. Therefore, women were crusaders even without fighting in the crusades. A 'crusading woman' was a woman who pursued salvation for her souls by supporting the crusading efforts by any means, from physically taking the Cross and traveling East to staying in the West to support the crusading effort.

The Study of Crusading Women

The study of medieval women has received much scholarly attention in the last half a century. These studies have ranged from general explorations into the life of medieval women to their involvement in warfare.¹¹ However, despite this, the study of crusading women has,

⁶ Tyerman, C. (2011). *The Debate on the Crusades*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Pp.1-3.

⁷ Richard, J. (1999). *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. X.

⁸ Bombi, B. (2013). The debate on the Baltic Crusades and the making of Europe: The debate on the Baltic Crusades. *History Compass*, 11(9), 751-2.

⁹ Purcell, M. 'Women crusaders: a temporary canonical aberration?' in: Frapell, L. O. (ed.) (1979). *Principalities, powers and estates: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Government and Society*. Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press. Pp. 57-64.

¹⁰ Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.70.

¹¹ For a discussion on recent research into medieval women see Rubin, M. (1998). A decade of studying medieval women, 1987-1997. *History Workshop Journal*, (46), Pp. 213-239. For a discussion on women in warfare see McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), pp. 193-209.

surprisingly, lagged behind other aspects of medieval women's history until recent years. As already explained, the crusading period is vast, ranging hundreds of years, and played, to some extent, a role in all European medieval lives. The study of crusading, consequently, is vital if historians are to fully understand medieval women. Nevertheless, the last two decades have seen an exponential growth in studies into the experiences of crusading women in both the front lines and the home front. Studies from historians such as Helen Nicholson, Christoph Maier and Natasha Hodgson have attempted to fill the gaps in the knowledge surrounding crusading women.¹² For example, Nicholson wrote an in-depth analysis into the sources of the Third Crusade, encompassing crusading women combatants and examining the extent these sources represented the historical truth. She also set out to collect and showcase the scattered historical evidence to focus on the perceptions of crusading women in crusading narratives. Maier's essay surveys the roles and contributions women played in the crusade movement both on and off the battlefields. In addition, Maier mapped out the gender boundaries which defined the roles women could serve within the crusading armies.

One of the most influential works to make advancements into the study of crusading women was the 2001 publication *Gendering the Crusades*.¹³ *Gendering the Crusades* is a volume of collected essays edited by Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert. The work collected a range of essays that delve into many aspects of crusading women. For example: how contemporary male authors perceived crusading as a masculine activity; how crusading authors and contemporaries perceived women within the movement; how the crusades developed opportunities for crusading women; and the roles crusading men and women held on the battlefields in the Latin East. Whereas previous works on women's involvement in medieval warfare had been limited to articles like Megan McLaughlin's 'The Woman Warrior: Gender, warfare, and society in medieval Europe', a study which aimed to survey women combatants across Europe, *Gendering the Crusades* evidenced that women's involvement in the crusades went beyond the question of whether they were involved in warfare.¹⁴

Three of the essays in the collection were particularly influential on this thesis. Michael R. Evans, firstly, in his aptly named 'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', draws upon Nicholson's article discussed above. Both works address and question the primary material behind crusading women combatants and the

¹² Nicholson, H. (1997). Women on the third crusade. *Journal of Medieval History*, 23(4), 335-349. & Maier, C. T. (2004). The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), Pp.61-82. & Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. & Hodgson N. R (2005) Nobility, women and historical narratives of the crusades and the Latin East. *Al-Masāq*, 17(1), Pp. 61-85,

¹³ Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

¹⁴ McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), pp. 193-209.

perceptions of women taking on a masculine role.¹⁵ Evans, however, expands upon Nicholson's work, who primarily focused on Islamic sources, by exploring Frankish sources relating to women combatants. This, subsequently, flagged to Maier the possibilities of expanding upon Evans' research by exploring the wider range of sources relating to crusading women combatants.¹⁶

In turn, this thesis expands on both Evans' and Maier's works by further analysing the Christian sources for crusading women combatants as well as exploring additional primary documents outside the crusading sphere of the Latin East. It analyses historical evidence from the Baltic European crusades, an area many studies on crusading women have failed to explore, to illustrate a wider range of primary documents available to Historians when studying crusading women. Additionally, this thesis expands beyond the twelfth century, on which many of the previous studies of crusading women have focused, to analyse how attitudes towards crusading women further developed through the thirteenth century.

Constance M. Rousseau's essay, 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' enables this thesis to begin researching the effects the papacy had on perceptions of crusading women.¹⁷ Rousseau offers a detailed analysis of the papacy and their policies towards women from the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. However, Rousseau restricts her analyses to the early thirteenth century. Therefore, there is little research into the effects earlier popes had on the opinions and the roles of women – a void this thesis attempts to fill. Furthermore, this study attempts to expand upon Rousseau's work by examining alternative ways in which the papacy developed perceptions of crusading women outside of papal policy. Sylvia Schein's essay, finally, 'Women in Medieval Colonial Society: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', highlights a plethora of evidence surrounding social aspects of medieval women in the colonial society of the Latin East.¹⁸ Schein's survey demonstrates the ways women in this society might challenge gender perceptions because of the crusades. Schein's work, moreover, focuses on a variety of Latin Eastern women from both nobility to royalty throughout the twelfth century. Nevertheless, like the previous works above, Schein's study is limited to the twelfth century and the geography of the Latin East. Consequently, this thesis used Schein's work as a foundation and expands upon it by not only illustrating the effects of the Crusades on Western women in medieval society but directly comparing them to the women within the Latin East. In addition,

¹⁵ Evans, M.K. "Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women On Crusade'. in Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 45-58. Also see: Nicholson, H. (1997). Women on the third crusade. *Journal of Medieval History*, 23(4), 335-349.

¹⁶ Maier, C. T. (2004). The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), Pp.61-82.

¹⁷ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 31- 44.

¹⁸ Schein, S. 'Women in Medieval Colonial Society: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 140- 153.

this study attempts to move beyond Schein's study of the twelfth century by analysing the effects crusading had on women in thirteenth century society.

Without the innovative work of Natasha Hodgson and her book *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, much of this research would not have been possible.¹⁹ Hodgson's work uses the narratives and historical evidence of the Eastern crusade to signify medieval attitudes towards women and the roles women might have played within the Latin East. Significantly, the study was the first, and remains the only, monograph about attitudes towards crusading women found within the historical chronicles. Accordingly, with such a vast range of historical evidence, spanning the breadth of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and historiography used, the survey stands as a foundation for any future study into perceptions of crusading women, such as this thesis.

Methodology

The study of crusading women, thus, has clearly grown during the early twenty-first century, with efforts to analyse crusading women's roles on the battlefields to their social history within the colonies of the Holy Land. As already indicated, this thesis seeks to build on previous scholarship by expanding the chronological and geographic boundaries of study. Hodgson, moreover, notes that an attempt at such an approach 'could be particularly fruitful'.²⁰ Furthermore, there has been limited study on the crusading women who stayed within the home front of the West, also noted by Hodgson.²¹

The crusading period can be understood through many different types of source material. The historical material upon which this thesis is based, comprises primarily crusading chronicles. Crusading chronicles are predominantly discussed by modern scholars as negative towards women, containing misogynistic narratives. They were primarily written by the, as Hodgson wrote, 'male and ecclesiastical hierarchy' that reflected the patriarchal views of medieval society.²² 'One of the most clear and straightforward messages of the sources for crusading', as Jonathan Riley-Smith states, is that 'women were inhibitors'.²³ Other chronicles that discuss crusading women are, as Hodgson observed, 'often consigned to the realm of the fictional', as discussed below.²⁴ In addition, chroniclers might exaggerate or ignore events relating to women to maintain and push their agenda, as illustrated through texts surrounding crusading women combatants.²⁵ Nevertheless, chronicles are still very useful evidence of attitudes towards crusading women because they, as Hodgson stated, reflect the popular

¹⁹ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.

²⁰ Ibid... Pp.245.

²¹ Ibid... Pp.245.

²² Ibid... Pp. 3.

²³ Riley-Smith, J. (1997). *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 97-9.

²⁴ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp.4.

²⁵ See Nicholson, H. (1997). Women on the third crusade. *Journal of Medieval History*, 23(4), pp. 341-342.

views of their society. Therefore, negative or otherwise, crusading chronicles contain the material needed to track the development of the perceptions of crusading women throughout the crusading period. Additionally, if a chronicle suggests positive material towards female crusaders, it would evidence a development or challenge towards opinions of crusading women and would be useful to this thesis.

Nonetheless, this thesis does not restrict itself to crusading chronicles as its source for primary material. Moreover, chronicles, as noted, sometimes demonstrate the contemporary perceptions of crusading women, rather than the reality. Although it would be wrong to suggest that non-chronicle sources are not shaped by rhetoric and ideology, using a variety of additional historical sources throughout this thesis would allow for an analysis of crusading women outside of a narrative. Historical evidence such as personal letters, letters addressed to the public, legal documents and close rolls are, thus, studied to produce useful evidence to both illustrate the developing perceptions of crusading women and to understand the roles women undertook in the crusades. These sources, in addition, originate from a multitude of geographical locations allowing for comparisons of the roles and opinions of crusading women in the different crusading fronts. Furthermore, evidence such as the papal letters seen throughout this thesis, would have been sent and read by many different audiences throughout Europe. In addition, the crusading chronicles compliment the alternative primary material, as both types of historical evidence address each other's flaws. Therefore, with a vast selection of historical evidence used in this thesis, a reliable and clear analysis of both the perceptions and roles of crusading women, throughout the entire crusading period, can take place.

Thesis structure

The first chapter of this thesis establishes the perceptions about women and the 'official' roles of women in the crusades. It achieves this, firstly, by examining contemporary male attitudes towards crusading warfare to evidence that combat was perceived as an activity restricted to medieval men. Then it institutes the ways women could partake in crusading warfare by taking on auxiliary roles. It will also analyse sources from both Christian and Islamic writers to investigate if some women challenged contemporary perceptions about their capabilities through partaking in active combat. To conclude, this chapter will determine how perceptions in Western Europe towards women began to develop at the end of the crusading period to produce a potential weapon for an ultimate crusading victory.

The following chapter is a discussion of the Papacy and its influence of the roles and perceptions of crusading women, with a focus on women in the Western home front of Europe. It presents a survey of eleventh and twelfth century attitudes towards crusading women, the roles they had during the earlier crusading effort. With a focus on Pope Innocent III (1161-1216), this chapter then establishes how later popes developed or challenged earlier perceptions and roles of crusading women to account for the changes to the nature of

crusading. In addition, this study is complimented by an analysis of the effect the papacy had on the realities of female crusading and future developments to the opinions of crusading women. Finally, this chapter ends by debating how the papacy affected the perceptions of crusading wives. Moreover, this debate is held to evidence the negative, as well as positive, effects developing perceptions of crusading women would have had on medieval women.

The final chapter studies the effects crusading had on medieval women by analysing and comparing the queens of the crusading period. Accordingly, how the crusades affected the status and positions of queens. In addition, this chapter will highlight and compare the differences in contemporary reactions to queens taking on opportunities afforded to them by the crusades, such as sole regency of a country, to demonstrate how the crusades allowed women to challenge gender norms without exceeding previous perceptions of women. Finally, it will examine queens on the home front to evidence how the crusades had a variety of effects on Western royalty.

Chapter 1: From the West to the East: Perceptions of Twelfth to Fourteenth Century Women combatants

Primary material surrounding the crusades certainly discusses women and their experiences in warfare or as weapons throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. These sources, moreover, range from discussions of women killing their enemies, donning armour for battle and even educating them to infiltrate non-Christian families. However, crusading sources surrounding women wearing armour and fighting, originate from contemporary Islamic propaganda, and are unlikely to reflect the realities of women's actions. These sources, nevertheless, do highlight contemporary ideologies towards women and female crusaders and provided examples, of women, are used to criticise the crusading armies. Despite, however, the surprising quantity of medieval sources describing crusading women as fighters, in general, until recently, the study towards female crusading combatants has lagged, as historians tended to focus on other areas of medieval women's lives. Studies towards crusading women combatants, in addition, tended to emphasis on whether they fought rather than the realities of female combatants. Accordingly, Michael Evans' work 'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', took note from Helen Nicholson's work on crusading female combatants, and became the first detailed survey to examine the issue of women warriors in the crusades.²⁶ Natasha Hodgson's analysis towards the perceptions of women in the crusades, additionally, broadened the understanding of the much wider roles women undertook in the crusades, and the variety of sources describing these. On the one hand, primary material surrounding women crusaders is scattered among many chronicles and texts with conflicting perceptions from Islamic and Christian writers. With the addition of traditional crusading historians having no interest in women, the work towards the study of crusading women combatants was, therefore, discouraging. On the other hand, pioneering historians seen throughout this thesis, such as Hodgson and Nicholson, have attempted to encourage more analyses of female crusaders by collecting and showcasing a vast diversity of the sources available. Consequently, this chapter's role is to further emphasise the variety of roles women undertook in the crusades, particularly as fighters, by examining a diverse range of primary material from the twelfth to fourteenth century crusading, from women in the home front of Europe, the Baltic and the Latin East. Moreover, by comparing the sources, a clear illustration of the experiences of women in crusading warfare and the perceptions towards them can emerge, displaying the ways the crusades challenged medieval theology.

This chapter, therefore, begins by examining the most extreme ways women challenged gender ideologies, their participation in active crusading warfare and evidence of them

²⁶ Evans, M.K. "Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women On Crusade'. in Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 45-58.

donning armour and weapons to physically fight their enemies. Additionally, by analysing and comparing the military experiences of women throughout the Latin East and during the Baltic Crusades, a clearer narrative can be formed of the realities of crusading women's experiences of warfare. For example, the crusades allowed women to challenge the contemporary perception that they were 'least suited to arms', as Robert of Rheims claimed.²⁷ Furthermore, the second half of the chapter explores how crusading gave women the opportunity to fight spiritually, finding strength through their God. Throughout this chapter, moreover, the Western, Baltic and Latin Eastern historical sources are compared to evidence the medieval perceptions towards crusading women combatants. Finally, the ideology emerging after the fall of the Holy Land, the ideas behind women as an instrument towards an overall crusading victory, is analysed to illustrate how the roles of crusading women could develop and how the crusades effects ideology towards female education.

Gendering Warfare and Crusading

The overall goal of the First Crusade, and many later crusades, was the conquest of Jerusalem and the East, as established by Urban II's (1088-1099) speech at Council of Clermont, 1095.²⁸ Therefore the crusades were always a military expedition in conception, but also a religious undertaking: an armed pilgrimage. To understand how crusading women challenged gender ideology, it must first be established that warfare in general (and crusading more specifically) was thus conceived as essentially a male activity. As Bradly puts it, calls to crusade emphasised this by appealing 'to the emotions of the men in the crowd who were socialized to be protectors'.²⁹ For example, contemporaries such as Robert the Monk (1047-1122) report Urban stating: 'What shall I say of the abominable rape of the women?' within his speech.³⁰ A conclusion from Robert's interpretation of Urban's speech is that women must be protected from abuse, alongside the Holy Land.³¹ Moreover, the women during the Third Crusade, as seen in a contemporary chronicle, lamented 'that they were not able to set out (on crusade) with [the men] because of the weakness of their sex'.³² These sources, in addition,

²⁷ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold.

²⁸ Urban II (1088-1099): Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five versions of the Speech. <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.asp> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016

²⁹ Bradly, L. A. (1992). Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.34.

³⁰ Munro, D. C. (1895). "Urban and the Crusaders", *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Vol 1:2, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania) pp. 5-8 <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/source/urban2-5vers.asp> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016 Also see: Bradly, L. A. (1992). Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.33-34.

³¹ Ibid... Pp.34.

³² Nicholson, H. J. (2001). *Chronicle of the third crusade: A translation of the itinerary peregrinorum et gesta regis ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Pp. 47-48.

demonstrate a wider rhetoric, common to both medieval and crusading narratives, as Hodgson wrote, of *fragilitas sexus*, 'the weakness of mind and body which supposedly removes women from the active, political, historical sphere' and military.³³ The abuse of innocent civilians in Robert's text, furthermore, was an attempt to appeal to the masculine values of chivalry and, thus, evidences men as Urban's primary audience.³⁴ The stereotyping of the crusades as a male-only activity, therefore, has dominated modern historiography until recently. Conversely, as some scholars have now recognised, this is to ignore the fact that, in reality, crusading was not a male only activity. Women did take part in conflict, either out of desperation or necessity. Recent works and developments into contemporary women's participation in warfare have paved the way to challenge conventional ideas about the activities of medieval women.

Women did not have any official roles within medieval warfare or the crusading armies (despite the claims of Islamic authors, discussed later). Nevertheless, participation by women in auxiliary roles, such as siege warfare, was encouraged and supported by a variety of contemporaries. Keren Caspi-Reisfeld explains that 'the success of a siege of a fortified city... was largely a function of the number of besiegers'. Furthermore, as Caspi-Reisfeld notes, 'the more 'bodies' the besiegers could draft to their side, the greater their chances of success'.³⁵ Women, in addition, could participate in the military activity of besieging during the crusades because it required no prior training or specific skills. In fact, as enforced by Caspi-Reisfeld, chroniclers describing women within siege warfare show no awareness that it conflicted with church policy or medieval gender ideology of warfare.³⁶ The auxiliary roles women undertook within the crusades varied. A passage within the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum Et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, a contemporary chronicle of the Third Crusade, for example, illustrates how some women became involved in sieges. The chronicler, accordingly, describes how 'a Turkish sniper shot [a woman] with a dart, and she fell writhing to the ground' while filling in the city ditch. Therefore, women could help in constructing simple siege fortifications, such as ditches. Another example appears in Thomas of Beverley's description of the role his Sister, Margaret took while on Crusade. Moreover, as Thomas notes, Margaret 'was giving the soldiers at the wall water to drink', demonstrating another role women could partake, providing support and

³³ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp.47. Also see: Lambert, S. 'Crusading or Spinning'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 2-3.

³³ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp.95.

³⁴Ibid... Pp.49.

³⁵ Caspi-Reisfeld, K. 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 95.

³⁶ Ibid... Pp.95.

supplies to soldiers.³⁷ Additionally, Jean de Joinville (1224-1317), in his *The Life of Saint Louis*, explains how the Turks, during the Seventh Crusade, captured Louis IX's brother, the 'Comte de Poitiers', the 'camp followers, including the women... raised a cry of alarm throughout the camp; and... the count was rescued and the Turks were driven out of our quarters'.³⁸ Hence, Joinville recognised the women's participation in the camp and the auxiliary role they took in saving the Comte de Poitiers. The admiration towards the women in Joinville's chronicle is reflected in the comments from the chroniclers towards the women, additionally, seen in the *Itinerarium*: 'O admirable faith of the weaker sex! O zeal of women worthy of imitation! Even after death she did not cease to work with the workers, for even when dying she wished to continue in the work'.³⁹ Both chroniclers, therefore, admired the women and displayed no concern that their actions conflicted with medieval gender ideology. Moreover, the admiration towards the women relates to an earlier fact that Besiegers and armies being besieged needed a great number of bodies. The examples given, additionally, required no prior professional training, nor did it require the women to have a formal role within the crusading armies. Consequently, the women did not, in terms of contemporary theology, break any gender conceptions as they held no official role within the crusading armies, and suffered no criticism from Chroniclers.⁴⁰

Crusading Women: A Source for Propaganda

When it comes to women playing a more formal role in crusader warfare, Michael Evans states, 'sources for warrior women are highly problematic'.⁴¹ Helen Nicholson notes that both medieval Christian and Muslim culture assumed that women would not fight 'for it was believed that in a civilised, godly society women should not have to fight'.⁴² Nicholson further notes that, as a result, 'Christian writers would not record women fighting in the crusading army, because this would discredit the crusaders... On the other hand, Muslims would gladly depict Christians as allowing their women to fight, as this would show that they were either barbarous or degenerate people who had been led astray'.⁴³ This helps to explain why the only detailed accounts that we have of women acting as warriors in pitched battles come from Islamic commentators. As an example, Imad ad-Din (1125-1201) a Persian historian wrote:

³⁷ MARGARET OF JERUSALEM/BEVERLEY AND THOMAS OF BEVERLEY/FROIDMONT, HER BROTHER, HER BIOGRAPHER. <http://www.umilta.net/jerusalem.html> Date Accessed: 02/11/2016

³⁸ Villehardouin, G. d., Joinville, J. d., & Shaw, M. R. B. (1963). *Chronicles of the crusades*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. Pp.233.

³⁹ Nicholson, H. J. (2001). *Chronicle of the third crusade: A translation of the itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Pp.106.

⁴⁰ McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), Pp.200. Also see: Caspi-Reisfeld, K. 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254'. In. Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 97-98

⁴¹ Evans, M.K. 'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women On Crusade'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 45.

⁴² Nicholson, H. (1997). Women on the third crusade. *Journal of Medieval History*, 23(4), pp. 341-342.

⁴³ Ibid... Pp.341-342.

Among the Franks there were indeed women who rode into battle with cuirasses and helmets, dressed in men's clothes; who rode out into the thick of fray and acted like brave men although they were but tender women, maintaining that all this was an act of piety thinking to gain heavenly rewards by it, and making it their way of life.⁴⁴

On the one hand, Imad ad-Din proclaimed that the crusading armies contained women who wore armour, dressed like men and seemed trained to ride out into warfare. On the other hand, Imad ad-Din's descriptions should be examined critically. Moreover, to contextualise Imad ad-Din's source, his description of women warriors is immediately followed by a description of Christian prostitution, thus, highlighting Imad ad-Din's attempts to discredit the Christian armies.⁴⁵ Indeed, the crusades involved women, who most certainly had some involvement in battles and did die, as highlighted by this chapter's discussion on the gendering of Warfare. However, the Imad ad-Din's source is clearly an exaggeration, stereotyping of the roles women really had on crusade. Although, Imad ad-Din source does illustrate how Muslim writers would use women to serve as propaganda, as discussed by Nicholson, they are unlikely to give us a realistic expression of contemporary women. Megan McLaughlin and Caspi-Reisfeld note, furthermore, that as the Crusades transformed into a military campaign between states, there was 'no place for amateur warriors, still less for women warriors', making the Islamic sources less credible.⁴⁶ Therefore, Imad's source is probably evidencing his perceptions towards the Frankish Men, a political message emasculating the male crusading warriors regarding their behaviours.⁴⁷

Beha Ed-din (1145-1234), likewise, presents a passage about a female archer:

[An] old (Muslim) soldier who penetrated the trenches that day told me that on the other side of the parapet was a woman dressed in green mantle, who shot at us with a wooden bow and wounded many Muslims before she was overcome and killed.⁴⁸

Moreover, the woman illustrated in Baha Ed-din's text is: wearing a 'mantle' rather than armour; was within the fortifications of the parapet rather than the battle field and it is reasonable to suggest women would have joined the ranks of the archer – arming themselves

⁴⁴ Gabrieli, F. (1969). *Arab historians of the crusades*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Pp. 101

⁴⁵ Evans, M.K. "Unfit to Bear Arms": The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women On Crusade'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 46.

⁴⁶ McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), pp.201-3. Also see: Caspi-Reisfeld, K. 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 103.

⁴⁷ Caspi-Reisfeld, K. 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 100.

⁴⁸ Cited by Caspi-Reisfeld, K. 'Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 101.

with bows and arrows rather than a sword.⁴⁹ Thus, Baha Ed-din's account of female combatants is more plausible than Imad ad-Din's. Additionally, Baha Ed-din does not go so far as to state that there were multiple female archers, only describing one in his text. However, Baha Ed-din's source is likely another political message emphasising female fighters in the crusading armies, a slight against the belief that in civilised society women should not have to fight. Therefore, the Islamic sources, reliable or not, express the perceptions towards the Christian crusaders rather than crusading women. Nevertheless, Nicholson's statement that Christian writers would not record women combatants, can be questioned. We will now turn to a variety of Christian sources that give quite detailed accounts of women in active combative roles, fighting out of necessity or propaganda. In addition, the Christian writers themselves, dispute Nicholson's claim and show no hostility towards the women they write about, quite the reverse in fact.

The first of these sources is the description of the aftermath of a naval battle victory in 1190 during the Third Crusade, women took revenge on the Muslim prisoners who were brought back to shore:

Our women pulled the Turks along by the hair, treated them dishonourably, humiliatingly cutting their throats; and finally beheaded them. The women's physical weakness prolonged the pain of death, because they cut their heads off with knives instead of swords.⁵⁰

The women are highlighted to have a non-formal role here, using 'knives instead of swords'.⁵¹ Accordingly, the chronicler indicates that the women 'prolonged the pain of death' of the Muslim executions, making it humiliating and horrific, because they were ignorant to executions. Nevertheless, unlike other sources surrounding crusading women combatants, the women illustrated here were not defending themselves in the heat of battle. Yet, the women are still given permission to perform a violent role by the Christian men. The women, therefore, were given permission to perform the executions to emasculate and express dominance over the Muslim soldiers, demonstrating they were not worth being executed by Christian Soldiers. Consequently, in turn, women could challenge gender perceptions and enact violence towards crusading enemies if it promoted the dominance of the Christian soldiers over the Muslims. Hence, the chronicler expresses the Christian women's actions of violence to example the humiliating defeat of the Muslim soldiers.

⁴⁹ Ibid... Pp.101.

⁵⁰ Nicholson, H. J. (2001). *Chronicle of the third crusade: A translation of the itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Pp.89.

⁵¹ Evans, M.K. "Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women On Crusade'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 53.

Strength through Masculinity and Spirituality: Women Crusade Fighters

Perhaps the most remarkable of these Christian sources is a biography of Margaret of Beverley (1150-1215), written by her brother, Thomas, but seemingly based on Margaret's own reminiscences after she returned from the East and became a nun. The source, furthermore, is described as 'hardly mentioned in existing studies [and] probably represents the best documented case of one woman's experience on crusade'.⁵² Margaret's participation in the crusades started as an adult when she took the cross and left for the Holy Land in the late summer of 1187. Margaret later reached the Holy Land before the Third Crusade in the aftermath of the battle of Hattin, resulting in her being a part of the siege of Jerusalem when Saladin attacked.⁵³ The source recounts that:

During this siege, which lasted fifteen days, I carried out all of the functions of a soldier that I could. I wore a breastplate like a man; I came and went on the ramparts, with a cauldron on my head for a helmet. Though a woman, I seemed a warrior, I threw the weapon; though filled with fear, I learned to conceal my weakness. It was hot.⁵⁴

Thomas, consequently, justifies Margaret's active involvement in warfare by drawing on medieval performative notions of gender, and the hierarchy of masculine over feminine. Margaret was able to surmount her weaknesses as a woman, bettering herself and gaining bravery and strength, by taking on masculine qualities: 'I carried out all of the functions of a soldier that I could. I wore a breastplate like a man'. This parallels Alcuin Blamires term of the 'strength-in-weakness paradox', women challenging their weakness through other sources such as faith or, in Margaret's case, masculinity.⁵⁵ Thomas further emphasises the necessity and desperation for Margaret's involvement in the battle by highlighting that although she wore some armour (as mentioned above) she also wore 'a cauldron on [her] head for a helmet'. Fashioning her own armour out of unusual materials demonstrates that she was not a formal part of the crusading armies: this was an emergency which called for the involvement of any able-bodied people, whether male or female. Therefore, Margaret was justified in her actions. Megan McLaughlin notes that if a woman fighter was to transgress the accepted boundaries it would be met with suspicion and hostility by contemporary audiences.⁵⁶ However, despite showing her acting like a man Thomas painstakingly illustrates

⁵² Maier, C. T. (2004). The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.65.

⁵³ Ibid... pp.64.

⁵⁴ MARGARET OF JERUSALEM/BEVERLEY AND THOMAS OF BEVERLEY/FROIDMONT, HER BROTHER, HER BIOGRAPHER. <http://www.umilta.net/jerusalem.html> Date Accessed: 02/11/2016

⁵⁵ Cited by Bailey, A.E. (August 2012). 'Flights of Distance, Time and Fancy: Women Pilgrims and their Journeys in English Medieval Miracle Narratives'. *Gender & History*, 24 (2), pp. 302.

⁵⁶ McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), pp.200.

that Margaret was not challenging gender roles. Although learning 'to conceal [her] weakness' she was still a woman. This is also underlined by the fact that Margaret eventually became a nun. Yet, Thomas' passage does allow us to challenge the notion put forward by Robert of Rheims that women crusaders were passive and 'a burden than a benefit'.⁵⁷

Likewise, examples of crusading female combatants acting as men in an emergency siege situation are found in the Baltic Crusade. One such incident is described in *Chronicle of Prussia* written by Peter Von Dusburg (?-1326) and later translated into Middle High German by Nicolaus von Jeroschin (1290-1341).⁵⁸ Accounts of women fighting in the Baltic Crusades 'have been almost ignored by scholars', as Rasa Mazeika states, and personal investigations have discovered no texts relating the sources to events seen within the Eastern Crusades.⁵⁹ Mazeika's article, "'Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent'" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles', in fact, is the only detailed discussion found examining the historical evidence surrounding women in the Baltic Crusade.

Peter of Dusburg's chronicle includes a passage which clearly describes a situation where women take combative roles out of desperate necessity:

Lord Swantopelk became aware that the brothers and their people at Elbing had gone away. When the enemy of God heard this he assembled a powerful army and marched on Elbing. Because there was no-one there he hoped to capture the city and the fortress without encountering any resistance. When the women of Elbing realised the danger of an attack they all took off their women's garments and clothed themselves in the weapons and courage of men. They went out on the battlements and conducted the defence so bravely that none of these pure women gave any sign of cowardice. When the army saw this they could all have sworn that the brothers had returned with the men of the town. So the women manfully drove away Swantopelk, who retreated shamefully. This happened many more times in the country: when the men were away at war many castles would have been lost to the enemy if they had not been defended by brave women in the guise of warriors.⁶⁰

Peter of Dusburg's description has remarkable similarities to Margaret of Beverley's biography. This is to say, the women of Elbing, like Margaret, surpassed their bodily weaknesses by taking on masculine qualities, as well as male dress and weapons, thus

⁵⁷ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.42-45.

⁵⁸ Jeroschin, N. V., & Fischer, M. (Trans) (2016). *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A history of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, 1190-1331 crusade texts in translation v. 20*. London: Routledge Ltd.

⁵⁹ Mazeika, R. "' Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent'" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles', in Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 232.

⁶⁰ Jeroschin, N. V., & Fischer, M. (Trans) (2016). *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A history of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, 1190-1331 crusade texts in translation v. 20*. London: Routledge Ltd. Pp.106.

performing masculine roles and 'manfully' driving away Swantopelk. Therefore, many of the conclusions from Margaret of Beverley's biography can be utilized with Dusburg's work. The women, moreover, found their strength by imitating the 'courage of men', which helps to maintain the clear superiority of masculine over feminine. Thus, the actions of these women did not challenge contemporary gender hierarchies because they were not acting as women. Dusburg emphasises the inferiority of the feminine by stating that while the women were 'manful', Lord Swantopelk and his men, retreated 'shamefully', and are thus effeminised. Accordingly, Dusburg's two examples show clear evidence of a performative understanding of gender, as well as an awareness that masculinity, the superior gender identity, could be taken on by women in desperate circumstances.

The reliability of Peter of Dusburg's source could be called into question due to the passage's unique nature suggesting that it could be 'sheer invention' to illustrate the Christine superiority over the pagans.⁶¹ Although as argued by Mazeika, there is 'no *a priori* reason to assume such stories must be invented'.⁶² We have already seen that there are a number of other examples of women becoming involved in defensive warfare. Henry of Livonia's chronicle also describes an event where women were involved in the defence of their city. Henry's chronicle is an account of the Livonian Order of Sword brothers and was finished in 1226-27 with Henry believed to have been present at an attack on Riga in 1210.⁶³ The description of the attack on Riga, gives a 'matter-of-fact' and first-hand account of women on the battlements in the Baltic campaign.⁶⁴

The citizens, the brothers of the Militia, and the ballistarii, few though they were, together with the clerics and the women, all had recourse to arms, and having sounded the bell which was rung only in time of war, they assembled the people.⁶⁵

Both sources share a remarkable similarity to the account of Margaret of Beverley. To become strong the women must put on '*mentem virum*, must act *virile*', and lay aside the ornaments which symbolise their sex.⁶⁶ And whether the source is strictly reliable or not it reveals a contemporary awareness that women were not inevitably weak and passive, but could be brave and resourceful. However, describing them as acting in this way through adopting masculine qualities stops them from presenting a serious challenge to the established hierarchy of gender.

⁶¹ Mazeika, R. "'Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles'. In Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 230-231. & pp.233.

⁶² Ibid... Pp.231.

⁶³ Ibid... Pp.235.

⁶⁴ Ibid... Pp.234.

⁶⁵ Lettuce, H. & Brundage, J. A (Trans). (2004). *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. New York: Columbia University Press; New Ed edition. Pp. 97.

⁶⁶ Ibid... Pp.233.

Sources attributed to the Baltic Crusades, likewise, discuss the ability of women to use weaponry and kill the enemies of the crusades. In addition, the Baltic sources illustrate how women could carry out divine retribution, finding spiritual strength, like previous material analysed in this chapter about women's strength through masculinity. Moreover, women captives and women bystanders are described as fighting back against 'heathen' soldiers and killing them. To begin, Nicholaus Von Jeroschin's translation of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle of the Prussian campaign, the text describes an event in which:

A strong Sudovian frightened a Christian woman, chasing her into a bog and was so full of fury and hatred that he tried to murder her. When he caught hold of her she managed by the grace of God to set aside her womanly weakness and innate fragility and defended herself by pummelling him with her fists. She kept it up until he fell into the bog and then God gave her the courage to jump in on top of him... she scabbled round and stuffed the injured fool's mouth, nose and ears full of mud and piled it on top of him until he suffocated. In this way the strong heathen died while the weak woman survived.⁶⁷

Dusburg's text has numerous examples of pagan soldiers' brutally murdering innocent women, 'if there was a pregnant woman... they became angry with her and killed her and her child...', therefore, it is entirely likely that a woman being attacked would attempt to defend herself.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, much like Dusburg's text examined previously in this chapter, the writing has deeper implications for medieval ideas about gender. Furthermore, throughout the extract are instances of the woman fighting the soldier with the 'courage' of 'God'. In addition, the final line established that whilst the 'weak woman survived' the 'strong heathen died'. The text's author, therefore, highlights that Christianity makes the weak, in this case women, strong enough to kill none Christian soldiers, a shameful death.⁶⁹ Like the previous sources, the woman used no knightly weapon, killing the soldier with suffocation, giving her no formal links to crusading armies. Conversely, there is a notable difference between the modern Historian Rasa Mazeika's translation of Dusburg's passage and contemporary Jeroschin's translation. On the one hand, Mazeika's translation describes how the woman 'forgetful of the weakness of her sex, manfully resisted'.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Jeroschin attributes the woman's success to spiritual strength as 'God gave her the courage'. Although this could be translation differences between Mazeika and Jeroschin, it implies a development

⁶⁷ Jeroschin, N. V., & Fischer, M. (Trans) (2016). *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A history of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, 1190–1331 crusade texts in translation v. 20*. London: Routledge Ltd. Pp.172-3.

⁶⁸ Ibid... Pp.44.

⁶⁹ Mazeika, R. "'Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles'. In Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 237.

⁷⁰ Cited by Mazeika, R. "'Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles'. In Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp.236.

in perceptions through the crusading period. Dusburg perceived, like Thomas of Beverley, women as having the ability to gain strength through masculinity while the later translator of Dusburg's work, Jeroschin, favoured the explanation of divine retribution through the woman towards the 'heathen'. The story itself, likewise, may have survived because of the message it projected towards the Teutonic Knights fighting in the Baltic Crusade, surrounded by Pagan enemies.⁷¹

Similarly, two more examples illustrate how women were inspired with strength by God to inflict Divine Retribution on pagans. The first of these examples is found in Henry of Livonia's chronicles and comes during an incident when the Osilian Estonians attacked the Estonians of Jerwa, who had accepted Christianity.⁷² It states: 'The Jerwanian women, whom the Oeselians had taken captive, rushed out and struck the already-stricken Oeselians with clubs, saying: "May the God of the Christians smite you!"'.⁷³ The second example is from Dusburg's chronicle and explains how the Lithuanian ruler Vytenis had raided Prussia and captured thousands of Christians. Dusburg states that the 'king blasphemed the name of Jesus Christ... not recognising the power of God, and said to the captive Christians who were standing there bound, "Where is thy God? [Vulgate Psalms 41.4, 41.11, 78.10, 113.2, Joel 2.17, Judith 7.21] Why doesn't he help you, as our gods help us?"'.⁷⁴ The Teutonic Knights came the following day to enact divine retribution towards Vytenis who had captured Christians and mocked God.

The captive Christian women, when they saw that victory had come from Heaven for them, forgetful of the weakness of their sex, rushing quickly upon the Lithuanians who guarded them, killed them in whatever manner they could.⁷⁵

Arguably in both examples the women are 'forgetful of the weakness of their sex' and, using the strength of God, carry out his divine retribution. Again, in Henry's source, the women are referred to as using clubs or 'whatever manner they could', illustrating their civilian status and unlinking them to the Teutonic Knights who saved them. Hence, again, women are using spiritual strength to carry out God's punishment against the Pagans.

Additionally, it is interesting to note that Jeroschin's translation of Dusburg's above text, unlike Mazeika's translation, makes no reference to the captive Christian women killing any Lithuanian guards. Although, Jeroschin notes the event, describing how the Teutonic Knights helped to free the prisoners, his only reference to female prisoners consists of:

⁷¹ Ibid... Pp.237-8

⁷² Ibid... pp.239.

⁷³ Lettuce, H. & Brundage, J. A (Trans). (2004). *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. New York: Columbia University Press; New Ed edition. Pp. 184-185.

⁷⁴ Cited by Mazeika, R. "'Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent" Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles'. In Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp. 237.

⁷⁵ Ibid... Pp.237-8.

The sad group of captured women ran up to the brothers. They were gently freed from their chains and fell weeping at their feet, welcoming them with the words: 'May God and all the inhabitants of heaven greet you, dear lords of God and all heaven.'⁷⁶

Jeroschin's translation, therefore, reads closer to medieval perceptions of women in warfare. If this was a conscious amendment from the original text, consequently, Jeroschin likely believed the female violence from the captives transgressed their gender preconceptions.

Crusading Victory through the Education of Women

It was not only on the front lines of crusading that we find evidence of women acting, or being expected to act, in ways outside the feminine norm, to further the Christian cause. This is illustrated by Pierre Dubois (1255 – 1312) in his work *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. Unusually Dubois describes an education system composed of an equal number of schools for both boys and girls, continuing with:

To these schools should be admitted children of noble birth of either sex... All these children are to be instructed first in the Latin language, up to the point where they have a good, or at least fair, grasp of it. Afterwards some of them should be given more thorough training in the Greek language, others in Arabic, and so in the case of other literary idioms... Girls should be instructed in medicine and surgery, and the subjects necessary as a preliminary to this.⁷⁷

Subsequently, Dubois outlines an education system where women learn Latin grammar, alternative languages and medicine. In comparison, Hodgson states that contemporary aristocratic women would more usually be limited to education in practical arts for marriage.⁷⁸ The writings of Vincent of Beauvais (1190 - 1264) and Giles of Rome (1247 – 1316) support Hodgson's conclusion. Vincent, for example, in the *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, thought that women should be educated in the arts of sewing, weaving, good behaviours and intellectual matters (reading, writing, prayer and the study of Holy Scriptures).⁷⁹ Similarly, Giles only considers the occupations women should pursue, concluding with 'sewing, spinning and working with silk'.⁸⁰ Dubois, therefore, clearly sets out a more intellectual and challenging curriculum in comparison to his contemporaries. Dubois' plans regarding female education, however, are not evidence that he held a more enlightened view about women and their

⁷⁶ Jeroschin, N. V., & Fischer, M. (Trans) (2016). *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A history of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, 1190–1331 crusade texts in translation v. 20*. London: Routledge Ltd. Pp.258-9.

⁷⁷ Dubois, P. & Brandt, W, I. (Trans). (1956). *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp.117-8.

⁷⁸ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp.56.

⁷⁹ Orme, N. (1984). *From childhood to chivalry: The education of the English kings and aristocracy 1066-1530*. London: Methuen. Pp. 107.

⁸⁰ Ibid... Pp.107.

abilities. They were born of practical considerations. Dubois' work was composed after the fall of Acre (1291) as it became evident a frontal attack on the coast of Palestine would be certain failure.⁸¹ Therefore, Dubois' attention towards female education stemmed from his ideas for an overall mission for the recovery of the Holy Land, hence the name of his work. Dubois explains it thus:

With such training and knowledge of writing, these girls - namely, those of noble birth and others of exceptional skill who are attractive in face and figure - will be adopted as daughters and granddaughters by greater princes of their own countries, of the Holy Land, and of other land adjacent thereto. They will be so adorned at the expense of the said foundation that they will be taken for daughters of princes, and may then conveniently be married off to the greater princes, clergy, and other wealthy easterners. They must promise that when married to leading men or to those of other rank they will, during their lifetime if possible, repay to the said foundation the sum expended on them... Wives with such education, who held the articles of faith and the sacraments according to Roman usage, would teach their children and husbands to adhere to the Roman faith and to believe and sacrifice in accordance with it.⁸²

Hence, Dubois establishes the roles he wanted for women in the effort for an overall crusading victory. Christian noble women will be educated and married to Christian enemies under the guise of being Latin Eastern Royalty. Accordingly, these women, from inside the Christian enemy's household, will convert their husbands and teach their children the 'Roman faith' leading to inception and overall conversion of the Eastern Faiths. As Dubois exemplifies, 'little but little our faith might be made known among them'.⁸³ Dubois, likewise, suggests that women in a polygamy marriage would convert the other wives:

I have generally heard from merchants who frequent their lands, that the women of that sect would easily be strongly influenced towards our manner of life, so that each man would have only one wife.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Dubois believed the women's 'love of their native land' would result in them sending their own children to the institution that educated them and starting the cycle over again.⁸⁵ Dubois, consequently, establishes a significant role for women in both funding future crusades and helping to establish a Latin victory in the crusading regions, a development from

⁸¹ Dubois, P. & Brandt, W, I. (Trans). (1956). *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp.38.

⁸² Ibid... Pp.118-119.

⁸³ Ibid... Pp.124.

⁸⁴ Ibid... Pp.124.

⁸⁵ Ibid... Pp.119.

the perceptions two centuries ago that women were more 'a burden than a benefit'.⁸⁶ Under the dire circumstances of a failing crusade, Dubois devised a plan with women playing an essential and active role in a new crusading movement, a stark contrast to Urban II's original plan for the women and the crusades. Although Dubois's plan is unique, with no similar plan for crusading women found in known historical evidence, his proposals do illustrate how perceptions towards crusading women developed alongside the nature of crusading.

Conclusion

The crusades were clearly established to be a masculine military campaign, especially by the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Contemporaries perceived women as unable to take a formal role within the Christian armies, restricting their positions to auxiliary non-combatants during the crusades. At first appearance, the Islamic sources regarding women and the crusades would suggest that women could take a formal combative role within the Christian armies. However, as Helen Nicholson's research showed, Islamic sources were more likely to be a criticism of the Christian armies, than a true illustration of the role women had on the Crusades. Nevertheless, the nature of crusading undoubtedly resulted in some women taking a physical role in violence and combat. These women, furthermore, were not condemned by Christian writers but were in fact commended for finding strength in masculinity, faith and transcending their gender. As a result, the crusades enabled women, under limited circumstances, to take a combative or violent role, regardless of contemporary perceptions. In addition, as the West began to lose territories within the Latin East, contemporary perceptions were challenged and theories for the roles women could take in an overall victory, as weapons for the West, began to be established. However, the discussion towards crusading women combatants is not limited to this analysis. Using this chapter as a basis, it would be advised for further research into non-Christian combatants and women combatants on alternative crusading fronts. As the subsequent chapters show, the roles of women continue to develop, because of the crusades, to further support and benefit the crusading movement.

⁸⁶ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. in Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.42-45.

Chapter 2: The Papacy and Crusading Women in the Thirteenth Century

The principal instigators of crusading, the papacy, played a crucial part in shaping and developing the roles Christian crusaders undertook throughout the Middle Ages. An analysis of how perceptions of crusading women developed, and the ways women benefited the crusades, would be limited without including consideration of the papacy. The papacy defined crusading and consequently tried to define the roles women had within the movement. As subsequent chapters have shown, research into women crusaders has flourished in recent years with Constance M. Rousseau laying the foundation for much of the analysis of this chapter.⁸⁷ However, Rousseau's research, while valuable, primarily focuses on the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and there has been little scholarly consideration of this issue. Sources illustrating the papacy's attempts to control and influence the perceptions of crusading women, are scattered throughout a vast variety of translated and untranslated works. Therefore, this chapter's intention is to unite many of these limited historical sources, as well as the few academic surveys relating the papacy's influence over crusading women. Additionally, this chapter aims to investigate the papacy throughout the thirteenth century and the extent of its influence on the roles and perception of women crusaders. Accordingly, the research surrounding crusading women has been limited to the twelfth century as this was the period that involved large numbers of active crusading women traveling East. Therefore, a void has opened surrounding research into thirteenth century crusading women. However, it is important to consider women's involvement within the crusading of the thirteenth century, as the movement became more narrowly military and fewer women travelled East. This chapter, consequently, addresses the void in previous studies by examining the effects of the papacy on crusading women beyond Rousseau's study and analysing the historical evidence post-Innocent III (1198-1216).

To understand the ways papal pronouncements influenced the roles and perceptions of crusading women, analysis of the crusading movement before the thirteenth century must be outlined. This methodology enables comparisons to be made between the situation pre- and post-Innocent III, who was the most important influence on the formal roles women could undertake within the crusades. Next, developing upon Innocent III's impact on crusading women, an investigation into how Innocent III's teachings influenced later thinking on the roles crusading women should have in the later thirteenth century. Finally, a comparison of crusaders' wives through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrates the ways developments towards the perceptions of crusading women resulted in negative

⁸⁷ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 31- 44.

consequences, as, through Innocent III, wives lost the ability to restrict their husbands from crusading.

First Crusade perceptions on crusading women

To analyse how papal and contemporary perceptions towards female crusaders developed in the thirteenth-century, contemporary eleventh through twelfth-century perceptions must be established. First, the original calls for the First Crusade from Pope Urban II (1088-99) and his contemporaries, exhibit gendered language defining that crusading was represented as a male activity.⁸⁸ Urban's call is recorded through a variety of texts - Fulcher of Chartres, Balderic of Dol and Robert of Rheims are just a small selection examined here - and each of these works demonstrate male-gendered language, addressing their audience as 'brethren'.⁸⁹ However, the word 'brethren', in the context of these sources might be a gender neutral term and does not confirm the audience of the work. Therefore, each source must be analysed further to determine the audiences for the crusading call. Firstly, Fulcher of Chartres, writing after Urban's proclamation in 1100-6, noted that Urban II urged the 'sons of God' that there is 'still an important work for [them] to do'.⁹⁰ Secondly, Balderic of Dol, writing in 1108, that men should 'let neither property nor the alluring charms of [their] wives entice [them]'.⁹¹ Finally, Robert of Rheims wrote, before 1107, that 'women' and 'those least suited to arms' are 'more of a hindrance than a help, more of a burden than a benefit'.⁹² Fulcher of Chartres and Balderic of Dol address men specifically when calling for crusaders, therefore, highlighting the crusades as a male orientated activity in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, at least in theory. In addition, Robert of Rheims' statement, that crusading women were 'more of a burden than a benefit', is central to this analysis, with much of this work harking back to it. Moreover, suggesting that women are 'more of a burden than a benefit' illustrates Rheims' perception that the crusades was a military expedition and women would only serve to 'burden' it. Robert of Rheims highlights the contemporary perceptions of *fragilitas sexus*, women as the weaker sex, as discussed in the previous chapter.⁹³ Likewise, Robert suggested

⁸⁸ Ibid... pp. 31.

⁸⁹ Ibid... pp. 32.

⁹⁰ Ibid... pp. 33. Also see: Fulcher of Chartres. an. 'Gesta Dei per Francos, 1', pp. 382 f., Trans in Thatcher, O.J. & McNeal, E.H. (eds). (1905) *A Source Book for Medieval History*. New York: Scribnerspp. Pp. 513-17 <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.html> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016

⁹¹ Ibid... pp. 33. Also see: Balderic of Dol. Krey, A.C. (1921) *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*. Princeton. pp. 33-36 <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.html> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016

⁹² Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.42-45. Also see: Siberry, J. E. (1982). *Criticism of crusading, 1095-1274*. Oxford: Clarendon press. Pp. 44.

⁹³ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp.47. Also see: Lambert, S. 'Crusading or Spinning'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 2-3.

that, alongside women, the sick and the aged were also to be excluded from crusading.⁹⁴ Consequently, by grouping women alongside the sick and the aged, Robert illustrates his perceptions that women were too weak for crusading.

The gendering of language in Urban II's original call for the crusades cannot be established, as Fulcher of Chartres, Balderic of Dol and Robert of Rheims are all authors, while likely present at Urban's call, writing after his original speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Nevertheless, it can be safe to assume, as the previous chapter states, that because of Urban's aim for the crusade to be a military expedition, men were expected to be his primary audience. Rousseau, however, asserts that Urban, in giving the campaign a spiritual quality, appeared to call for an armed pilgrimage resulting in confusion between the traditionally male activity of armed warfare and the traditionally female inclusive devotional activity of a pilgrimage.⁹⁵ Further confusion from Urban's audience can appear in the form of potential inclusive language, as in Robert of Rheims' account Urban addressed his audience as the 'Race of the French'. In addition, Robert states that the Pope concedes that 'women [should not go] without their husbands or brothers official permission', demonstrating how some women might have perceived this as permission to travel East.⁹⁶ Therefore, despite the primary evidence suggesting the crusades were a male only activity, the realities of crusading saw wives of crusaders, such as Godehilde of Tosny, with her husband Baldwin of Boulogne, and Hadvide of Chinym with her husband Dodo of Cons-la-Grandvill, travelling on crusade.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that Urban II envisioned women having a role within his movement. Accordingly, Urban intended for warriors for a military expedition, as evidenced through his own writing in a letter to the crusaders in December 1095: 'devoted ourselves largely to urging the princes of the land and their subjects to free the churches of the East'.⁹⁸ From an examination of the historical evidence surrounding the call for the First Crusading, therefore, it is clear Pope Urban intended for an armed enterprise, in which women would only be a 'burden'. Consequently, any non-combatants who joined the crusade or perceived themselves as being addressed in Urban's call likely misconstrued his proclamation.

⁹⁴ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. pp. 44. Also see: Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 44-5.

⁹⁵ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' pp. 32. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 31- 44.

⁹⁶ Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', RHC Oc., III, pp. 727-30. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Also see: Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' pp. 35-6. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 31- 44.

⁹⁷ Riley-Smith, J. (1997). *The first crusaders, 1095-1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 208 & 210.

⁹⁸ Cited by Krey, A.C. (1921) *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*. Princeton. Pp. 42-43
<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.html#urban> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016

Twelfth-century perceptions towards crusading women

The twelfth-century continues the theme of the crusading being a masculine activity. Moreover, rhetoric surrounding the twelfth-century crusades actively condemned and prohibited women from participating not only in warfare but in the voyage. The Second Crusade illustrates that the intended audience for the crusade was masculine, Eugenius III (1145-53), as Rousseau observes, 'in his letter of 1 March 1146 to King Louis VIII and all the French Faithful' specifically makes mention how 'Pope Urban, sounded forth... to incite the sons of the Holy Roman Church...'.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Eugenius III reminded his audience how their 'fathers' had 'manfully captured' cities in the East.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, Eugenius III, following on from his predecessor, continued to use male-gendered language in his recruitment for the crusades. In addition, Eugenius III reiterated how the First Crusade was also perceived as masculine. Pope Gregory VIII's (1187) call for the Third Crusade, likewise, addressed the audience as 'sons', further solidifying that women crusaders were unwelcome within the crusades of the twelfth-century.¹⁰¹

By analysing twelfth-century sources unrelated to the papacy the contextualisation of contemporary views towards women crusaders is enhanced. Two main criticisms of crusading arose from the First Crusade that solidified the discouragement of crusading women. The first of these criticisms was the suffering caused on crusade, predominantly the suffering, caused by the siege of Antioch, which influenced leaders of the First Crusade, as Siberry notes, to reiterate 'that all non-combatants should remain at home'.¹⁰² The second criticism was the sinfulness of the crusading armies, particularly the lack of sexual purity. Sinfulness was continually discussed by the clergy who 'continually reminded the host of the connection between human sinfulness and a defeat'.¹⁰³ Therefore, the leaders of the crusades blamed women, who were viewed as characteristically sexual in nature, for any defeat of the crusading armies because of the sinfulness of adultery or lack of sexual purity within the camps.¹⁰⁴ Both the dangers of crusading and the belief that sexual sin caused the defeat of the crusaders are represented moreover, by Fulcher of Chartres during the siege of Antioch in the First Crusade:

⁹⁹ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 31- 44. Also See: 'Letter XLVIII of Pope Eugenius III to King Louis VII of France (1 December 1145)'. W.L. North W.L (Trans) from the edition of Migne J.-P. (1855). *Patrologia Latina* 180. Paris: cols. 1064-1066. https://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/mars/assets/Pope_Eugenius_III_to_Louis_VII_Letter_48_1_.pdf Date Accessed: 20/02/2017

¹⁰⁰ Ibid...

¹⁰¹ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 35.

¹⁰² Siberry, J. E. (1982). *Criticism of crusading, 1095-1274*. Oxford: Clarendon press. Pp. 44.

¹⁰³ Ibid... pp.45.

¹⁰⁴ Bradly, L. A. (1992). *Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148*. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.83.

13. We believed that these misfortunes befell the Franks, and that they were not able for so long a time to take the city because of their sins. Not only dissipation, but also avarice or pride or rapaciousness corrupted them. 14. After holding council, they drove out the women from the army, both married and unmarried, lest they, stained by the defilement of dissipation, displease the lord. Those women then found places to live in the neighbouring camps. 15. Both the rich and the poor were desolate from hunger as well as from the daily slaughtering....¹⁰⁵

Regardless of whether the women were married or single they were forced to roam a hostile environment in enemy territory.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, Fulcher highlights that 'both the rich and poor' would die from starvation or be slaughtered, illustrating how resources were limited within the crusading armies. Fulcher demonstrates that non-combatants, women included, would, therefore, have been a drain on the crusading armies' resources. To minimise any burden on resources and halt events whereby women are exiled from the camps and forced to suffer, leaders would be encouraged to limit the number of crusading women. Likewise, the rhetoric that women were the source of sinfulness and defeat in the crusader camps was mirrored into the Second Crusade. Contemporary Vincent of Prague proclaimed women as the source of the sin and immorality within the crusader camps, citing them as the cause of defeat during the Second Crusade.¹⁰⁷

Further attitudes towards crusading women are illustrated through queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122 – 1204), who William of Newburgh believed inspired other women to accompany their husbands on crusade, making their armies unchaste and undisciplined.¹⁰⁸ In March 1148 Louis VII (1120 – 1180) and his wife, Eleanor, arrived in Antioch, greeted by Raymond Prince of Antioch (1115 – 1149).¹⁰⁹ John of Salisbury, an observer, reports: 'The attentions paid by the prince to the queen, and his constant, indeed continuous, conversation with her, aroused the king's suspicions'.¹¹⁰ Although, as Bradly writes, Salisbury was 'not particularly sympathetic to Eleanor', his view towards Eleanor is moderate in comparison to later sources.¹¹¹ Furthermore, William of Tyre believed Raymond was plotting against Louis VII and was making him sensitive through Eleanor:

¹⁰⁵ Peters, E. (ed.) (1998). *The first crusade: The chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other source materials (2nd ed.)*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.72-3.

¹⁰⁶ Bradly, L. A. (1992). *Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.84.

¹⁰⁷ Holt, A. 'Between Warrior and Priest: The creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades'. In Thibodeaux, J. D. (ed.) (2010). *Negotiating clerical identities: Priests, monks and masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 196.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid... Pp.196.

¹⁰⁹ Bradly, L. A. (1992). *Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.98.

¹¹⁰ Ibid... Pp.98.

¹¹¹ Ibid... Pp.98. Also see: Evans, M. R. (2014). *Inventing Eleanor: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Image of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1st ed.)*. London: Bloomsbury. Pp.24

He resolved also to deprive him of his wife, either by force or by secret intrigue. The queen readily assented to this design, for she was a foolish woman. Her conduct before and after this time showed her to be, as we have said, far from circumspect. Contrary to her royal dignity, she disregarded her marriage vows and was unfaithful to her husband.¹¹²

However, these complaints towards Eleanor should not be accepted at face value. The explanations for the criticism towards Eleanor, firstly, originate from, as Evan notes, Eleanor seeking an annulment with Louis VII because of her eagerness to marry Henry II of England (1152-1189), thus threatening Louis' male authority in the marriage.¹¹³ Tyre, thereby, writing primarily for a French audience, would be critical towards Eleanor as he would be in support of her husband Louis VII.¹¹⁴ Secondly, Jean Flori, emphasises that the criticisms towards Eleanor are political, originating from Eleanor's disagreements with Louis VII on the conduct of the crusade.¹¹⁵ Consequently, illustrating that, as a crusading woman, Eleanor transgressed the accepted boundaries by critiquing her husband's crusade, opening herself up to criticism by contemporaries. Finally, Eleanor was portrayed as promiscuous in behaviour to credit her for the 'factionalism, treason and calamity', as Bradly states, found in the Second Crusade, like the women exiled from the camps in the First Crusade.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, regardless of how the criticisms towards Eleanor originated, Eleanor demonstrates potential perceptions towards crusading women as transgressing medieval boundaries and being promiscuous in behaviour. Ultimately, these actions would, as contemporaries believed, cause the crusades to fail.

Finally, contextualisation of the perceptions towards crusading women within the twelfth century will conclude with an extract from the *Itinerarium*, during the Third Crusade who wrote:

The enthusiasm for the new pilgrimage was such that already it was not a question of who had received the cross but of who had not yet done so. A great many men sent each other wool and distaff, hinting that if anyone failed to join the military undertaking they were only fit for women's work. Brides urged their husbands and

¹¹² Cited in: I Bradly, L. A. (1992). Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.98 -99.

¹¹³ Evans, M. R. (2014). *Inventing Eleanor: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Image of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1st ed.)*. London: Bloomsbury. Pp.27.

¹¹⁴ Ibid... Pp.24.

¹¹⁵ Cited by Ibid... Pp.28.

¹¹⁶ Bradly, L. A. (1992). Essential and Despised: Images of Women in the First and Second Crusades, 1095-1148. *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1956. Pp.100

mothers incited their sons to go, their only sorrow being that they were not able to set out with them because of the weakness of their sex.¹¹⁷

The *Itenerarium* here exhibits the running theme that crusading is primarily a male activity by stating the enthusiasm of men joining the campaign. On the other hand, in contrast to previously explored announcements of the crusade, the *Itenerarium* explicitly links the idea that men who do not participate in the crusade are 'only fit for women's work'. Therefore, expressing that women were expected to stay at home. Furthermore, as noted by Maier, women, within the *Itenerarium*, are barred from crusading 'on account of an alleged lack of bodily strength'.¹¹⁸ To conclude, the passage found in the *Itenerarium* demonstrates an end towards non-combatants having a role in the twelfth century crusading efforts. With the increase of a more professional military crusading movement, led now by kings, attempts to exclude women from crusading became deliberate and less subtle. Accordingly, women were explicitly recognised as unfit for the crusading effort 'because of the weakness of their sex' which would have made them a 'burden' to the crusades.

Pope Innocent III's influence on crusading women at the turn of the thirteenth-century

Developments in perceptions of crusading women began under Gregory VIII (1189) and his predecessor Clement III (1187-91) in the twelfth-century, they both ordered that 'all Christians' would 'observe a Lenten fast on Fridays and a special mass with intercessory and penitential psalms' to support the crusades.¹¹⁹ However, this analysis primarily focuses on Innocent III (1198-1216). Innocent is arguably the most significant Pope when assessing the most dramatic development in perceptions towards crusading women. Innocent III's development of perceptions towards crusading women is likely a result of his goal for the crusading movement, to generate the maximum number of people in supporting the crusade movement and streamlining the crusade. As evident through Innocent's summons to the Fifth Crusade in 1215 that punished those Christians from sailing their ship to the East: 'until four years are past; so that, in this way, greater means of transport may be prepared for those wishing to cross to aid the Holy Land'.¹²⁰ Although Rousseau focuses primarily on Innocent

¹¹⁷ 'The archbishop of Tyre announces the destruction of the Holy Land to the whole globe'. In Nicholson, H. J. (2001). *Chronicle of the third crusade: A translation of the itinerary peregrinorum et gesta regis ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Pp. 47-48.

¹¹⁸ Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.62.

¹¹⁹ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front, and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)'. pp. 34- 35. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 31- 44.

¹²⁰ Innocent III. 'Summons to A Crusade, 1215'. In Henderson, E.F. (trans) (1910). *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. London: George Bell and Sons. Pp. 337-344. <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/inn3-cdesummons.asp> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016. Also see: Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.73.

III's influence on female perceptions during the calling for the Fifth Crusade, explored later in this chapter, she does not discuss his early thirteenth-century influence. Moreover, evidence from Innocent III's earlier letters revolving around the crusades, twelve years before his call for the Fifth Crusade, mark a significant change in gendered language, in comparison to previously analysed papal pronouncements. Innocent III's letters at the turn of the century (1200-1201), as an example, veer away from male-gendered language and focus on more neutral terms, addressing its audience as 'all Christ's faithful'.¹²¹ Furthermore, in 1201, Innocent III issued a letter to the Archbishop and bishops 'of the realm of England' stating that 'Bishops are to urge their parishioners to take the cross or contribute according to their means'.¹²² By encouraging bishops to allow their 'parishioners', a gender-neutral term, to 'take the cross or contribute according to their means', Innocent is encouraging female participation and support of crusading. Moreover, women are encouraged to support and be a part of the crusading movement without physically being a part of the voyage. In addition, Innocent III addressing 'all Christ's faithful' suggests the Pope is addressing everyone for their support, women included. Innocent's earlier adjustments towards gender-neutral addressment of those who might support the crusades, evidence a gradual build up towards his *Quia maior* (1213) during the call for the Fifth Crusade.

Likewise, Innocent III's letter to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1200, evidences Innocent's plans for a more inclusive crusade. Walter, furthermore, asked Innocent III 'what... [was he] to do about those who took the cross to help the Holy Land and who, because of infirmity or poverty or some other good reason, could not usefully fulfil their vow of pilgrimage...'.¹²³ Innocent, moreover, replies to Walter:

But concerning women we think this ought to be observed: let those who do not wish to stay behind accompany their husbands if they are going; but others, unless they happen to be rich and able to take soldiers with them at their expense, should redeem the vows they have made, the rest being persuaded earnestly to provide for the help of the Holy Land according to their means.¹²⁴

On the one hand, Innocent III is recognising practises that had likely been going on unofficially within the twelfth century, for those who were previously unable to crusade, women included, to supporting the crusade 'according to their means'. Therefore, by providing 'help of the Holy

¹²¹ Innocent III. (January 4. 1200) 'Letter 180: To all Christ's faithful in the province of Canterbury'. In Cheney, C. R., & Cheney, M. G. (eds.) (1967). *The letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and wales: A calendar with an appendix of texts; ed. C.R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 31-32.

¹²² Innocent III. (May 5. 1201) 'Letter 318: To Archbps. And Bps. Of the realm of England...'. In Cheney, C. R., & Cheney, M. G. (eds.) (1967). *The letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and wales: A calendar with an appendix of texts; ed. C.R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 52.

¹²³ Innocent III. (1200). 'Letter of Innocent III to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, 1200'. In Bird, J. L., Peters, E., & Powell, J. M. (eds.) (2013). *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of acre, 1187-1291*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.47-50.

¹²⁴ Ibid... pp. 50.

Land according to their means' women could now support and have a formal role within the crusades with papal approval. On the other hand, female support for the crusading movement had never lacked in the previous century. Moreover, women had always supported the crusade through auxiliary roles, such as the woman who died making a ditch in the Third Crusade or women like Margaret of Beverley who went on pilgrimage to the east and, when it was necessary, fought to defend Jerusalem, both examined in the previous chapter.¹²⁵ Innocent, thus, highlights that crusading women were inevitable and previous efforts to discourage them had failed. Accordingly, Innocent attempts to streamline the roles of crusading women by offering those of lower status the ability to officially support the movement in the home front while encouraging women of nobility, who 'happen to be rich', to support the crusades by traveling East and taking 'soldiers with them'. By encouraging lower status women to support the crusades from home, consequently, Innocent appears to reiterate Robert of Rheims' perception that women are 'more of a burden than a benefit', at least in terms of women physically going on crusade. By encouraging women to stay at home, additionally, Innocent III is, again, attempting to better organise the crusade into a professional military operation. However, by supporting noble women traveling east with military aid, Innocent is recognising the benefits of higher status women.

Innocent, within his letter to Hubert Walter does establish a deviation in perceptions of the roles women could take, in comparison to previous perspectives on crusading women. Moreover, Innocent writes that women 'who do not wish to stay behind [can] accompany their husbands'. Innocent's statement, furthermore, is contradictory to previous criticisms towards the crusades, as has been analysed surrounding married women being exiled from the camps in the First Crusade. Nonetheless, Innocent's decision to allow wives to join their husbands appears to be a pragmatic approach to the issues of reluctant wives persuading their husbands to stay at home, cutting military recruitment.¹²⁶ Therefore, Innocent III's proclamation that wives could officially join their husbands on the crusade was likely an attempt to increase male recruitment. However, by giving papal approval for women to join their husbands on crusade, Innocent is officially permitting crusading wives to be a part of the movement.

Pope Innocent III's influence on crusading women during the Fifth Crusade

Nevertheless, Pope Innocent III's most influential challenge towards contemporary perspectives surrounding crusading women appears during the calls for the Fifth Crusade, in his *Quia maior*. Expanding upon his previous attempts to produce a streamlined and united

¹²⁵ Nicholson, H. J. (2001). *Chronicle of the third crusade: A translation of the itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Pp.106. Also see: MARGARET OF JERUSALEM/BEVERLEY AND THOMAS OF BEVERLEY/FROIDMONT, HER BROTHER, HER BIOGRAPHER. Source found at: <http://www.umilta.net/jerusalem.html> Date Accessed: 02/11/2016

¹²⁶ Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. pp.38-9.

crusade, Innocent's proclamation of the Fifth Crusade, the *Quia maior* (1213), notes 'at this time there is a more compelling urgency than there has ever been before to help the Holy Land'.¹²⁷ This 'urgency', moreover, appears to have pushed Innocent to reiterate his previous ideas that all Christians should have a place in the crusades. Accordingly, Innocent singled women out by dedicating a part of the *Quia maior* to the roles women should play within the crusading movement.

We are sure that, since we ought to put much more trust in divine mercy than in human power, we ought to fight in such a conflict not so much with physical arms as with spiritual ones. And so we decree and command that once a month there must be a general procession of men separately, and where it can be done, of women separately, praying with minds and bodies humbly disposed and with devout and fervent prayer, that merciful God will relieve us of this shameful disgrace by liberating from the hands of the pagans that land....¹²⁸

And every day during the celebration of mass, when the moment has come after the Kiss of Peace when the saving sacrifice is to be offered for the sins of the world or is about to be consumed, everyone, men and women alike, must humbly prostrate themselves on the ground and the psalm *Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance* should be sung loudly by the clergy. When this has been ended reverently with the verse, *Let God Arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face...*¹²⁹

Innocent enables women to have an official active role within the crusades through devotional activities. Women, moreover, were told to support the crusades through 'fervent prayer' rather than through 'physical arms'. However, like his earlier pronouncement, Innocent illustrates that contemporary perspectives on women being 'more of a burden than a benefit' have not changed. Furthermore, by offering women a spiritual role within the home front, Innocent trying to ensure the crusades in the East stay a purely male military activity. Therefore, Innocent's *Quia maior* continues his attempts to limit the active participation of crusading women, such as the women who 'carried water to' the soldiers at the Capture of Damietta.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, in trying to ensure women had no active role in physical crusading, Innocent developed new perspectives on crusading women, transforming them into spiritual crusaders. As noted by Megan McLaughlin, women involved in warfare, especially as an

¹²⁷ Tangl, G. (1929). 'Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.' Weimar. Pp. 88-97. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 118-124. Also see: Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)' In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 36.

¹²⁸ Tangl, G. (1929). 'Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.' Weimar. Pp. 88-97. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 118-124.

¹²⁹ Ibid... Pp. 118-124.

¹³⁰ Peters, E. (2012). *Christian society and the crusades, 1198-1229: Sources in translation, including ""The capture of Damietta"" by Oliver of Paderborn*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.115.

auxiliary role, was not unique to the crusades and a common part of the earlier Middle Ages.¹³¹ Therefore, the opportunity for women to fight in the crusades 'not so much with physical arms as with spiritual ones', was a role previously unavailable, officially, to women but nonetheless appealed to their existing devotional activities. In addition, the role as spiritual crusaders enabled women to identify with the role of crusader while fitting comfortably with previous perspectives of crusading women.¹³² Although men arguably could be offered the role as a spiritual crusader, they were unlikely to be the main target audience of Innocent's offer. Nevertheless, as Maier suggests, the primary aim for the 'individual crusader's efforts was the salvation of his or her soul'.¹³³ The *Quia maior*, moreover, offered women this ultimate reward by enabling them to have redemption for their sins without having to travel to the Holy Land. Discouraged from crusading to the Holy land in the previous century and barred from actively being a part of the crusading armies on the account of *fragilitas sexus*, the opportunity for remission from their sins would have being almost unattainable for many women.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, Innocent III's reformation of the crusading movement gave women the opportunity to redeem the cross:

Because in fact it would mean that aid to the Holy Land would be much impeded or delayed if before taking the cross each person had to be examined... we concede that anyone who wishes, except persons bound by religious profession, may take the cross in such a way that this vow may be commuted, redeemed or deferred...¹³⁵

Under Innocent III, thus, 'anyone', including women, had papal permission to 'take the cross' without the need of examination. Additionally, because of Innocent's plan to increase the source of income for the crusade, women were encouraged to give 'alms for the aid of the Holy Land'.¹³⁶ Clearly, offering women remission for their sins by giving alms was a ploy to impede crusading women travelling to the East, as they could obtain the ultimate reward from the West. Women, however, could now be active crusaders without having to challenge previous perceptions and without having to leave the West. Nevertheless, despite Innocent III's attempts to officially incorporate women into the crusades, concerns from contemporaries, such as William the Breton (1165 – 1225), arise: 'And they signed many

¹³¹ See McLaughlin, M. (1990). The woman warrior: Gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe. *Women's Studies*, 17(3-4), pp. 193-209. Also see: Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.63.

¹³² Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.77.

¹³³ Ibid... pp.70

¹³⁴ Ibid... pp.68.

¹³⁵ Pope Innocent III proclaims the Fifth Crusade (*Quia maior*), 19-29 April 1213. Source: Tangl, G. (1929). 'Studien zum Register Innocenz' III. Weimar. Pp. 88-97. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 118-124.

¹³⁶ Ibid... Pp. 118-124. Also See: Powell, J. M. (1994). *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.21

indiscriminately with the cross, children, old men, women, the lame, the blind, the deaf, lepers: thereby impeding the work of the cross rather than aiding the work of the Holy Land'.¹³⁷ William's concerns illustrate that, despite the attempts made by the *Quia maior* to offer women an alternative official role within the home front, many non-combatants, including women, were still attempting to take the Cross and travel East. Therefore, Innocent's attempts to restrict active crusading women clearly had limited success.

Innocent III's effects on the perceptions of crusading women

Theoretically Innocent III's reforms developed perceptions of crusading women by offering them an official place within the crusading movement while still segregating them from the masculine military efforts of crusading, giving them a role that did not transgress gender theology. However, to analyse whether Innocent's reforms solidified any developments to the perceptions of crusading women, it is important to assess the effects of Innocent's reforms. As noted by Maier, moreover, evidence surrounding the impact Innocent III had on women and crusading society is limited, which might suggest why there is inadequate historiography on the topic.¹³⁸ However, contemporary evidence relating to crusading women might highlight the impact Innocent III had on crusading women. For example, on the topic of crusading wives, a unique source comes from the will of Barzella Merxadrus made while camped at Damietta on 23 December 1219. Merxadrus was a male crusader from Bologna travelling with his wife.¹³⁹ Within the will he requested that:

His companions must not infringe on the rights of his aforesaid wife in the tent itself and to its furniture and she should enjoy them fully and peacefully as long as she is in the army, wherever she stays in the tent in the same way as she has stayed in it until now.¹⁴⁰

Written in 1219, after Innocent III gave permission for wives to join their husband on crusade, Merxadrus' will examples concerns that, after Merxadrus' death his wife would not be protected. Merxadrus, moreover, writes that his wife should enjoy their tent fully and peacefully 'the same way as she has stayed in it until now'. Therefore, Merxadrus illustrates that his wife had been living peacefully among the crusading camp while Merxadrus was writing his will, unlike the women who were expelled from the camp in the First Crusade. Furthermore, Merxadrus will suggests that without male protection, be it husband or male

¹³⁷ Röhricht, Reinhold. *Estimonia minora...* pp. 78-79. In Powell, J. M. (1994). *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.35.

¹³⁸ Maier, C. T. (2004). 'The roles of women in the crusade movement: A survey'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 30(1), pp.74.

¹³⁹ Riley-Smith, J. 'The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1096-1300'. In Riley-Smith, J. (2001). *The oxford illustrated history of the crusades*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. Pp. 66-67.

¹⁴⁰ 'Barzella Merxadrus makes his will in the camp at Damietta, 23 December 1219'. Source: Savioli, L.V. *Annali Bolgnesi* (Bassano, 1289) II, pt 2, pp. 419-20. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 174-5.

relative, a single woman would be vulnerable and unsafe on crusade. Without Merxadrus' specific request that his wife should be given full access to his tent, and the ability to stay in the army after his death, she might be vulnerable to the same criticisms and dangers as crusading women in the previous century, being exiled from the camp. Merxadrus, thus, examples that women could crusade but only with their husbands. Likewise evidencing Innocent III's concerns, women without male support would be vulnerable on crusade. Innocent III's successors, likewise, illustrate the ways Innocent's reforms developed perceptions of crusading women and their participation within the crusades. Upon Innocent's death, moreover, Honorius III (1216 - 1227) took on the mantle of the Fifth Crusade. Furthermore, Honorius continued with Innocent's policies, as evidenced by his letter of 22 April 1216 that 'specifically authorized the dispensation of vows of female crusaders (mulieribus cruce signatis)'.¹⁴¹ Similarly, the following letter on 24 November 1217 addresses the 'people (populo)', without differentiating by sex, following the examples of his predecessors.¹⁴² Additionally, it is evident that Innocent III set a tradition over the thirteenth-century to encourage the involvement of all Christians in the crusading movement, whether it was for unification or financial gain.¹⁴³ Innocent IV (1243 - 1254) continues addressing everyone when discussing the crusades, rather than just men. For example, in 1245 Innocent IV addresses 'all Christian faithful on the preparations for a crusade'.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Innocent IV 'granted women who remained at home the same indulgences as their husbands who fought in the East'.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Innocent IV, like Innocent III, continues to segregate women, now crusading wives, from the crusading movement while offering more opportunities for them to achieve remission from their sins. In addition, Innocent IV's move to grant women the same indulgences as their crusading husbands would likely encourage wives to persuade their husbands to join the crusade, increasing female support and activity within the movement. Gregory X (1271 - 1276), next, in 1274 wrote to Simon of Brie urging that 'all and every man and woman, of whatever rank... ([who happened] to be discovered to have taken up the sign of the cross, and afterwards not at all to have passed over the sea)

¹⁴¹ Description of the letter: Rousseau, C. M. 'Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221)'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. pp. 39. Also, Letter found: Pietro, p. (ed.) (1888). *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Volume 1). Romae: Ex Typographia Vaticana. Pp.93. <https://archive.org/details/RegestaHonoriiPapaelll> Date Accessed: 12/01/2017

¹⁴² Ibid... pp. 39. Also, letter found Pietro, p. (ed.) (1888). *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Volume 1). Romae: Ex Typographia Vaticana. Pp.149-150. <https://archive.org/details/RegestaHonoriiPapaelll> Date Accessed: 12/01/2017

¹⁴³ Evans, M.R. 'Commutation of Crusade Vows Some Examples from the English Midlands'. In Murray, A.V (ed.) (1998) *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*. Turnhout: Brepols. Pp.221.

¹⁴⁴ Innocentius IV 1245 after July 17. In Sayers, J.E. (1999). *Original papal documents in England and Wales from the accession of Pope Innocent III to the death of Pope Benedict XI (1198-1304)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Letter 285

¹⁴⁵ Description of source: Siberry, J. E. (1982). *Criticism of crusading, 1095-1274*. Oxford: Clarendon press. Pp. 46. Source: Innocent IV, no. 5980. Berger, E. (1897). *Les registres d'Innocent IV publiés ou analysés d'après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican et de la Bibliothèque nationale ser.2 no.1 v.3*. Paris: E. Thorin. Pp. 111. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015027256943;view=1up;seq=125> Date Accessed: 25/02/2017

should step forth to the consummation of the vow'.¹⁴⁶ In the same style as Gregory X, furthermore, Nicolaus IV (1288-1292), in his letter in 18 March 1291, addresses 'all Christian faithful...'.¹⁴⁷ In summary, Innocent III clearly had some impact on his successors and the perceptions of crusading women. Unlike the twelfth century, moreover, the thirteenth century crusading movement presents itself as inclusive to all, enabling women to have official roles within the movement. However, roles presented to women were likely attempts to discourage active crusading among females to produce a more masculine military campaign. Nevertheless, the thirteenth century women were offered official crusading roles to participate in the crusading movement home front, supporting the crusades, with papal approval. In addition, crusading women had potentially equal rights to remission from their sins as reward for their support.

But, despite papal attempts to discourage women from travelling East, women clearly continued to join the crusading movement by actively going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Benjamin Kedar, moreover, analyses the passengers of a crusading ship travelling East in 1250, the *St. Victor*, a date after both Innocent III and Innocent IV attempts to encourage women to crusade from home. Through Kedar's examination, furthermore, he determined these passengers were heading to Damietta and, thus, likely were crusaders joining Louis IX in his crusade, the Seventh Crusade.¹⁴⁸ Aboard the *St. Victor*, additionally, were 42 women, '9.3% of the total passengers' and '12.3% of the commoners'. In addition, as Kedar wrote, out of these women, 'Fifteen accompanied their husbands, one travelled with her father, two with their brothers' but 22 of the women had no male chaperones.¹⁴⁹ Women travelling both with male chaperones and alone, therefore, suggests that Papal attempts to influence perceptions on what crusading women were, a woman who supported the crusades from the West, had a limited effect. The very fact Innocent and his contemporaries continued to reiterate the western home front roles a woman could have in the crusade, illustrates that women in the thirteenth century continued to travel to the East. Regardless of Innocent III's and Innocent IV's attempts to discourage women from fulfilling their vows in the East, women not only continued to travel with their husbands on crusades, but it would appear they travelled alone without a male relative.

¹⁴⁶ Source seen in: Baldwin, P. B. (2014). *Pope Gregory X and the crusades (N - New ed.)*. Woodbridge: Boydell. Pp. 152-3

¹⁴⁷ Nicolaus IV 1291 March 18. Seen in: Sayers, J.E. (1999). *Original papal documents in England and Wales from the accession of Pope Innocent III to the death of Pope Benedict XI (1198-1304)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Letter 955

¹⁴⁸ Kedar, B. Z. (1972). 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade', *Studi Medievali*, 13(1). In Kedar, B.Z. (1993). *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries*. Hampshire: Variorum. Pp. 268.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*... Pp. 272.

Crusading wives and a loss in identity

However, Innocent III's attempts to streamline and produce a more organised crusade did not always have positive connotations for women. Crusading wives, for instance, lost, to some extent, their identity and rights under Innocent III. Perceptions of wives, and consequently crusading wives, furthermore, can be contextualised through Thomas of Chobham in his *Manual for Confessors* (c.1215). Moreover, Thomas presents the contemporary views that women are/should be persuasive towards their husbands: 'it should always be enjoined upon women to be preachers to their husbands'.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, Thomas suggests that wives have a powerful influence over their husbands.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, Ivo of Chartres' collection of canon law, compiled at a similar time to the First Crusade, goes further into detail over the perceptions of wives and the power they held. Ivo, for example, in his *Decretum*, cites passages stating that a married person might not make a binding vow which would deny sexual intercourse to their spouse, without consent.¹⁵² Crusading wives, thus, had the persuasive power, backed by Ivo, to deny their husband the right to crusade if the wife is left at home in the West, as she would be denied sexual intercourse. Additionally, the perceptions that husbands had to have had the permission from their wives to journey on the crusade is clearly visible during the earlier crusading movements. Urban II's speech, for example, to his partisans in Bologna in September 1096 states: 'You must also see to it that young married men do not rashly set out on such a long journey without the agreement of their wives'.¹⁵³ Therefore, Urban II recognises that married men must obtain permission from their wives for the First Crusade. In addition, the fact Urban insists on 'young married men' obtaining the permission from their wives would correspond with Ivo's perceptions that the spouse should not be denied sexual intercourse. In the eyes of the church, therefore, both men and women had equal rights to persuade their partner to not crusade. The established persuasive power and influence wives had over their husbands, furthermore, was clearly brought into service to restrict their husbands from crusading or there would have been no criticism towards crusading wives. Moreover, Caesar of Heisterbach, a contemporary, tells an anecdote where an Oliver Scholasticus told a woman, ill from labour: 'if you will agree... and permit your husband to fight for Christ, you will be freed from this imminent danger without pain'. The woman did so and gave birth 'almost without pain'.¹⁵⁴ The fact the wife could have denied her

¹⁵⁰ Thomas of Chobham. (1215). *Manual for confessors*. In Farmer, S. (1986). Persuasive voices: Clerical images of medieval wives. *Speculum*, 61(3), pp.517-518.

¹⁵¹ Farmer, S. (1986). Persuasive voices: Clerical images of medieval wives. *Speculum*, 61(3), pp.518.

¹⁵² Seen in: Brundage, J.A. (1967). The crusader's wife: A canonistic quandary. *Studia Gratiana*, 12. Pp. 430.

¹⁵³ Urban to his partisans in Bologna, 19 September 1096. Source: Hagenmeyer. *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*. Pp. 137-8. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.38-39.

¹⁵⁴ Powell, J. M. (1994). *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.61.

husband to crusade but did not and was rewarded for doing so, thus, demonstrates that women denying their husband the right to crusade was an issue of the time.

Innocent, moreover, clearly, as evident through his letters, understood and followed the perceptions that both parties in a marriage had to agree to something, such as a crusade, if it meant either one would be denied sexual intercourse. An example of Innocent's letter discussing the topic of sexual denial, moreover, is his letter to Ramón de Rocaberti, Archbishop of Tarragona, in which Innocent demands if either husband or wife did not want to promise continence, Rocaberti should compel them to be together under 'threat of excommunication'.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, during Innocent III's crusading reforms of the thirteenth-century, Innocent attempts to change perceptions towards wives and take their power, to deny their husband the right to crusade, away from them. Innocent III's attempts to change crusading wives' powers is evident in a letter to Conrad, dean of Speyer, on 9 September 1213:

And we consider that you ought to reply in the following way to those who want to take the sign of the cross although their wives are holding them back; you are doubtful whether you ought to prevent them from carrying out their intention. Since the heavenly king is greater than an earthly king and wives' objections cannot, in fact, prevent the departure of those called to the army of an earthly king, it is clear that those invited to and wanting to join the army of the highest king should not be prevented by this circumstance...¹⁵⁶

Therefore, in Innocent's attempts to increase recruitment for his crusade he removed the power for women to deny their husbands the ability to go on crusade. Consequently, to some extent, under Innocent III, women lost a part of their identity as Innocent developed upon the perceptions that wives could have power over their husband, enough to restrict them from crusading. In comparison, husbands were in no way given the same restrictions by Innocent to restrict their wives from crusading.

Conclusion

Clearly, crusading women were perceived as 'more a burden than a benefit' throughout the eleventh to thirteenth century. However, the crusading movements in the eleventh and twelfth century saw no place at all for women, establishing themselves as primarily a masculine movement. Innocent III, in addition, continued to perceive women as a 'burden' by developing roles and rules for them that attempted to confine them to the West and enable

¹⁵⁵ Innocent III, Pope. *Die Register Innocenz' III. 5: 5. Pontifikatsjahr, 1202/1203, Indices*. Ed. Andrea Sommerlechner with Christoph Egger and Herwig Weigl. Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994. No. 108, p. 174. Pennington, K. (trans). <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/source/innIII-marriagewomen.asp> Date Accessed: 01/11/2016

¹⁵⁶ Innocent to Conrad, dean of Speyer, 9 September 1213. Source: Innocent III, 'Opera Omnia', PL CCXVI, Cols. 904-905. In Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp.131-132.

a purely male military expedition. Innocent III, nevertheless, to enable his plan, developed upon perceptions of crusading women and openly approved of women campaigning for the crusades, if they stayed in the West. Moreover, Innocent offered women a unique opportunity to hold an official role within the crusades, as spiritual warriors and fund raisers, without having to physically travel as a part of the crusading armies, all while still receiving the same rewards as men. The official crusading roles offered to women, however, were Innocent's attempts to discourage active female crusading and to better organise the military movement. Furthermore, women had papal approval to travel on crusades themselves with their husbands. Likewise, Innocent's impact on the perceptions of crusading women undoubtedly affected his successors as Popes continued to support the notion of an official role for women in the crusades, within the West, into the thirteenth-century. Conversely, women, regardless of papal attempts to change perspective, continued to take an active role in crusading and join the armies on their travels to the East. Furthermore, in Innocent's attempts to increase recruitment for the crusades and streamline roles for men and women, he began to limit the power wives previously held over their husbands. As noted within this chapter, finally, the sources revolving around the papacy and women, to some extent, are limited. Therefore, Innocent III's successors and their influence on how crusading women were perceived should be further analysed in future studies.

Chapter 3: Crusading and the effects on Queenship in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries

Previous chapters clearly demonstrate the amount of available evidence illustrating how women benefited the crusades through their participation in active combat and developments to their roles through Papal policy. However, a void remains, within this thesis, surrounding the social aspects of women crusaders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In what ways, moreover, did women take an active, non-combatant, role within the crusades and did women benefit from the crusades? Without some analyses, furthermore, on the social aspects of crusading women through the contemporary world, a complete illustration of their position, and an image of the crusading world, cannot be established. Without the innovative work, moreover, of historians like Natasha Hodgson and Sylvia Schein, and their collections of sources illustrating female crusaders, much of this chapter would not have been possible. Consequently, this chapter aims to further the discussion on how and if crusading enabled contemporary women, outside of combat, to not only benefit the crusades but also themselves. The women in question will range from a variety of high status women in the West such as Blanche of Castile (1188-1252) and Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290) to the queenship of Melisende of Jerusalem (1105-1161) in the East. By establishing a wide range of locations and sources, furthermore, this chapter aims to display the far-reaching effects crusading had on women in many different countries and societies, rather than isolated incidents on the Eastern crusading front.

Accordingly, this chapter examines the top of the medieval hierarchy by analysing certain queens and their involvement in the crusades. The chapter develops three social aspects of crusading that benefited women of high status or allowed them to benefit the crusade. Firstly, the increase in power from being queen regent while the king is unavailable to rule because of the crusade. For example, Blanche of Castile, became regent on the death of her husband during his crusade. Secondly, the persuasive power of the Queen in promoting the crusade to her country and husband; Eleanor of Provence (1223-1291), for instance, and her fascination with crusading history. Finally, the ability for women to become physical crusaders and journey with their husbands to the Holy Land; namely, Margaret of Provence (1231-1270) and Eleanor of Castile (1241-1290).

Blanche of Castile

As regent of France, twice, Blanche of Castile is an iconic example of the ways the crusades impacted the position of queens in the middle ages. On 8 November 1226, while on the Albigensian Crusade, Blanche's husband, Louis VIII (1187-1226), died. Louis VIII consigned wardship of his son, Louis IX (1214-1270) and his Kingdom to his wife Blanche of Castile.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.77.

Female regency and leadership in France, as Hodgson notes, was not unusual. For example, Adela of Champagne (1140-1206), Phillip II's (1165-1223) mother, had held regency.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the crusades had previously resulted in Étienne-Henri, Count of Blois (1045-1102), electing his wife, Adela, countess of Blois (c. 1067-1137), to reign over his lands in his absence on the First Crusade.¹⁵⁹ As displayed, moreover, in a letter Étienne-Henri wrote during the Siege of Antioch instructing Adela to: 'Act well, order your land illustriously, and treat both your children and your men honourably, as befits you'.¹⁶⁰ In addition, as Kimberly A. LoPrete noted, the clerical chronicler of the 'Deeds of the lord of Amboise' acknowledged the countesses rule as he stated that Adela 'Ruled (*regebat*) the county of Blois'.¹⁶¹ Adela of Blois, therefore, demonstrates that women, from the eleventh century and the First Crusade, had opportunities to rule in the absence of their husbands and were acknowledged as the regents by their contemporaries. Blanche of Castile, nevertheless, is an exception to the previous female regencies as she was issued with lone regency over the entire Kingdom of France, making her powers almost absolute, a concept quite unique – lone regency over the entirety of the Kingdom of France was a role that surpassed even Adela of Blois's regency.¹⁶² At minimum, it might have been expected for Blanche to have held joint power with a prominent churchman.¹⁶³ Yet, William of Joinville, the archbishop of Reims, the traditional choice for regency or joint regency, had also died on his journey back from the crusades, before Louis VIII.¹⁶⁴ Despite the death of William, Louis VIII's conclusion to appoint Blanche as sole ward of his kingdom, as Lindy Grant notes, suggests confidence that she could handle the challenges of power.¹⁶⁵ Blanche had played an important role under her husband through supporting his English campaign in 1215 and her close guardianship and control over her children made her an obvious choice for wardship over the new king. Additionally, Blanche was thirty-five when she became queen, unlike her predecessors Isabelle of Hainault and Ingeborg of Denmark, who were about fourteen and twenty.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, as Miriam Shadis states, in-between her marriage and coronation, Blanche had already gained experience and proved her productiveness by supporting her husband's military efforts, maintaining the ties

¹⁵⁸ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 176.

¹⁵⁹ Huneycutt, L. (2004). 'Adela, countess of Blois (c. 1067–1137), princess'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-161>. Date Accessed: 27/5/2018. Also see: LoPrete. K.A. 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliance and Female Lorship'. In Evergates, T. (ed.) (1999). *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.20.

¹⁶⁰ Cited in: LoPrete. K.A. 'Adela of Blois: Familial Alliance and Female Lorship'. In Evergates, T. (ed.) (1999). *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.20.

¹⁶¹ Ibid... Pp.20.

¹⁶² Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.80.

¹⁶³ Ibid... Pp.80.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid... Pp.80

¹⁶⁵ Ibid... Pp.80.

¹⁶⁶ Shadis, M. 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 143 & Pp. 144-5.

to her family in Castile and filling out her primary role of producing royal heirs.¹⁶⁷ Regardless, the circumstantial events of the Albigensian Crusade had, thus, resulted in a sole female leader of France.

Jean de Joinville (1225-1317) describes in his chronicle how Blanche:

Came from Spain, had neither relation nor friends in the whole kingdom of France. Moreover, because the king was only a child, the queen, his mother, a foreigner, the barons made the Comte de Boulogne, who was the king's uncle, their chief...¹⁶⁸

Joinville, thus, illustrates a picture of Blanche being alone, opposed and rejected by the baronage of France. Joinville's description, likewise, was echoed by other contemporaries, for instance, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris.¹⁶⁹ The chronicle of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, likewise, suggests credence to Joinville's statement:

The following year, by the counsel of Pierre Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, and Hugh, the count of La Marche, discord arose between the king and the barons of France. And the barons maintained, in opposition to the king that the queen Blanche, his mother, should not govern so great a thing as the kingdom of France, and that it was not appropriate for a woman to do such a thing.¹⁷⁰

Thus, both Joinville and the chronicle of the Abbey of Saint-Denis claim that Blanche's rule was met with competition and negativity towards a female ruler. However, Grant notes how many magnates who 'proved particularly fractious' had already been so under Louis VIII.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Grant evidences that Blanche did have support from friends and relatives whom she could depend on: 'Bishop Guerin of Senlis..., Walter Cornut, archbishop of Sens..., the Clement Family, Bartholomew of Roye... Mathew of Montmorency... proved intensely loyal'.¹⁷² Viscount Hugh of Thouars, additionally, swore his loyalty to 'the king and the lady queen Blanche' swearing to serve 'the same to the lady queen with good faith to the keeping of her bail, until the lord king her son should reach adulthood'.¹⁷³ Joinville and the chronicle of the Abbey of Saint-Denis' image of a sole queen regent oppressed from all sides, therefore, is inaccurate. Blanche's rule had the support and recognition from many of her contemporaries regardless of her gender. In addition, Shadis, suggests that Joinville's illustration of Blanche was to emphasise the role of divine grace in Louis IX's achievements, likely resulting in

¹⁶⁷ Ibid... Pp. 143 & Pp. 144-5.

¹⁶⁸ Joinville. Shaw, M. R. B (Trans.). (1985). *Joinville & Villehardouin Chronicles of the Crusade*. New York: Dorset Press. Pp.182.

¹⁶⁹ Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.81.

¹⁷⁰ Cited by Shadis, M. 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 150.

¹⁷¹ Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.81.

¹⁷² Ibid... Pp.82.

¹⁷³ Shadis, M. 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 140.

Joinville's description of Blanche's position to appear dire to emphasise the remarkability that Blanche and Louis IX survived to become rulers.¹⁷⁴

Blanche's recognition as regent is further evidenced through her interactions with the foreign leaderships of Henry III, King of England (1207-1272) and Pope Gregory IX (1145-1241). Firstly, in 1229 and 1234, while attempting to make peace with Louis IX, Henry III sends two letters. The letters, however, are both addressed 'The king to his beloved relation Blanche, by the same grace illustrious queen of France'.¹⁷⁵ Consequently, both letters recognise Blanche as queen regent. Gregory IX, finally, in 1237 sends a letter addressed to 'B[lanche], the illustrious queen of France'. In addition, the letter describes Constantinople's need for support from the Greeks and asks Blanche for 'aid', offering her 'indulgence of sins' in return.¹⁷⁶ Gregory IX's letter, thus, illustrates the Pope had confidence that Blanche could and had the power to provide aid towards Constantinople. Furthermore, Tracy Hamilton's work on the *Bible moralise*, arguably evidences Blanche's own views on herself as a female leader. The manuscript displays, prominently, figures of Sainte Église, a female saint who Hamilton describes, in her expanded role, 'acts as queen who wields immense power over her subjects'. As Hamilton suggests, thus, as patron and reader of the manuscript Blanche must have had a close psychological relationship with the figure of Sainte Église, evidencing Blanche's own views on herself as a female leader.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the actions of Blanche of Castile illustrate the power and skills she had during her regency. At the beginning of Blanche's regency, moreover, she successfully passed a selection of treaties. The Treaty of Vendôme, firstly, ensured peace with Blanche's 'most persistent opponent, Pierre Mauclerc' by arranging the marriage between Pierre's daughter and Blanche's son Jean.¹⁷⁸ Next, Blanche married her daughter, Isabella, and her son, Alphonse, to the son and daughter of Hugh de Lusignan and Isabelle of Angoulême.¹⁷⁹ These treaties, thus, secured the realm for Blanche's son and appeased her strongest opponents.¹⁸⁰ It was in 1234, when Louis IX married Margaret of Provence, Blanche's first regency ended and her son became king.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ Ibid... Pp. 151.

¹⁷⁵ A letter from Henry III, King of England (1229) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/713.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017. Also see: A letter from Henry III, King of England (1234) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/720.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017

¹⁷⁶ A letter from Gregory IX, pope (10/30/1237) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/722.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017

¹⁷⁷ Hamilton, T.C. 'Queenship and Kinship in the French Bible moralise: the Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 176-208.

¹⁷⁸ Shadis, M. 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 140-1

¹⁷⁹ Ibid... Pp.141 Also see: Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.84-5.

¹⁸⁰ Shadis, M. 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument'. In Nolan, K (ed.) (2003). *Capetian Women*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 140-1

¹⁸¹ Ibid... Pp. 140.

Blanche of Castile entered a second regency when her son, Louis IX chose her to, once again, become regent during his crusade, the Seventh Crusade, in 1248.¹⁸² King Louis IX's decision to give his mother regency evidently demonstrates his approval with his mother's regency throughout his minority.¹⁸³ Unlike his father, Louis IX chose his mother over his wife, Margaret of Provence, to rule France in his absence, as Margaret had lacked the amount of experience Blanche had even before she entered her first regency. For a second time, therefore, the crusades resulted in a female regency in France. In addition, Blanche does not fail to demonstrate her abilities as a ruler. Furthermore, an iconic representation of Blanche's ability to rule, while Louis IX's crusade was underway, is seen in the 'Crusade of the Shepherds' in 1251 or *pastoreaux*, as they called themselves, an event not noted by Joinville.¹⁸⁴ The news of the loss of Louis' army, and the capture of Louis, in April of 1250, resulted in a group forming in 1251 by the poor of French society, run by a demagogue called the 'Master of Hungry'.¹⁸⁵ The 'Master of Hungry' claimed to have a letter from the Virgin Mary and declared that with his army of the poor the Holy Land would be delivered.¹⁸⁶ Blanche, at first, welcomed the group into Paris, likely with the idea to help her son's diminished forces in the East.¹⁸⁷ However, almost immediately, the group became an uncontrollable 'rabble' and began to steal from the city and attack churches. Although Blanche was slow in her response, potentially because she believed confronting them in Paris was unwise, she did wait for them to desert Paris for the countryside, there she dispatched her troops to confront them. 'The Master of Hungry', as Grant notes, 'was killed at Bourges'.¹⁸⁸ The crusade of the Shepherds, therefore, represents Blanche's ability to rule and handle difficult situations, while the King was on crusade. Furthermore, in the same year of 1251, upon Blanche's request to visit Pope Innocent IV (1195-1254), the Pope responds to Blanche, emphasising the dangers to her health and the importance of her to the state, while her son is crusading:

Since the safety of many depends on your life, your health must be preserved and cared for with all zeal as public, and for us it is so much more diligently to be avoided that we be the occasion of harm to you... We know it to be fruitful to the success of your kingdom that you are fortified with the strength of faith and ecclesiastical liberty, which rejoices to flourish especially under your favour.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² Ibid... Pp.140.

¹⁸³ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 176.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid... Pp.178.

¹⁸⁵ Tyerman, C. (2007). *God's War: A new history of the crusades*. London: Penguin. Pp.802-803.

¹⁸⁶ Riley-Smith, J. (2005). *The Crusades: A history* (2nd ed.). London: Continuum. Pp.206.

¹⁸⁷ Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.141.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid... Pp. 141-142.

¹⁸⁹ A letter from Innocent IV, pope (1251) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/735.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017

Thus, Innocent IV's letter continues a theme of Blanche's importance to the home front while her son is crusading. Therefore, due to the events caused by the crusading efforts of Blanche's husband and son, throughout both her first and second regency over France, recognised Blanche's experience and abilities, allowing a woman to have sole regency over the kingdom of France. Moreover, the recognition from her contemporaries in Blanche's correspondence with them, establishes she had the support of foreign male leadership, despite her lone regency. In addition, the crusading efforts of her son, Louis IX, would have undoubtedly been hindered without Blanche's regency, as evidenced by how royal authority in France collapsed with Blanche's death in 1252, resulting in Louis IX ending his crusade and returning to Europe.¹⁹⁰

Melisende of Jerusalem

Blanche, however, is far from being the only woman issued a leadership position because of crusading. Melisende of Jerusalem (1105–1161), moreover, became ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a direct result of crusading and the establishment of the Latin East. In addition, unlike Blanche who received sole power through her husband's death, Melisende received co-leadership through hereditary right and continued to reign into her son's majority.¹⁹¹ Scholarly work on Melisende, however, is already extensive with work from Bernard Hamilton and Margaret Tranovich going into depth on her backstory.¹⁹² Therefore, this chapter will be using Melisende in comparison to Blanche of Castile to determine how each queen challenged contemporary perspectives on female leadership. Nevertheless, a historiography of Melisende is still important to understand Melisende, how she gained power, her support from contemporaries and the power she wielded. Melisende was the eldest daughter of Baldwin II (1060–1131) who, upon having no sons, recognised her as heir to his kingdom, as evidenced through Melisende's name appearing alongside her father's in official documents.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Melisende witnessed a grant in March 1129 which the king had made to the Holy Sepulchre, and in the same period she styled herself in a Document '*filia regis et regni Jerosolimitani haeres*'.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, by having Melisende participate in official documents and have her name alongside his, Baldwin II could both train Melisende in the affairs of the kingdom and have her authority be respected.¹⁹⁵ Before he died, Baldwin II, had Melisende

¹⁹⁰ Grant, L. (2016). *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. Pp.144.

¹⁹¹ William Archbishop of Tyre, Babcock, E. A. (Tran.) & Krey, A.C. (Tran.) (1943). *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea. Volume Two*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 135.

¹⁹² Hamilton, B. (1978). Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190. *Studies in Church History*. 1. Pp.143-174. & Tranovich, M. (2011). *Melisende of Jerusalem: The world of a forgotten crusader queen*. London: East & West Publishing.

¹⁹³ Hamilton, B. (1978). Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190. *Studies in Church History*. 1. Pp.148.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid... Pp. 148-9.

¹⁹⁵ Tranovich, M. (2011). *Melisende of Jerusalem: The world of a forgotten crusader queen*. London: East & West Publishing. Pp.25.

crowned joint ruler alongside her husband, Fulk (1092-1143), and their son to ensure preservation of his bloodline, as Fulk may have passed the throne onto his own sons rather than Baldwin III, and to continue Melisende's involvement in the management of the kingdom.¹⁹⁶ Melisende, thus, evidences a unique example of a female heir being educated for the specific position of administrator of her father's Kingdom.

However, Fulk excluded Melisende from power against Baldwin II's will, demonstrating Baldwin's original fears. Melisende subsequently demonstrates her powers as she rallied up her supporters and, as Bernard Hamilton notes, 'made life so unpleasant for the king that he was forced to recognise that he could only continue to rule with her co-operation'.¹⁹⁷ Like Blanche, moreover, Melisende had a great deal of support despite being a woman. Melisende's support, in addition, can be explained through an account written by the contemporary Orderic Vitalis:

To begin with he (Fulk) acted without the foresight and shrewdness he should have shown, and changed governors and other dignitaries too quickly and thoughtlessly. As a new ruler he banished from the counsels the leading magnates who from the first had fought resolutely against the Turks and helped Godfrey and the two Baldwins to bring towns and fortresses under their rule... Consequently, great disaffection spread, and the stubbornness of the magnates was damnably roused against the man who changed officials so gauchely.¹⁹⁸

Orderic Vitalis demonstrates how the nobility resented Fulk as he attempted to replace the old Jerusalemite rulers, favouring Melisende who supported their powers and was born within the Latin East. Upon the death of Fulk, moreover, Melisende's powers grew exponentially as she was crowned on Christmas day 1143 alongside her thirteen-year-old son.¹⁹⁹ However, Melisende, unlike Blanche of Castile, did not resign her position as regent once her son became of majority age and by 1150 Melisende was beginning to 'issue documents, as Hamilton notes, in her own name without reference to Baldwin'.²⁰⁰ William of Tyre, furthermore, describes the rupture between Melisende and her son.

Influenced by the counsels of these advisors and others like them, the king determined to be crowned at Jerusalem on Easter day... By the advice of the counsellors just mentioned, however, he deferred the time which had been set for the ceremony in order that his mother should not be crowned with him. Then

¹⁹⁶ Ibid... Pp.28.

¹⁹⁷ Hamilton, B. (1978). *Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190. Studies in Church History*. 1. Pp.151.

¹⁹⁸ Cited by Tranovich, M. (2011). *Melisende of Jerusalem: The world of a forgotten crusader queen*. London: East & West Publishing. Pp.29.

¹⁹⁹ Hamilton, B. (1978). *Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190. Studies in Church History*. 1. Pp.152.

²⁰⁰ Ibid... Pp.152.

unexpectedly, on the following day, without summoning his mother he appeared in public, crowned with the laurel.²⁰¹

Baldwin went to his mother and demanded that she at once divide the kingdom with him and assign to him a portion of his ancestral heritage. After much deliberation on both sides, the inheritance was finally divided.²⁰²

The split between Melisende and her son resulted in a civil war among the settlers of the Latin East, resulting in Melisende allowing Baldwin III to rule as king.

'The queen was induced to be content with the city of Nablus and its territory and to resign Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, to the king'.²⁰³

Melisende, thus, lost her position as co-leader of Jerusalem because of support towards a male heir, her son. However, as the historical evidence above states, Melisende continued to control the territories of Nablus, illustrating that, even after she relinquished co-rulership she still had a leadership position in the East despite being a woman.

Comparing perspectives: Melisende and Blanche

The perspectives of and reactions to Melisende's leadership, especially in comparison to Blanche of Castile's, illustrates how each queen challenged previous perceptions of a female leader. Using Pauline Stafford's work, moreover, on eleventh century queens, both Melisende and Blanche demonstrate the ways they strayed from medieval gender norms and perspectives. To start, Melisende and Blanche received their status as queen regent through two very different processes, Melisende inherited her right to co-rule from her father while Blanche was given wardship over the kingdom through the death of her husband. Melisende, furthermore, validates Stafford's statement that contemporaries saw that 'blood can be sexless as well as gendered'.²⁰⁴ Moreover, women's claims to the throne 'may have differed from men's, as Stafford continues, being postponed or ranked lower, but as long as the throne passed by blood... it was difficult to extinguish them'.²⁰⁵ Melisende's inheritance of the crown, therefore, scarcely generated any opposition as she represented the bloodline of her father and the crusaders before him, as well as producing a male heir to succeed her. In fact, it was Melisende's blood relation to her father which helped generate support when Fulk, her husband, tried to seize the throne for himself. Further evidence of Melisende's support, even after her husband's death, is illustrated through Bernard of Clairvaux's letter:

With the king your husband dead and the young king not yet ready to bear the business of the kingdom... You must put your hand to strong things and show a

²⁰¹ William Archbishop of Tyre, Babcock, E. A. (Tran.) & Krey, A.C. (Tran.) (1943). *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea. Volume Two*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 205.

²⁰² Ibid... Pp.205.

²⁰³ Ibid... Pp.207.

²⁰⁴ Stafford, P. (2001). *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England (New ed.)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp.93.

²⁰⁵ Ibid... Pp. 92-3.

man in a woman, doing what is to be done in the spirit of counsel and fortitude. You must dispose all things so prudently and moderately that all who see them will think you a king rather than a queen from your acts, lest perhaps the people might say, "where is the king of Jerusalem?" "But I am not," you say, "capable of this. These are great things, beyond my strength and my knowledge. These are the deeds of men, while I am a woman, weak of body, unstable of heart, not prudent of counsel, not accustomed to affairs."²⁰⁶

Bernard, thus, recognises Melisende's position as an almost female king. However, Bernard encourages Melisende to use the strength in masculinity, stating she must 'show a man in a woman'. Therefore, like the women explored in previous chapters, for example Margaret of Beverley, to justify her rulership, Bernard encourages Melisende to use medieval performative notions of gender to surmount her weakness as a woman by taking on masculine qualities. If Melisende was to remain 'weak of body, unstable of heart, not prudent of counsel, not accustomed to affairs', the medieval perception of women, *fragilitas sexus*, she would have been unable to rule. William of Tyre's description of Melisende, likewise, expresses a similar rhetoric of Melisende finding strength in masculinity:

A woman of great wisdom who had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She has risen far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake important measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself in no wise inferior to them.²⁰⁷

William's description, accordingly, illustrates Melisende as a unique woman who rose 'far above the normal status of women'. She found strength in masculinity, moreover, emulating princes, and this justified her rulership over the Latin East.

Sarah Lambert discusses perspectives on Melisende as she highlights the translation differences between William of Tyre's work and the French translation of his work, made in the early thirteenth century. William's recording of the coronation of Baldwin III and Melisende reads:

On the day of the Lord's Nativity following, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1142, Baldwin was solemnly anointed, consecrated, and crowned, together with his mother, in the church of the Sepulchre of the lord.²⁰⁸

Nevertheless, Lambert notes that the French translation simply states:

²⁰⁶ A letter from Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot (1143-44) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/246.html> Date Accessed: 27th June 2017

²⁰⁷ William Archbishop of Tyre, Babcock, E. A. (Tran.) & Krey, A.C. (Tran.) (1943). *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea. Volume Two*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 139-40.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid...* Pp. 139.

'Baldwin III... was crowned on Christmas day... His mother wore the crown with him, because there was no queen as wife of this young king'.²⁰⁹

The translator has, thus, compared Melisende's role to that of a consort, standing in for the future wife of Baldwin III, and not as an equal co-leader.²¹⁰ Likewise, the annals of Roger de Hoveden almost completely edits out Melisende by not mentioning her name, referring to her only as the wife of Fulk and simply stating 'Baldwin succeeded his father Fulk in the kingdom, and was crowned'.²¹¹ While some commentators of Melisende, Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Tyre, clearly approved of her rule over the Latin East, justifying it by giving her masculine qualities, other medieval authors obviously did not approve of Melisende's rule. Moreover, Roger de Hoveden and the author of Tyre's translation, disagreed with Melisende's rulership, likely because she was a woman, to the point of discrediting her from history. Therefore, Stafford's claims that 'blood can be sexless' clearly has some limitations from the perspectives of contemporaries.

In comparison, Blanche had no blood claim herself to the throne of France thus she was never expected to expand her regency beyond her son's minority. Blanche, therefore, gains the support from her contemporaries through her motherly actions in support for her son. Motherhood, moreover, was a 'potent ideal' as Stafford explains.²¹² As an example, images of Queen Emma (985–1052), as Stafford writes, display her with her sons ruling together 'in a trinity of power which comes close to being compared with that of the Trinity itself'.²¹³ Orderic Vitalis (1075 – 1142), in addition, describes Queen Mathilda (1031 – 1083) as stating 'if my son Robert were dead and buried... and I could bring him back to life with my own blood, I would shed my lifeblood for him'.²¹⁴ Therefore, an aspect of motherhood was the care and concern for her children. Likewise, Blanche is illustrated in these aspects of motherhood. First, Blanche is described by many chroniclers as encouraging her son to renounce the Cross, which he took when he was ill:

Dearest son!... Bear in mind what a virtue it is, and how pleasing to God, to obey and fall in with the wishes of a mother. Stay here, and the Holy land will suffer not

²⁰⁹ Lambert. S. 'Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118-1228' In Duggan, A. J. (ed.) (1997). *Queens and Queenship in medieval Europe: Proceedings of a conference held at king's college London, April 1995*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. Pp. 157-8.

²¹⁰ Ibid... Pp. 158.

²¹¹ Hoveden, R.O. & Riley. H.T. (Tran.). (1853). *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*. London: H.G Bohn. Pp.317.

²¹² Stafford, P. (2001). *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England (New ed.)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp.76.

²¹³ Stafford, P. 'Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century'. In Duggan, A. J. (ed.) (1997). *Queens and Queenship in medieval Europe: Proceedings of a conference held at king's college London, April 1995*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. Pp. 5.

²¹⁴ Stafford, P. (2001). *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England (New ed.)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp.76.

detriment. An even more numerous military expedition could be sent there than that which would have accompanied your person.²¹⁵

Consequently, despite Blanche refusing to allow her son to go on crusade, an act explored in the last chapter to be viewed negatively, Blanche is illustrated, by Matthew of Paris, as a mother who is only concerned for her son. Additionally, Joinville emphasises Blanche's motherly status as he describes an event in which Blanche kisses 'a young German lad of eighteen' on 'the forehead, as a pure act of devotion, because she thought his own mother must often have kissed him there'.²¹⁶ Therefore, Blanche, as a motherly figure, falls in line with expected perceptions of the middle ages, enabling her to rule as guardianship of her son with little resistance. However, Melisende challenges these perceptions of motherhood. As has already been stated, Melisende refused to relinquish powers to her son once he became of majority age. William of Tyre, accordingly, discusses opinions of Baldwin III's supporters, who encouraged him to rebel for power against Melisende:

'it was shameful that he should be ruled by female judgement... 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'.²¹⁷

Hamilton notes that 'no complaint was made about the quality of the queen's government' and the divide came from the fact Baldwin sought independent rulership as king.²¹⁸ As Tyre states in favour of Melisende, to illustrate how Baldwin's supporters were wrong in their opinion and attempted to manipulate the king:

As long as her son was willing to be governed by her council, the people enjoyed a highly desirable state of tranquillity and the affairs of the realm moved on prosperously. But the more frivolous elements in the kingdom soon found that the queen's wise influence hindered their attempts to draw the king into their own pursuits.²¹⁹

Melisende was the heir to her father's kingdom and felt no need to relinquish power to her son, if she was a king there would have been no pressure for her to step aside for her son. Nonetheless, she was a woman and because she refused to give up the throne to her son, Melisende challenged contemporary views of mothership and divided the country into a civil war.

²¹⁵ Mathew, P. & Richard V. (ed. & Tran.) (1984). *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: monastic life in the thirteenth century*. Gloucester: Alan Sutton. Pp.131.

²¹⁶ Joinville. Shaw, M. R. B (Trans.). (1985). *Joinville & Villehardouin Chronicles of the Crusade*. New York: Dorset Press. Pp.187-188

²¹⁷ Cited by: Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 186.

²¹⁸ Hamilton, B. (1978). Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem 1100-1190. *Studies in Church History*. 1. Pp.152.

²¹⁹ William Archbishop of Tyre, Babcock, E. A. (Tran.) & Krey, A.C. (Tran.) (1943). *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea. Volume Two*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 140.

Melisende, however, as a woman, could not lead the Latin East as a warrior, thus, she designated Manasses to take supreme command of her army.²²⁰ Therefore, Baldwin fulfilled the position as a warrior leader and defeated his mother in the war. Nevertheless, as William of Tyre states, some nobility remained loyal to Melisende, over her son, in the Latin East:

'The few who adhered to her cause, however, preserved a strict loyalty. Among these were her son, Amaury, count of Jaffa...; Phillip of Nablus; and Rohard the Elder, with a few others whose names are unknown'.²²¹

These names, hence, illustrate that, despite Melisende's challenge of medieval perception, not relinquishing the throne to her son and not being able to command the Latin Eastern armies herself, she still had support from those around her, granted, not to the level of support she had against her husband Fulk.

Female inheritance, however, was not limited to queen Melisende, and was a common occurrence in the Latin East. As Sylvia Schein illustrates, moreover, the survival rate among girl-children born was higher in the Latin East than boys. A shorter lifespan among males (thirty to thirty-five years) resulted in, as Schien reiterates, a large number of 'female heiresses, girls or widows who either inherited fiefs or had to act as guardians for their young children', in comparison to the West.²²² The laws within the Latin East, additionally, encouraged female heiresses, stating that in the absence of male heirs, 'the eldest daughter should have the same rights as an eldest son'.²²³ Peter Edbury suggests, furthermore, that by giving daughters the same rights as sons it might have incited those from the West to migrate to the Latin East without fears of their fiefs leaving their bloodline.²²⁴ Therefore, it can be assessed that Melisende's position of heiress, after her father failed to produce a male heir, was not a position limited to the royalty of Jerusalem. In fact, Walter III of Beirut married Helena of Milly, the heiress to the lordship of Oultrejourdain and became lord of this lordship because of their marriage. After the death of his wife in 1168 and daughter in 1174, however, he lost Oultrejourdain to Helena's sister, Stephanie of Milly.²²⁵

The Three Queens in the West

Blanche of Castile was not the only significant Western female ruler of this time. Three other contemporary queens rose to have significant impacts on the crusades, providing evidence towards how women could play active roles within the crusade movement without fighting. Firstly, queen Blanche's daughter-in-law, Margaret of Provence, travelled East with her

²²⁰ Ibid... Pp. 204.

²²¹ Ibid... Pp. 206.

²²² Schein, S. 'Women in Medieval Colonial Society: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 141.

²²³ Ibid... Pp.144.

²²⁴ Edbury, P.W. (1977). 'Feudal Obligations in the Latin East'. *Byzantion*. 47. Pp.352-353.

²²⁵ Schein, S. 'Women in Medieval Colonial Society: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century'. In Lambert, S., & Edgington, S. B. (eds.) (2001). *Gendering the crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 146.

husband, Louis IX. Secondly, Margaret's sister, Eleanor of Provence, who stayed in the West with her husband, Henry III (1207 – 1272), demonstrated an interest in crusading while influencing others. Finally, Eleanor's daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile (1241 – 1290) who, like her predecessors, travelled East with her Husband, Edward (1239 – 1307), and continued her mother-in-law's interest in the crusading movement.

Margaret became a crusader when she accompanied Louis IX to the East. Nonetheless, Margaret was not the first woman, nor the first queen, to travel with her spouse on crusade. The twelfth-century saw women like Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122 – 1204) travel with her husband, Louis VII (1120 - 1180), on crusade.²²⁶ However, Margaret of Provence does signify a transition of perspectives towards crusading women from the twelfth to thirteenth century, specifically after the fact Innocent III gave papal permission for wives to join their husbands on crusade.²²⁷ On the one hand, as discussed in previous chapters, Eleanor of Aquitaine (and other twelfth-century women), received a great level of criticism from contemporaries when she joined her husband on crusade. For example, William of Newburgh (1136 – 1198) believed she inspired other women to join the crusades, resulting in unchaste and undisciplined Christian armies.²²⁸ On the other hand, Margaret is illustrated throughout Joinville's chronicle as a benefit towards Louis IX and his crusade. Firstly, when Louis IX is captured in 1250, Margaret takes on a key role in preparing the payments for Louis IX's release, as Louis IX states 'that he did not know whether or not the queen would consent, since, as his consort, she was mistress of her actions'.²²⁹ Secondly, the day after Margaret had given birth, she is credited for preventing the men from fleeing from Damietta:

The next day she had them all summoned to her bedside... 'Gentlemen, for God's sake, do not leave this city; for it must be plain to you that if we lose it the king and all those who have been taken captive with him would be lost as well. If this plea does not move you, at least take pity on the poor weak creature lying here, and wait till I am recovered.

They had answered: 'My lady, what can we do? We're dying of hunger in this city.'
The queen had told them that they need not leave for fear of starvation. 'For,' said

²²⁶ Hoveden, R.O. & Riley. H.T. (Tran.). (1853). *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*. London: H.G Bohn. Pp.252.

²²⁷ Bird, J. L., Peters, E., & Powell, J. M. (eds.) (2013). *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of acre, 1187-1291*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.47-50.

²²⁸ Holt, A. 'Between Warrior and Priest: The creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades'. Within: Thibodeaux, J. D. (ed.) (2010). *Negotiating clerical identities: Priests, monks and masculinity in the middle ages*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 196.

²²⁹ Joinville. Shaw, M. R. B (Trans.). (1985). *Joinville & Villehardouin Chronicles of the Crusade*. New York: Dorset Press. Pp.249-250.

she, 'I will order all the food in this city to be bought in my name, and from now on will keep you all at the king's expense.'²³⁰

Additionally, it's interesting to note how Margaret uses her weakness to her advantage to incite pity from the men. Finally, Joinville demonstrates Margaret's bravery as a crusading woman by telling how she asked an old knight that 'if the Saracens take this city, you will cut off my head before they can also take me'.²³¹ Although the evidence above suggests the ways women could benefit their husband's crusade, Natasha Hodgson questions the reliability of Joinville's perspectives of these events.²³² Conversely, regardless of the validity of Joinville's work, it does demonstrate the positive changes towards how thirteenth century crusading women were perceived in comparison towards twelfth century women. Margaret, nevertheless, unlike Eleanor, never showed authority over her husband and played a supportive role, rather than a leading one. In addition, chronicles, such as Joinville, are less likely to be critical of Margaret as she was the husband of Louis IX, a saint. Therefore, the individual actions of a female crusader could influence the perceptions of her regardless of perspectives on crusading women.

Eleanor of Provence, likewise, had an interest in and impact on the crusading movement. However, unlike her sister, Margaret, Eleanor did not travel East to become a crusader. Eleanor's husband, moreover, Henry III, took the Cross three times in his life - first in 1216, aged nine, then in 1250 and finally in 1271 aged 63 - but never travelled outside of the West to become a crusader.²³³ Nevertheless, Eleanor's inability to travel East with her husband does not make her any less important than her sister in analysing the ways women could hold personal goals of becoming a crusader as well as influencing the crusades on others. The Waverley chronicler, for example, states that, like Margaret, Eleanor took the Cross alongside her husband. Although the Waverley's chronicle is the only source to reference Eleanor taking the Cross, it, thus, illustrates her intention to become a crusader, comparable to her sister.²³⁴ Eleanor, nonetheless, demonstrates a wider interest in the crusade, as seen through the decoration of her own chambers, two of the Queen's Chambers were painted in war cycles.²³⁵

²³⁰ Ibid... Pp.263

²³¹ Ibid... Pp.262-3.

²³² Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 120.

²³³ Laura, J.W. (2013). 'Romance, Crusade, and the Orient in King Henry III of England's Royal Chambers'. *Viator*. 44(3). Pp. 177.

²³⁴ Howell, M. (2001). *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-century England*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp.59.

²³⁵ Engel, U. 'The Bayeux Tapestry and All That Images of War and Combat in the Arts of Medieval England'. In Korte, B. & Schneider, R. (Eds.). (2002) *War and the Cultural Construction of Identities in Britain*. New York: Rodopi. Pp. 81. 94 n.

Firstly, the story of Alexander, at her chambers in Clarendon and Nottingham, noted within the *Calendar of Liberated Rolls*.²³⁶

To the sheriff of Wilts. *Contrabreve*... to see that the queen's new chamber at Clarendon is finished before Whitsuntide, the money for the purpose to be obtained wherever possible... and the [fireplace] in Alexander's chamber to be repaired.²³⁷

'To the same. *Contrabreve* to paint the story of Alexander all about the queen's chamber at Nottingham, the cost to be credited by view'.²³⁸

Secondly, the Queen's Chamber at Westminster Palace was decorated with scenes from the *librum magnum*, as Roger de Sandford was asked to bring the book to Westminster Palace. The *librum magnum*, furthermore, borrowed by Eleanor herself, held the *Chanson d'Antioche* cycle poem that depicted the siege of Antioch of 1098.²³⁹ In addition, it was likely illuminated, 'as it was used by the King's painter, Edward of Westminster, as a model for painting the Queen's Chamber – thereafter called the "Antioch Chamber" in the records - with scenes from the manuscript'.²⁴⁰ Eleanor, additionally, had a great love for romances, such as the cycles displayed in the chambers and in the *Chanson d'Antioche*. Therefore, it is within reason that these paintings grew from her own personal crusading interests rather than Henry's.²⁴¹ Sibling rivalry, in addition, cannot be ignored as Eleanor was likely in correspondence with her sister Margaret while she was on crusade.²⁴²

However, the fact that Eleanor had war cycles painted in her chambers, with the Antioch Chamber directly linked to crusading, illustrates the sexual influence she had over Henry III, as the cycles were likely there to remind him of his obligations when taking the Cross.²⁴³ The idea that queens could use their influence over their husband to benefit the crusade was clearly recognised by Eleanor's contemporaries. Henry III himself sends a selection of letters from 1252-1260 asking Eleanor's sister, Margaret, to pressure Louis IX for peace to allow Henry III's crusade.

²³⁶ Steane, J. (1993). *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*. London: Routledge. Pp. 107. Also see: Laura, J.W. (2013). 'Romance, Crusade, and the Orient in King Henry III of England's Royal Chambers'. *Viator*. 44(3). Pp. 180.

²³⁷ (1937). *Calendar of the Liberated Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III. Vol.III. A.D. 1245-1251*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. Pp. 247.

²³⁸ (1959). *Calendar of the Liberated Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol.IV. 1251-1260*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Pp.18.

²³⁹ Tyerman, C. (1988). *England and the crusades 1095-1588*. London: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 117.

²⁴⁰ Laura, J.W. (2013). 'Romance, Crusade, and the Orient in King Henry III of England's Royal Chambers'. *Viator*. 44(3). Pp. 180. For Primary Document: (1970). *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. Preserved in the Public Record Office. A.D. 1247-1251*. London: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited. Pp.283.

²⁴¹ Howell, M. (2001). *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-century England*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp.60.

²⁴² *Ibid*... Pp.59-60.

²⁴³ *Ibid*... Pp.178. Also see: Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 116.

'and, if it please your lord the king of France to restore to us our lands which have been occupied by him and his predecessors, without doubt we could prepare our journey sooner'.²⁴⁴

'We seek and ask your sincerity attentively to apply to and press your aforesaid Lord (Louis IX), with the help of his prayers, through the support and aid of the highest Pontiff, to fulfil the vow of our crusade...'²⁴⁵

Nevertheless, while Eleanor's efforts to persuade Henry III to carry out his crusade failed, the effect she had over her daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile, and her son, Edward (1239 – 1307), potentially resulted in their own crusade.²⁴⁶ In many ways Eleanor of Castile had inherited traits from both Eleanor of Provence and Margaret of Provence. Eleanor, firstly, took the Cross alongside her husband, something that required a great deal of courage, like Margaret.²⁴⁷ As noted in the previous chapter, furthermore, both Eleanor and Margaret could have fulfilled their vows within the West in return for 'alms'.²⁴⁸ Additionally, Eleanor took an active role in helping to prepare for the expedition in France.²⁴⁹ Secondly, Eleanor, like her mother-in-law, held an interest in the East and crusading. Even after Eleanor returned to the West, moreover, she continued to buy luxury goods from Acre, the city she spent the most time in while on crusade.²⁵⁰ Bernard Hamilton, in addition, suggests that both Eleanor and Margaret of Provence could have told stories of their own experiences and interests to Eleanor of Castile, influencing Eleanor's interests and decision to take the Cross with her husband.²⁵¹ Therefore, it might be suggested that Eleanor and Margaret of Provence's roles within the crusading movement inspired the future crusading efforts of Eleanor of Castile. Finally, the perceptions of Eleanor as a crusader run parallel with the perceptions given to Margaret of Provence. Moreover, the most commonly recorded incident from Edward's crusade is the attempt on Edward's life at Acre on 17 June 1272.²⁵² The account, furthermore, seen in the

²⁴⁴ A letter from Henry III (1252, June 8). <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/537.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017.

²⁴⁵ A letter from Henry III, king of England (2/5/1260) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/868.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017. Also see: A letter from Henry III, king of England (02/05/1263) <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/544.html> Date Accessed: 24th May 2017.

²⁴⁶ Hodgson, N. R. (2007). *Women, crusading and the holy land in historical narrative*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer. Pp. 118.

²⁴⁷ Hamilton, B. 'Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement'. In Arbel, B. (ed.) (2012). *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*. London: Routledge. Pp.96.

²⁴⁸ Tangl, G. (1929). 'Studien zum Register Innocenz' III. Weimar. Pp. 88-97. In: Riley-Smith L. & Riley-Smith J. (1981). *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 118-124.

²⁴⁹ Parsons, J.C. (1995). *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-century England*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp. 28.

²⁵⁰ Hamilton, B. 'Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement'. In Arbel, B. (ed.) (2012). *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*. London: Routledge. Pp.103.

²⁵¹ Ibid... Pp.95-6.

²⁵² Parsons, J.C. (1995). *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-century England*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp. 29.

Historia Ecclesiastica, states that Edward was stabbed with a poisonous blade resulting in Eleanor:

A Spaniard and the Sister of the king of Castile, showed her husband great faithfulness; for with her tongue she licked his open wounds all the day, and sucked out the humour, and this by her virtue drew out all the poisonous material; whereby, when the scars of his wounds were formed, he felt himself fully cured.²⁵³

The reliability of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* story is questionable.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the story of Eleanor licking the wounds of her husband does help to further evidence how perceptions towards crusading women had developed since Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth-century. Eleanor, unlike Eleanor of Aquitaine, is, through this crusading story, represented as a selfless devoted wife.

Conclusion

The queens and women of high status explored throughout this chapter clearly benefited from the crusading movement. A female sole leadership over France and the Latin East was unheard of by medieval contemporaries, it would be expected at the very least a woman would hold joint rulership with a man. Nevertheless, the nature of crusading had resulted in two powerful female leaders, Blanche of Castile and Melisende of Jerusalem, of two powerful prominent states, France and the Latin East. Although separated by time and geography, these two women were remarkably similar: both given the role of wardship over their sons; both held in the highest esteem by their internal and foreign male contemporaries and both, ultimately, relinquished powers to their sons. However, despite these similarities, perceptions of Blanche and Melisende varied. While Blanche was upheld for confining herself to the gender expectations of a mother, protecting her son and resigning power to him when he was of age and married, Melisende's refusal to give full leadership to Baldwin III eventually led to negativity from those who supported her son and a civil war within the Latin East. Nevertheless, Blanche and Melisende were not the only queens to be affected by the crusades. The three queens of the West, Margaret of Provence, Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile, saw significant impact towards their lives and from the perceptions of their contemporaries. Both Margaret and Eleanor of Castile became crusader queens and supported their husbands in a variety of ways, resulting in contemporaries illustrating them as selfless devoted wives, a stark contrast from Eleanor of Aquitaine in the previous chapter. Eleanor of Provence, moreover, had a fascination in crusading that likely resulted in her persuading her son Edward and his wife, Eleanor of Castile, to become crusaders themselves. Nevertheless, this discussion of the effects crusading had on women of higher status is not limited by this chapter. It would be advised that future research should focus on the effects the crusades

²⁵³ Ibid... Pp.29-30.

²⁵⁴ Ibid... Pp.30.

had on queens outside of the Latin East and European home front. In addition, it would be fruitful to examine if crusading effected women in lower statuses the same way they effected the queens found within this chapter.

Conclusion

This thesis has established that the eleventh century perception of crusading women, as 'more of a burden rather than a benefit', developed throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, by developing upon previous historians' findings this paper has expanded the chronological and geographical boundaries of the study of crusading women to ascertain that the crusades played a significant role in the lives of eleventh to fourteenth century women not only in the Latin East but also in the Baltic Crusades and the 'home front' of Europe. In so doing it has presented some original analysis of primary sources not previously considered by historians taking a gendered approach to the crusades.

This paper has demonstrated that perceptions towards crusading women changed and developed throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Robert of Rheims may have perceived crusading women as 'more of a burden rather than a benefit' in the First Crusade but the historical reality was that, regardless of Robert's perception, women participated within the crusading movement and some played significant roles. The historical evidence, even while scattered, makes clear the existence of many different types of crusading women, from wives joining husbands on the pilgrimage to lone women, some participating in active combat. Significantly, as contemporaries handled the realities of women's involvement within the crusades, the primary material also makes clear that the opinions towards crusading women developed throughout the crusading period. The developments, however, in attitudes towards crusading women might have been efforts to streamline and eliminate the female presence in the crusading armies – for example, Innocent III's efforts to persuade women of lower status to remain in the home front. Nevertheless, it became easier to contribute officially towards the crusading effort, for women, as crusading moved into the twelfth century – as women were given a formal role as spiritual warriors by Innocent III. What is particularly remarkable is how the crusades shaped and developed roles women could hold in medieval society in general, roles previously unavailable to them.

However, crusading women continued to be excluded and discouraged from taking part in many aspects of crusading. While the original preaching of the First Crusade was perceived as a pilgrimage by some, a traditionally female inclusive devotional activity, the crusades were a military expedition, with the primary goal of the movement been the conquest of Jerusalem. It is apparent, therefore, that from the beginning of the crusading movement, crusading was perceived as a masculine activity, as warfare in general was undertaken by men. Contemporary writers, moreover, in their recollections of the preaching of the First Crusades, illustrate the use of male gendered language to recruit for the movement. Medieval women, on the other hand, were perceived as *fragilitas sexus*, weak in both body and mind, which excluded them from warfare and, in turn, the crusades. Subsequent crusades, likewise, continued to discourage crusading women. Rhetoric formed, moreover, that held women

responsible for crusading defeats as it was believed they brought sexual sinfulness to the crusading camps. In addition, the belief that women caused crusading defeats ultimately led to them being thrown out of camps and left to the dangers of the foreign lands alone. The leading figures of the crusades, consequently, maintained that women should be excluded from the voyage as to minimise defeat and avoid further suffering of women. Even Innocent III, who offered official roles for women within the crusading movement, devised roles that would encourage many women to stay in the home front of Europe. In short, it could be said that crusading women were, for the most part, perceived as a 'burden rather than a benefit' by contemporaries.

The analysis of the historical evidence above, however, revealed that despite the contemporary negative perceptions towards women's involvement in warfare, crusading women did participate in combat on the crusading fronts. Moreover, in some instances, authors celebrated crusading women combatants. Islamic sources from the Third Crusade described female warriors but these sources are questionable, likely being a criticism of the Christian armies rather than a true illustration of the role women held in combat. The Christian sources, however, demonstrate that some crusading women, due to the chaotic nature of crusading, undoubtedly had experience of physical combat and violence. These primary materials originated from both the Latin East – such as Thomas of Beverley's description of his sister Margaret in the siege of Jerusalem – and the Baltic Crusade – notably Peter Von Dusburg and Henry of Livonia chronicles. A comparison of the evidence demonstrates that, when called for, women could find strength in faith and in adopting masculine traits to participate in combat to defend themselves, even killing enemies of the crusaders. Clearly, although women could only transgress medieval perceptions of combat under dire situations and had no official military roles, some women did fight. In addition, these crusading women were sometimes commended for fighting by the authors of their stories because it enabled them to shame and emasculate the enemies of the crusades, who were defeated by women. Furthermore, as the Holy Land started to fall in the later Thirteenth Century, ideas revolving around women as a benefit and weapon to the movement began to develop. Women, for example, were a lynch pin in Pierre Dubois' plan for an ultimate crusading victory, as he suggested using women to infiltrate Islamic families. Although Dubois' plan never came to fruition, it demonstrates how the necessity for crusading victory shaped opinions towards women.

Nonetheless, developments in the perceptions of crusading women are not limited to women who were in the arenas of combat. The perceptions and roles of women in the home front also developed because of the crusades. Innocent III, out of necessity to streamline and recruit more manpower, developed upon previous perspectives of crusading women and began to offer to them official roles to participate within the movement. Thirteenth century crusading women were given official papal permission to join their husbands on the crusading

effort, whereas before they would have been discouraged. Support for thirteenth century crusader wives - such as Margaret of Provence and Eleanor of Castile - help to illustrate the development from the negative criticism observed towards twelfth century crusading women - for instance, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Furthermore, Innocent III offered full redemption for women's sins, the ultimate crusading reward, by supporting the crusading effort through monetary alms or by playing the role of a spiritual warrior in the home front. On the one hand, these efforts by Innocent III to offer women official crusading roles were attempts to limit women from traveling East and could be considered as a reflection of Robert of Rheims' perception that women were a 'burden' to the crusades. On the other hand, women, for the first time, could hold an official role within the crusades and benefit the movement through financing and generating support for any future crusade, all while receiving the same spiritual reward as the male fighters. This development in perspective, that women could 'benefit' the crusading movement through support in the home front, clearly had an impact on later papacy and ideology as Innocent III's successors continued building upon Innocent's work.

Likewise, the crusades had a profound effect on the roles and opportunities women could obtain in medieval society. Examples throughout the historical documents illustrate women - like Queen Melisende of Jerusalem and Blanche of Castile - receiving sole female regency of their state, offered to them because of the crusades. Additionally, both women received support from their contemporaries and full recognition of their power. However, the roles women could obtain from the crusades had their limitations or could negatively affect the position of women. Melisende, firstly, was overthrown in a civil war by her son. Blanche, secondly, could only maintain her status as queen regent while her son was a minor or when her son was absent on his crusade. Finally, Innocent III, to increase recruitment, limited the power wives could hold over their husbands regarding restricting them from crusading. In short, the crusades opened unique opportunities and roles for women, but it could equally restrict and negate these roles.

By examining three crusading fronts - the Latin East, the Baltic and the Western home front - this thesis has illustrated that there is a large selection of historical evidence available to researchers that demonstrates a development from First Crusade perceptions towards crusading women. It has shown that regardless of rhetoric from contemporaries which attempted to discourage crusading women, denouncing them as 'more of a burden rather than a benefit', twelfth century crusading women could benefit the crusades through: economic means with monetary alms; support the crusades officially as spiritual warriors in the home front and travel with male escorts, or even alone, without the criticisms of the previous century. Additionally, this thesis has demonstrated that the crusades allowed women to challenge medieval ideology that would exclude them from certain roles in warfare and society, as the historical evidence highlights women fighting within the crusades and taking on sole leadership of entire countries. Consequently, this study operates as an example

towards the importance of examining the experiences of crusading women outside of the Latin East. If historians are to advance the study into the crusading experiences of women they need to adopt the understanding that the crusades were widespread throughout Europe and the near East, affecting aspects of medieval society in almost every country.

One area, therefore, that warrants further research is the perceptions towards crusading women and the roles they experienced in crusades outside of the Latin East and Western Europe. The crusading efforts in the Iberian Peninsula, for example, could produce previously unstudied evidence to help further research on crusading women. The crusades in the Baltic, even while examined in this thesis, is rich with primary material, often illustrating the hardships of women, that has yet to be fully examined by historians. In addition, research towards non-Christian women's experiences of crusading would be fruitful for any academic seeking to enter unexplored territory. Finally, as noted in the introduction, the crusades span a vast period of history and while this thesis limits itself to the crusading periods of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, there has been no specialised study of crusading women after the collapse of the Holy Land. With the crusades becoming a live issue again in the fifteenth century, due to rise of the Ottomans, women continued to play a role in the crusades. There has, thus, been no dedicated large study into crusading women in this later crusading effort. Nevertheless, even without the above studies, the perceptions and roles of crusading women clearly developed throughout the crusading period.

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