

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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This is to certify that we the
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final oral examination for the degree of

Master of Arts

We recommend that the degree of

Master of Arts

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Helen Moonan for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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WOMEN IN POLITICS IN LATIN SYRIA.

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

by

HELEN MOONAN.

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS.

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MS. v. Bd. Wolfm.

"My liege lady, generally, quoth he
Woman desiren to have soveraintee."

Chaucer:

The Wife of Bath in the
Canterbury Tales.

INTRODUCTION. *

In certain epochs of history, time seems to have forsaken his slow, measured pace and hastened along the corridors of the world with quick, staccato tread. Colorful ages of picturesque and incisive action have resulted. Such a period occurred in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, and marked the establishment and development of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This kingdom, founded as a result of the first crusade, was essentially feudal in character.

Feudalism, the characteristic institution of the Middle Ages, had its defects, but assuredly inactivity was not one of them. On the contrary, its constant warfare, punctuated by peaceful lulls devoted to martial preparation, demanded vigorous and energetic leadership. In consequence, this continual combat and rapid movement of events produced a peculiar state in feudal society. Its men, pursuing war with an amazing singleness of devotion, were too absorbed to give much time to the practical affairs of life - the mechanics of living. War, ever primitive and elemental, made the feudal man little more than the unlearned, yet trained,

* The Introduction is based on:

- 1) William of Tyre, "History of Jerusalem".
- 2) Stevenson, "Crusaders in the East".
- 3) Archer Kingsford, "The Crusades".
- 4) Garreau, "L'etat Social De La France au Temps Des Croisades."
- 5) Esmein, "Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit française."
- 6) Direct reference to W.T. Russell "Recueil des Historiens des Occidentaux", I, When there was a difference of opinion in the secondary sources. Also Ordenius Vitalis, "Ecclesiastical History", Volumes I-V.

warrior. Evidence there is that he left the care of the feudal home to the feudal woman. His frequent absences therefrom made it necessary for some competent person to rule the household, to instill respect and maintain order among the retainers and serfs. There is every indication that it was the feudal woman who took charge of these duties. Yet this relegation to her of the management of affairs came merely as a result of the circumstance of feudal warfare - the unusual condition of feudal society. For woman's place in the twelfth century was ostensibly subordinate. Custom via the feudal law of masculinity denied her nominal control or command of fiefs. It was only man's preoccupation with his chief duty under feudal regime that gave into her hands supervision of the ordinary affairs of life. Circumstances opened the way to opportunity for her. Did capability, sophistication, intelligence, even a certain masculinity follow and become characteristic in the feudal woman? Did she use the opportunity thus given to enlarge her sphere of influence? Did she in the abnormal extension of that opportunity, such as occurred in the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, seize her chance to secure command of the kingdoms? It is not a far step from the rule of households to the command of kingdoms, for kingdoms are but complicated households. This thesis, in its discussion of the lives of four women of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, will endeavor to supply an answer to these questions. First, however, something of the story of that kingdom must be told. A feudal kingdom, fragily constructed, loosely held together, and in a constant state of war - what were the

specific factors in it that engaged the attention of its warriors and left a field of manifold opportunity open to the women?

When the crusaders came to the East they brought with them Western feudal customs and systems of government. But since the country which they held was frontier land, greater freedom in existing institutions was bound to result. In many respects, life in the Latin kingdom can be likened to the frontier life of Western America. Both offered the prize of the frontier - equal chance for advance. The Crusaders were men of adventure, comparable to that vanguard of hunters and trappers who first lived on our Western frontier. In place of Indian conflict, the Latins had constant battle with the Turks to maintain their precarious hold on Asia Minor. Both frontiers were fields of vigorous, decisive action. Here, however, the analogy ceases, for our American pioneers grappled with Nature - their ultimate friend - while the Crusaders met an effete and sophisticated Eastern civilization to whose enervating power they fell prey.

The position of women in the kingdom was very similar to that which they held in the West, i.e., to them was intrusted the care of the home and its business, the management of the fief and the control of the retainers. Yet in order to understand the greater opportunity which was opened to them in the kingdom, three forces which engrossed the Latin Crusaders must be fully discussed. For if Latin women enjoyed great lib-

erty of action and were deeply interested in the control of the kingdom, it was probably due mainly to these three factors which wholly engrossed the attention of their fathers, husbands, and brothers: namely, the hostility of the Greek Empire, the ever present menace of the Turkish reconquest of the land, and the imperative necessity of securing aid from the West. Another element which must be included in this discussion is the weakness of masculine power in the later years of the kingdom.

Of the three factors which held the attention of men of the Latin kingdom, the hostility of the Greek Empire was of least importance. Aimed principally at Antioch, the Northern fief of the kingdom, it dated from Boemund's refutation of the claims of Alexius. The first great indication of such enmity came in the early years of the kingdom and did little harm, since Tancred in the East and Boemund in the West forced on the Emperor a dual battle front. In 1144, however, it was the pre-occupation of Raymond and Joscelyn with the Greeks that left Edessa exposed to attack and contributed seriously to its downfall. After this the menace of Greek hostility gradually diminished and was overshadowed by the greater cloud of Moslem attack. Later Baldwin III and Amalric, through marriage alliance, brought about the apparent friendship. The significance of this trouble with the Eastern Empire in giving opportunity to women is the fact that it held the attention of the Latin men and turned their minds away from domestic affairs.

Another interest of the Crusaders of Jerusalem was the necessity of gaining aid from the West. This interest touched the women as well, for such aid was very often secured through marriage alliance. Early crusaders heeded this need more than later ones. In 1105, Boemund, released from captivity, went to the West to secure fresh assistance. In 1130, Baldwin arranged a marriage alliance between his daughter, Milisende, and Fulk of Anjou because of the latter's influential connections in the West. Three or four years later, Fulk did the same for Constance of Antioch and brought Raymond of Poitiers into the Kingdom. In 1147-1148 the treatment of the second crusaders in their attempt at Ascalon alienated and disgusted a West that was rapidly becoming interested in the growing spirit of change and unrest within its own borders. In this regard, it is not perhaps too daring to state here that this lack of interest shown by the West after 1145 materially hastened the downfall of the kingdom. At all events, whatever "Western policy" the leaders of the kingdom pursued, it was a factor that engrossed their attention. Another interesting aspect of this Western aid and one that throws clearer light on the position of women is that when these men from the West were brought into the kingdom, it was from the women that they acquired their knowledge of the East. With the men, ever in the field of war, to the women of the kingdom would fall the task of welcoming the Westerners and enlightening and informing them of the conditions in the kingdom. Was she capable of performing this duty which circumstance thus brought to her?

The most engrossing fear of the Crusaders and one which demanded their almost undivided attention, thought, and action, was of course the designs of the Turks. The chief responsibility for maintaining all the Latin East fell chiefly on the men of Jerusalem. Even before the fall of Hessa, Jerusalem was the bulwark of defence against Turkish attack, and from the earliest days of the kingdom, chief control and authority radiated from it. The rapid conquest of the first Crusade may be accounted for as well by the disunion in the Moslem ranks as by the bravery of the Christian soldiers. The definite Moslem reaction to this conquest began in the years 1110-1113, yet from before that early time until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the direct competent action of capable men of the kingdom was needed to meet this attack. Moslem reconquest may be summed up in three names: Zenghi, Nurédin, Saladin, and the policy of "separatism" inaugurated in the kingdom by Fulk (1131-1143) did much to make the path of the conquerer easy.

The weakness of masculine power in the kingdom, as another factor in opening the field of opportunity to women, must be considered. Such weakness has probably been over-rated. It did exist to a certain extent, but it was not so much a matter of weakness as of misguided policy. Later kings of Jerusalem beginning with Fulk and continuing through the reigns of Baldwin III, Amalric I, and Baldwin IV, neglected the danger in the North and concentrated their efforts on Egypt. Guy, it is true, was weak and incompetent as was Raymond, the guardian of Baldwin V. Such weakness and misdirected effort was undoubtedly an aid

to the designs of an individual seeking power. Whether or not the Latin women used this weakness to further their own desires I will attempt to show in my discussion of the careers of the four women with whom this thesis deals.

Thus I return to my first statement: that action is the keynote of a feudal kingdom. The brief sketch given above would indicate that it was a necessity in the feudal kingdom of the East. Engrossed in these external difficulties, actual rule would tend to become of secondary importance to the men. Feudalism in the West, as has been intimated, thrust affairs of home and business into the hands of the women. There was no reason for change in the Latin kingdom which was merely an outpost of Western civilization. In fact, there was greater opportunity for the power of women, since the kingdom offered men more fascinating adventure and colorful action than would be found in the feudal West. Inevitably the question arises: Did the women of the kingdom, accustomed as they were to the management of household and fief, desire larger fields to govern and so become interested in the rule? In addition to answering the above questions, this thesis will endeavor to answer certain other queries which always arise in a study of personality: Were these women merely prominent as a result of natural conditions or were they characters who would have stood out despite all obstacles? Can we see in their unquestioned right of succession a different interpretation of feudal custom in Jerusalem or was it the result of their own strength and influence? Was the significant power of these women one of

the major causes of the downfall of the kingdom or merely of minor influence? What was their true historical position?

CHAPTER I.

Milisende of Jerusalem.*
(1103?- 1161)

An interesting side-light on the position held by women in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem is found in the statement of a contemporary, Osama, ¹ an Arabian prince living in Damascus, who evidently had no patience with the amazing liberty allowed their wives by the crusading husbands. He writes: "They know not what honor means nor jealousy either. If they walk abroad with their wives and meet another man, they let him take their wives aside to talk, and stand aloof till the conversation be done. If the lady prolong it overmuch, her spouse walks off and leaves her alone with her friend." ² This statement must be discounted somewhat since it is made by one who held Oriental standards for the treatment of women. Still it is indicative of the fact that great freedom was allowed the wives and daughters of the Crusaders - the women of the Latin kingdom. Freedom inevitably brings desire for power, and so we turn first to the queen, Milisende, one of the greatest examples in the kingdom of this liberty and its resultant wish for command.

* The chief sources for her life are:

- 1) William of Tyre, "Historia".
 - 2) Ordericus Vitalis, "Ecclesiastical Historiae".
 - 3) Scattered references to "Chronicles" in "Monumenta Germania and Bouquet." and also in
 - 4) "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules de la France".
 - 5) "Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux".
- 1) Osama, 1095-1188, Prince of Sheyzar.
 - 2) Osama. Memoirs. Pages 30-31 in Lane-Poole, "Saladin".

Milisende was the daughter of Baldwin of Burg and Morfia, an Armenian princess. Her father "conspicuous in faith and skilled in military affairs",³ participated in the first Crusade under the leadership of Godfrey. He⁴ had taken command at Edessa when Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, had succeeded to the kingdom of Jerusalem. While yet a count, he married Morfia, the daughter of a Melitinan leader, "who was Armenian in nation, language, and custom, but in faith a Greek."⁵ So we have in Milisende an admixture of Frankish and Armenian nationalities, colored perhaps by Greek sympathy. Baldwin and Morphia had three daughters born at Edessa, the oldest of whom was Milisende, and a fourth later born in Jerusalem after Baldwin was crowned king. Milisende was born probably in the year 1103. No direct reference to her can be found in the accounts of the years 1103-1118,⁶ the end of Baldwin's rule at Edessa, but from a knowledge of events, we can form an interesting picture of her life during this period.

Her early girlhood witnessed the capture of her father by the Turks and the war between Antioch and Edessa. Later, in the years 1112 and 1114 came Maqduq's siege of Edessa and Baldwin's dealings with the Armenians. Rather an exciting array of events as a background for childhood and one that undeniably left an indelible impress on Milisende's mind. Undoubtedly, too, she knew something of the Turks, their mode of life, method of

3) William of Tyre, Book XV, "Recueil des Historiens des Occidentaux", I, p. 511. Ibid: Vol. III, The Gesta.

4) William of Tyre, Ibid. Book XII, Rec. I, p. 437.

5) Wm of Tyre. Book XII, Rec. I, p. 437. The Chronology of W.T. gives 1102 as the date of Baldwin's marriage.

6) Recueil III, Fulcher, Book XII. p. 441.

warfare, and treatment of captives. For unless Baldwin was very different from the ordinary father, he probably recounted time and time again, the story of his captivity and life among the Turks. Our imaginations can easily paint the picture of Milisende and her sisters, gathered together in some turret of the castle of Edessa listening, wide-eyed and eager, to his story of the Turks. It is safe to assume, at all events, that when Milisende left Edessa in 1118 at the age of fifteen or sixteen, she was fairly conversant with the situation in the North.

⁷ When Baldwin was elected to the kingdom of Jerusalem he continued the attack upon Egypt initiated by his predecessor and also began attacks on Damascus, another Turkish stronghold in the kingdom. Soon recalled to the North, he was again captured, this time in the siege of Akkar. Eustace, the regent of Jerusalem during his captivity, defeated an Egyptian fleet at Jaffa and was active about Jerusalem. Thus we note that Milisende's life, though changed in environment from Edessa to Jerusalem, still held the characteristic note of action. Her father, on his release in 1124, was concerned with Antioch, of which land he was regent, and in 1124 Milisende's sister Alice was married to Balmund, the son of the crusading leader, to whose care Antioch was intrusted. Through Milisende, as the oldest daughter, was to go the succession of the kingdom. Thus far had the Latins travelled from the days of the first Crusade, when Godfrey, their chosen head, refused to take the title of

7) W.T., Rec. I, Book XII.

King; Now that title could be secured through marriage with the king's daughter. Only thirty years had elapsed but life on the frontier moves fast.

The next step ⁸ in Milisende's career that her biographers note, after her birth, is her marriage to Fulk, Count of Anjou. No description of Milisende's appearance at this time can be found, but from pictures given of her father, Baldwin II, and of her son, Baldwin III, we can construct a probable likeness. Baldwin II is described as "conspicuous in form, tall in stature, and attractive in face." ⁹ Baldwin III is portrayed, as "resembling his mother, having moderately prominent eyes of medium size and lustre, with much hair not entirely brown, and corpulent." ¹⁰ Since we know from Milisende's later career that she possessed the conspicuous energy and military skill of Baldwin, her father, it is interesting to think of her as resembling him in physical appearance. Joining to this image, thus conjured, the avowed resemblance to her of Baldwin III, her son, we visualize her, a rather large, attractive, brown-haired woman, queenly and dignified. Thus we have a concrete figure to which we may affix the endeavors and work of this industrious queen.

Milisende's marriage ¹¹ in 1129 was primarily a marriage of convenience. Here appears the factor of the kingdom's dependence upon the West for aid. Fulk of Anjou, ruddy, stocky, and of medium height, had been married before, had gone through

8) W.T., Bk.XIII, Rec.I, p.594. Fulcher Hogenmeyer XLIV, n.6. Annales Monastice, II. p. 273. Rolls series.

9) W.T., Rec. des Historiens des Occidentaux, I, XII, p.516.

10) Ibid: p.704.

11) W.T., XIII, Rec. I, 595.

the disaster and battles of the first crusade, and was in all probability not a figure to fascinate a young woman. Yet he possessed influential connections in the West who could be depended on for aid and support. Milisende, cognizant in all probability, of this need of the kingdom, understood the value of such a marriage. She seemed not to have been consulted in the matter of her marriage at all, yet there is no evidence of protest against it on her part. King Baldwin "troubled concerning the succession after much deliberation, by the advice of the leaders and with the favor of the people" ¹² united with the populace in the agreement that his daughter and Fulk should marry. What the chronicler did not say was that Fulk was chosen because of the aid he could command in the West to strengthen the kingdom. There is nothing of romance in the rather cold arrangement of this marriage, so that if Milisende were guilty of the later indiscretion ¹³ of which she is accused, her apologists may find certain justification of her in this commercial and calculated marriage arrangement.

Fulk in character was "affable, faithful, benign, and merciful". ¹⁴ The chronicler significantly makes no mention of his extreme capability and efficiency. Yet before his death in 1131, Baldwin, looking upon him as a very dear son, gave to him the care of the kingdom, and the commission of its business. During this time Fulk is described as "devotedly full of fil-

12) W.T., Bk. XIV, Recueil I, p. 504. "Ex Chronus Gaufridi" Bouquet XII, p. 410. "Orderici vilâlis", Bk. III, p. 577.

13) W.T., Bk. XIV, Recueil I, p. 608.

14) Ibid.

ial duty". Thus we may conclude that Milisende's husband, though not possessing the glamour and thrill of youth, had the substantial enduring qualities that acted as the complement of her own ambitions and daring. At the same time, it may have been this extreme goodness of King Fulk that impelled Milisende to the course which lies away from duty. However that may have been, King Baldwin died in September 1131,¹⁵ and in October of the same year King Fulk and Queen Milisende were consecrated and crowned.

Queen Milisende¹⁶ was the mother of two kings, Baldwin III, born in the year 1130, and Amalric I, born in the year 1136. Immediately after his succession, Fulk, though he led an expedition against Aleppo and aided Pons of Tripoli at Paris, was mainly concerned with the problem of Antioch, where the desires of Alice were causing trouble. Evidence¹⁷ there is that Milisende succeeded in persuading Fulk to abstain from interference in Antioch after his arrangement of the marriage of Constance and Raymond. Thus through her aid, Alice secured control of that state for two years at least. This fact argues that Milisende held considerable influence over her husband and condemns her as the instigator of Fulk's policy of "separatism". Undoubtedly Milisende was deeply interested in public affairs, more than likely she knew the situation in the kingdom more intimately than Fulk and thus she became in the years 1131-1143 the power behind the throne. Fulk's character, stolid to the point of dullness, would not be a difficult one for a subtle

15) W.T., XIV, Recueil I, p. 608. There seems to be some confusion about the date of Baldwin's death. It is given variously as 1130-31-32. Fulcher gives 1132.

16) W.T. states that when Fulk died in 1143, Baldwin was

woman to manage, and Milisende's later career shows her to have possessed qualities of this sort.

Two other events in this part of Milisende's life give clues to her many-sided character. The first, ¹⁸ the episode of her amour with the count of Jaffa, does not redound to her glory and credit, but her founding ¹⁹ of the monastery at Bethany is an enduring testimony of her religious zeal.

In its possession of defamers of character in common parlance gossips, the age of Queen Milisende was like all other ages in the history of the world. At various times in her life, Milisende unhappily suffered from the sting of malicious tongues and the venom of the Lady Rumor. Whether or not the love affair between Milisende and Hugh was a fact cannot be fully established. There were dissenting opinions. Some ²⁰ of her court and people inclined toward her completely, while others said that the rumors smirching Milisende's name were initiated by those who hated Hugh's arrogant and presumptuous presence in the kingdom. In any event, the whole affair engrossed the king and his court at a time when their energies might have been better spent in combat with the Turks, or in strengthening the somewhat weakened defenses of their kingdom.

Hugh of Jappa, ²¹ the son of a seignier of Puzzet, had married a niece of Arnulf and was one of the wealthiest princes in the kingdom. He is described as "slender, pleasing in form.

thirteen and Amalric was seven years old.

17) W.T., Book XIV, Rec. I, p. 631.

18) W.T., Book XIV, Rec. I, p. 628.

19) Ibid: p. 699.

20) Ibid: p. 628.

21) W.T., Bk. XIV, Rec. I, p. 628. A secondary account is given by Archer Kingsford in "The Crusades".

delightful to the sight of all and one to whom nature had yielded gifts of liberal plentitude".²² Doubtless he possessed much of the fascination of the adventurer, and Milisende, contrasting his easy, agreeable nature with the good qualities of King Fulk, probably made the judgment ever made in such cases and yielded to High's fascination. Rumors²³ and stories of such attractions went round the court and were finally brought to the ears of King Fulk by a certain Roardus. Then around Milisende's head bitterness raged and somehow we obtain the impression that she rather enjoyed being a storm center. King Fulk, learning the above rumor, "burned with marital jealousy and undertook great hatred towards him (High)." ²⁴ This hatred, precipitating altercation, resulted in High's promise to remain outside the kingdom for three years. High went to Sicily, and here was overtaken by an immature death, thus never returning to the kingdom. "From this day forward, whatever counts were in the kingdom, spies and inventors of the Queen seemed to scatter infamy while the greatest grief for the expelled count lacerated her heart." ²⁵ At last the King was appeased however, and he "was as devoted to his wife as before he had been embittered". Thus the affair was settled. As to the truth of the accusations, the King's immediate rage seems to indicate that Milisende was not above suspicion, as does her own grief at High's expulsion. At any rate, Milisende's attitude, viewing the attractive High from the confines of a placid marriage ordered for policy's sake, has certain justifications.

22) W.T., Bk. XIV, Rec. I, p. 628.

23) Ibid.

24) Ibid: p. 628.

25) W.T., Bk. XIV, Rec. I, p. 633.

At the conclusion of this domestic intrigue, Fulk could once more turn his attention to external war. In 1136 too, affairs at Antioch reached a settlement and came under the control of Raymond, the husband of Constance. Fulk was now concerned with the victoriously advancing Zenghi who had besieged Home and Barin and in 1134 entered Ba'albark. During these years of his life, Fulk was ever the active fuedal king, and when in 1139 he completed an alliance with Damascus he seemed content with the situation in Balestine. As events proved, it rested on a fancied security. At this period, we find that the king clearly depended on the counsel and advice of Milisende who evidently accompanied him on many expéditions and journeys. The Queen, from her early life in Edessa and Jerusalem and preëminently the daughter of her illustrious and competent father, understood the situation in the Latin Kingdom far better than her husband. It is on one of these expéditions "when the queen, together with the king delayed in the state of Accon, that Fulk met his death through accident".²⁶ Milisende, ever capricious, had gone outside of the city for recreation at a certain place "irrigated by fountains."²⁷ To this place the King, "that he might not lack the solacing company of the queen"²⁸ advanced and here met his death. Queen Milisende's intense grief at her husband's death leads to the belief that between them there had been a complete obliteration of earlier distrust and a resultant firm and deep affection. The circumstance of King Fulk's death, his dependence on the company of Milisende, his yielding to her

26) W.T., Book XV, Rec. I, p. 700.

27) Ibid: p. 701.

28) Ibid.

whim and desire, contribute to the belief that she was the guiding force of his rule.

Before we turn to a discussion of Milisende's actual rule and the difficulties into which it lead her, another phase of this capable queen's activities must be revealed. Though Milisende did not possess the ecstatic fervor of intense religion, she had a practical and rather business-like religious nature. Her foundation²⁹ of the monastery at Bethany and the commutations and privileges she accorded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its churchmen all indicate a respect and helpful interest in established religion. The date of the establishment of the monastery at Bethany was the year 1143.³⁰ When the kingdom was tranquil (though events of the next year indicate that it was a false tranquillity) this "queen of pious remembrance"³¹ decided to found a monastery of sacred virgins if a suitable place for it could be found. In her action in this regard, Milisende's pride of family and love for her younger sister are maturing factors. Her intention in establishing this monastery was to give its leadership to her youngest sister who had entered religious life. For "it seemed unworthy to her (Milisende) that the daughter of a King, as though one of the people, should be subject to any mother."³² Her other reasons for the foundation of this monastery were the ordinary religious ones, such as the care of her own and her parent's souls and the safety of her husband and children.

29) W.T., Rec. I, p. 699. "Ex Chronico Albeinzi", Bouquet XIII, Chronologie p. 698-701.

30) W.T. gives it 1143, "Ex Chronico" as 1144, W.T./as 1144.

31) W.T., Rec. I, p. 699. 32) Ibid: p. 699.

The Queen's genius for detail is clearly shown in this project of hers, as is also her diplomacy, In the erection of the monastery she deliberated long over the choosing of a suitable place, finally selecting Bethany, a site not far from Jerusalem. Here, seemingly under her personal supervision, a tower was constructed and a place prepared for the culture of religion. After this was accomplished, Milisende, showing her business sagacity (the result of the feudal woman's duties) placed in charge not her younger sister, but a woman "proved in religion and the possessor of many churchly things".³³ Thus she made secure the successful initiation of her venture. When this matron had died, and the institution was in good running order, Milisende, "with the consent of the Patriarch³⁴ and the convent of Holy Sisters, placed her sister in charge."³⁵ This queen³⁶ did not belong to the class of those who enthusiastically begin a work and then neglect it, but throughout her whole life, she contributed in a material way to the progress of the monastery, donating books and other gifts and ever keeping it under her royal protection.

Another aspect of Milisende's religious nature took the form of commutations and privileges to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was the custom of the rulers of the time however, and is not especially significant. In the Cartulaires³⁷ of this Church we find three such graciously given by the Queen.

33) Ibid.

34) Fulcher.

35) W.T., Rec I, 700.

36) W.T., Rec. I, p. 700. Bouquet XIII, pp. 698-701.

37) Cartulaire de Sainte Sepulchre; Migne Patrologie, v. 155, pp. 1130-1131.

In one she confirms a privilege accorded by her husband, in another she remits the calumny against a certain villa, and in a third confirms a privilege made regarding Vuetmoomel, Dersobeb, and Corteis. These, all drawn up in a certain form, obviously give little of the personality of the Queen except to exhibit her regard for established religion which was the national as well as natural characteristic of an individual in the Middle Ages.

King Fulk ³⁸ died in the year 1143, as I have stated, leaving Milisende with the care of two children and the command of the kingdom. Examining Milisende's character, we cannot but believe that she welcomed the responsibility even while she sorrowed over her husband's death. Baldwin III ³⁹ was immediately consecrated and crowned with his mother, and during his minority Milisende ruled. At this time Milisende is described as "a most prudent woman, having full experience in secular affairs, a woman who had so fully conquered the condition of feminine sex that she sent forth bands and strove to rival the magnificence of the best leaders, following the study of them with no inferior step. For she ruled the kingdom with such great zeal and cared for it with such great moderation that she was deservedly said to equal her forbears in this respect." ⁴⁰ When we pause to think that the above characterization was written by a man, and in an age when the position of women was essentially subordinate even discounting somewhat for William of Tyre's picturesque exaggeration, we cannot but regard Milisende as a remarkable personality.

38) W.T., Bk.XV, Rec. I, p. 701. Rec.V, p. 516-517.

39) Et com matre coronatus est. Rec.I, W.T., p. 707. (No sources offer any conflict on this statement.)

40) W.T., Rec. I, pp. 707-708.

Almost immediately on her ascension to power, Joscelyn of Edessa sent a frantic appeal for aid, and Milisende dispatched troops to him with all haste. Though her forces were too late to save the city, they were probably a factor in stopping Moslem advance. After his conquest of Edessa however, Zenghi made no further noticeable inroads into Christian territory, and his death came in 1146. Nuredin, his successor, spent his time consolidating his domain and building up a strong power with the definite aim of attacking the Latins, so that the period of Milisende's regency was a "sufficiently prosperous" one for the kingdom. Antioch, it is true, was worn out by strife, but Milisende continued Fulk's policy of "separatism" in its regard. The strategic mistake made by the Latins under Milisende's leadership was not to ally with Damascus during this period, and thus circumvent the aims of Nuredin. Instead Latin policy was one of hostility toward Damascus and the whole force of the second Crusade was wasted on this misguided aim.

Four letters ⁴¹ written to Milisende by Bernard of Clairvaux who preached of the second crusade, throw a different light on her character than that received from any other source, and show a decided interest in Milisende, as queen of the land, to which the Crusaders had gone. Though they are written in formal style characteristic of the time, into them has crept a fatherly tone and an appreciation of the queen's fame and power. They appeal to her hospitality, sympathy, and good sense, and show a

41) Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux, *Migne Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Vol. 182, p. 372 ff.

decided anxiety for the pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem. In one Bernard remarks: "If the testimony of my uncle's word is true (whom I believe wholly) you will reign always in the mercy of God".⁴² Again we find Bernard urging the queen: "Scribite nobis frequentius."⁴³ Bernard, having urged the Crusaders to undertake the journey, evidently desired to prepare a welcome for them. Characterizing Milisende as "a brave woman, a humble widow, and a sublime queen,"⁴⁴ he constantly offers her instruction and advice, and thus inadvertently stresses her position in the world of that time. In one letter he says: "On the death of the King and with the care of the young prince and its consequent responsibility, all eyes are turned upon you, and on you the weight of the whole world is inclined. It is necessary for you to send armies to the fort and as a woman exhibit the strength of a man."⁴⁵ Another letter, appealing to Milisende's queenly power, commends pilgrims and crusaders to her care. The reason of Bernard's interest in Milisende is, of course, his sense of responsibility for the crusaders, yet the very fact that he appeals to her is a significant indication of her power and influential position. Despite Bernard's appeal, the second crusade was a failure because of the Latin failure to direct its efforts rightly. It was even rumored that Milisende formed an alliance^{45a} with a Turkish Emir against the Western Christians. Milisende's lack of insight in this particular event is a black mark against her usual keen-

42) Ibid: p. 373.
ly", Ibid: p. 494.
45) Ibid: p. 555.
Book XVII.

43) "Write to us very frequent-
44) Ibid: p. 495.
45a) W. T. suggests it in Bk.
XVII.

ness of judgment. Yet she was not alone in her mistake: other prominent leaders of the kingdom failed to utilize the second crusade also and must share the censure with her.

During her regency, all of Milisende's efforts seemed to be directed toward the continuing of the policy of King Fulk and despite the failure of the second crusade, she managed the kingdom as well as Fulk had, if not better. Peace in domestic affairs did not last long, however. The malice of vicious tongues again assailed Milisende, this time attacking her through her son. The cause ⁴⁶ of the dissention is uncertain. Whether certain nobles, envious of Manasse whom the queen had put in charge of the militia, persuaded the king to withdraw from his mother's tutelage, or whether the king, listening to those whose words were light" ⁴⁷ merely asserted his natural belief that it was unworthy of him, a man, to rule with his mother, cannot be said definitely. At all events, Baldwin III determined to rule alone, and inevitably altercation resulted. This domestic trouble was most assuredly watched with the utmost interest by the external enemies of the kingdom, particularly by Nuredin, who was slowly consolidating his territory and preparing to attack the Latin Kingdom with a united Moslem power. Any disunion in Christian ranks would be especially pleasing to him.

Milisende's influence over the Patriarch ⁴⁸ of Jerusalem and other prudent men is shown in their attitude during this important time. Baldwin, having determined to be solemnly crowned, was instantly asked by these men ⁴⁹ to make his mother

46) W.T., Bk. XVII, Rec. I, p. 779.
p. 779-780.

49) W. T., Rec. I, p. 780.

47) W.T., Rec. I,
48) Fulcher, d. 1157

a participant. The king,⁵⁰ fearing that his mother would have an equal part, simulated a postponement of his coronation and was publicly crowned when Milisende was not present. This fear of Baldwin's seems to indicate that Milisende had great influence over the people. It is significant too when we consider that Baldwin's assertion was only for his natural right. After this coronation of Baldwin,⁵¹ the kingdom was divided, and to Milisende was given Jerusalem and Nablus. Enemies of the queen, not content with this division, impelled the king to molest his mother still further and to exclude her entirely from ruling. Baldwin evidently needed little instigation to this end, and immediately began to eject his mother from the states which she still held. Milisende, hearing of the advance of Baldwin, commended the defense of Nablus to Manasse and retreated to Jerusalem. Here she dauntlessly and fearlessly defied her son. But the victorious army of Baldwin, having subdued Nablus and the surrounding territory, advanced and besieged the queen in the temple, her last stronghold. There is something arresting in this picture of Milisende, surrounded by her family and faithful followers, besieged in the tower of David by her own son. She is feudal woman, capable and intelligent, made to bow to custom and the law of masculinity.

Baldwin was not at once successful in this siege, a fact which intimates the strength of Milisende's defense. At last, through mediation,⁵² peace was restored, and Milisende, rel-

51) W.T., Rec. I, pp. 781-783. Secondary account in Archer Kingsford's "The Crusades", pp. 224-228.

52) Fulcher the Patriarch and other prominent men advanced to meet Baldwin and his besieging army in order to persuade him to relinquish the siege."

inquishing Jerusalem, contented herself with Nâblus. The king promised not to molest his mother further, and so tranquillity was restored. After this Milisende and Baldwin have no further altercation, and in the accounts given of her the queen seems to have occupied the rather exalted position of advisor to the king. Certainly she possessed the intelligence and self-reliance necessary for such a position. Baldwin, it will be remembered, was occupied with the southern part of his kingdom, and the taking of Ascalon. That Milisende accompanied the king on various missions of this sort seems certain. Such selections as this indicate that she had regained in part at least her influence over Baldwin, her son: "Milisende comes to a general council called by the king", and again: "The king and his mother arrive at Tripoli to reconcile the count and his wife", and again mention is made of Milisende's zeal in 1157, "in the recovery of a guard across the Jordan". Milisende had become imbued with the desire of power, and though the siege in the Tower of David seems to have broken her independent ambition, she never wholly relinquished her interest in ruling.

In 1160, ⁵³ this ambitious and energetic queen fell ill with an incurable disease which resulted in her death on the eleventh of September, 1161. She was buried "in the Valley of the Blessed and unfearing God". The span of her life crossed half a century of daring and colorful action. She was essentially a feudal woman who seized the opportunity that her environment offered. In her ambitious spirit lived the eager restlessness of the early days of the kingdom. That she was eager for power and

53-) W. T., Rec. I, Book 18.

ever a storm-center is true. At the same time, she was a remarkable and exceptional woman in whom wisdom and self-control were strikingly combined. To her must be conceded the credit of ruling a kingdom adequately during an age when power in the hands of a woman was unusual. In all probability a striking figure in her time, it is not impossible that like the heroes of the first crusade she furnished material for later legend and story. The daughter of a king, married to a king, pursuing an illicit love-affair with Hugh of Jaffa, Milisende might well be the prototype of Malory's Queen Guenever.

CHAPTER II.

ALICE OF ANTIOCH.

Alice of Antioch was the second daughter of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. As with Milisende, her famous sister, early life in Edessa and Jerusalem seems to have familiarized Alice with the situation in the kingdom and thoroughly imbued her with a desire for power. Her entrance¹ into the politics of Antioch occurred with her marriage in 1226 to Boemund II, the son of the crusading leader, Boemund. To indicate the background for Alice's schemes and desires, a brief discussion of the development of the feudal state of Antioch is necessary.

Situated in the Northern part of this long and narrow kingdom, its strategic and economic importance was recognized by the Norman leader of the first crusade. Under Boemund I, Tancred, and Roger, Antioch had become a strong state; its points of danger consisted in possibility of attack from the Turkish as well as the Greek empire. Boemund and Tancred, desirous of retaining this wealthy principality, had taken the aggressive and captured such territory as Astah, Atharib, and Zaredna, thus fortifying their land. Tancred had even besieged Aleppo, the Turkish state between Antioch and Edessa. Under Roger had come a gradual weakening of power, and at his death in 1118, Baldwin II of Jerusalem had assumed the regency. Control at Antioch coincided

1) William of Tyre, Rec. I, p. 589; "Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. IV, p. 246. Alice's life is based principally on these two sources with scattered information from other less authoritative accounts.

ed with Baldwin's Northern policy, and though he yielded the state in 1226 into the care of its rightful heir, Boemund II, he arranged the marriage alliance between Alice and the young king with a possible view of retaining his own influence at Antioch.

The chronicler, relating this marriage, describes Boemund as "a yellow-haired youth of eighteen, pleasing and generous."² The probable date of Alice's birth was 1105 or 1106, and this would make her two or three years older than Boemund - a fact which might in part explain her lack of affection for him. Immediately after his marriage and ascension to power, Boemund plunged into the wars that were occupying the principality at the time - the wars about Damascus. In 1130,³ returning from his Southern expedition, he entered Cicilia from causes "quae domesticam et familiarem habebant".⁴ No further description is given and we are left to conjecture as to whether or not they concerned Alice; the possibility is that they did. At all events, while Boemund was in Cicilia, he heard that Zenghi was approaching the borders of Antioch and, hastening to the defense of his territory, he was killed in 1130(?).

Boemund left one daughter, Constance, and his widow, "who did not blush to make an alliance with the rival chief"⁶ whose attack had brought about the death of her husband. In none of the accounts is there a sentence that indicates that Alice felt any grief at the circumstances of Boemund's death. In fact, her immediate preoccupation with schemes to secure the rule and

2) Ibid.

3) Ordericus Vitalis, Vol. IV, p. 266. W.T., Rec. I, p.600.

(4) Causes "which arose from intimate and domestic reasons", Ibid.

deprive her daughter of the inheritance, indicate a curious hardness of soul, a lack of natural affections, and a cold, ruthless ambition that seems characteristic of her public life. Politics was the game which Alice endeavored to play and though she laid well-grounded plans, she neglected the chief rule of the game, i. e., the security of certain faithful followers. Herein she lacked the wisdom of Milisende. The Patriarch in the latter's kingdom supported her, as did other influential men. The Patriarch in Alice's principality duped her and accomplished the ruin of her plans.

Alice decidedly was not popular with her people. Fear and irritation were the only feelings she seemed able to inspire. When disastrous fate overtook Boemund, the men of Antioch, "very much perturbed in mind, by common plan called on the king in Jerusalem who fearing the deleterious effects of a state without a leader, hastened to Antioch with swift step."⁷ But Alice had already usurped the rights of Constance, "who did not seem to be pleasing to her mother".⁸ Learning of the death of her husband "by no means agitated in spirit Alice undertook a nefarious thing."⁹ This nefarious thing, an attempted alliance with the Turks, throws an especial interpretation on the character of Alice and must be considered since the events in Antioch, thus inaugurated, undoubtedly attracted the attention of Zenghi.

Desiring to secure a tranquil state for herself "before any one could perceive the coming of her father", Alice sent messen-

5) There is difference of opinion here. One chronicler in Muratori XIX, p. 420, gives the year as 1131. W.T. and Ordeñi agree.

6) "Orderici Vitalis, IV, 266.

7) W.T., Rec. I, p. 600

8) Ibid.

9) Ibid.

gers to Zenghi to secure his aid and assistance in keeping herself perpetually in Antioch. This act indicates a rather curious lack of judgment considering her interest in political affairs, for if the Latins regarded the rule of a woman as unnatural, to the Turks it was almost an impossibility. The messenger, thus sent, was destined never to reach the Turkish ruler, for it was intercepted by her father, Baldwin II, who was aroused more fully by this discovered treachery of his daughter and hastened to Antioch. But Alice, fearing her father's wrath, strengthened her defenses and kept him from entering the state. On this occasion, the weakness of her hold over the public men can be plainly seen. Certain men ¹¹ influential in the state aided the King, weakened her defense, and brought Baldwin into the city. The princess hastened into the citadel, but persuaded by the more prudent of her admirers, finally presented herself to her father and braved his wrath." The indignant king, "moved by prayer and not destitute of fatherly feeling" ¹² received Antioch peacefully. Yet, fearing "the badness of his own daughter" ¹³ and desiring to preserve faithfully the inheritance of Constance, he assigned to Alice the maritime states of Laodicea and Gabula, and bound the elders of the state to himself by oaths of fidelity. Then he returned home. In Baldwin's attitude toward Alice there was a tinge of fear which gives rise to interesting speculation in regard to the force of her character. Certainly, if anyone knew Alice well it was her own father and his attitude betrays a high degree of

10) W.T., Rec. I, p. 600.

11) Petrus Latinator and Wm de Adversa.

12) W.T., Rec. I, p. 611.

13) Ibid: 631.

anxiety toward her ambitions daring. Zenghi's treatment of the opportunity which Alice's schemes afforded him is surprising. It is true he invaded the territory of Antioch and even advanced to Harin. Evidently then, events in Mesopotamia demanded his interest, for he left Syria and seemed to take little interest in it for several years. Alice was free from Turkish interference in her further plans at least.

If Milisende were a storm center, Alice was a caldron of Mischieff. Two maritime cities did not content "this clever and crafty" wife of the dead leader, and "coöperating with the protectors of her boarders"¹⁴ she still plotted about the leadership. Interest in politics seems to have entirely usurped Alice's natural feeling. She wanted the whole region for herself, and determined to disinherit her daughter entirely. After thus securing the headship, her plan was "to decide on a second marriage for herself at her own wish."¹⁵ This latter desire, used by the Patriarch to accomplish her downfall, would lead to the conclusion that her first marriage had not been happy and had probably been a potent force in hardening her character. At her father's death, accordingly, "thinking that a suitable opportunity had come"¹⁶ she again aspired to control. Corrupting certain men of the principality by bribes of money and conspiring with Conrad of Tripoli and Joscelyn, Junior, of Edessa, her nefarious plans were set in motion once more. Again her inability to inspire loyalty brought failure. For these men, urged partly by fear and partly

14) W.T., Rec. I, p. 631.

15) Ibid.

16) W.T., Rec. I, p. 611. Secondary source: Röbriecht Geschichte , p. 201.

by natural scorn of a woman ally, confessed their complicity with King Fulk, who hearing this, hastened to Antioch in 1132, conquering the opposition in Tripoli on the way.

In Antioch the King called together all the nobles "whose hearts were faithful to Boemund" and brought up the question of a marriage for Constance. Constance was only a child, but Fulk seemed to think that a suitable husband for her was the solution for the problem of Alice. Evidence of the latter's power and their cognizance of it is shown by the fact that messages inviting Raymond, the Putarensian count, to the kingdom, were sent secretly. The nobles feared that "if they cited them through great persons and solemnly, the princess, who was a very wicked woman, would plan hindrance."¹⁸ Fulk then returned home and influenced by his queen abstained from any further interference with Antioch.

During the time between the sending of the message and Raymond's actual arrival in Antioch in 1136, two distinct political parties appeared. Alice, due to Milisende's sisterly cooperation and her control over Fulk, held nominal control. Her position was not strong, however, and there was opposition to her rule. Headed secretly by Rodulphus, the Patriarch, who gradually undermined the little real control she had and planned the coup d'etat that set her aside. While these influences were at work in Antioch, Raymond "prudently concealing his plans, was traveling towards the state, now on foot, now on a worn-out beast of burden, making his way as one of the people"¹⁹ in the endeavor to outwit the plans of a medieval woman.

18) Ibid.

19) Ibid.

20

While Raymond was so journeying, Alice, in Antioch, declared herself Queen and recalled all to her standard. Then Rodulphus cleverly persuaded her that he would join his men to hers and would secure the advancing Raymond as her future husband. Alice visualizing herself the ruler of Antioch, strengthened by the aid of Raymond of Poitou, joyfully assented. Ever comes the inevitable comparison between Alice's lack of vision and Milisende's far-sighted policy. It is safe to assume that Milisende would have been cognizant of the forces at work against her plans, whereas Alice, "too credulous, was deluded by this vain hope."²¹ Raymond came to the city and sought entrance. The Patriarch received him, took his oath of fidelity, arranged his marriage to Constance, and even inserted in the pact that if Henry, Raymond's brother, should come to Antioch, he should marry Alice and so secure possession of her two maritime cities. This pact was evidently kept secret and all the time "appearances of marriage were made to the waiting mother."²² But immediately on Raymond's entrance into the city he was led to the Basilica of the Apostle and married to Constance, who was living under the care of the Patriarch. A significant statement occurs in the Chronicle at this point. "This was done with the whole populace demanding it."²³ This would clearly indicate that even Alice's slight hold over her people was gone. It was also noteworthy as showing the power of the Patriarch. Were churchmen and women, the ostensible agents of the ordinary affairs of feudal life, both approaching a desire for larger fields to gov-

20) W.T., Rec. I, p. 636. Secondary account: Rabricht Geschichte, p. 202-3. Based on W.T.
21) Ibid. (22) W.T., Rec. I, p. 636. (23) Ibid.

ern? Whether it was the clever work of Rodulphus or the effect of her unpopularity, the marriage obtained the desired result, "for the princess, hearing that she had been deluded, suddenly departed from Antioch and went to her own region persecuting the chief often and with irrevocable hatred." ²⁴

This ends the importance and influence of Alice in the kingdom. Though she obtained a certain measure of control for a time after Raymond's death, all her old zeal and fire was lacking. An estimate of her character may be summed up in the one word: ambition. One cannot associate the ordinary duties of a typical feudal woman with Alice. The care of a home or castle, the control of a few retainers or the management of an estate would have given her too limited a scope. She desired to sway a state, to negotiate alliances and command armies. Though Alice failed, her career was indicative of the feminine trend of the time. Feudal women were becoming interested in rule and politics. Every movement has its fanatics and Alice, oblivious of filial duty, conjugal affection and mother love, filled this niche in her participation in the life of her time.

24) W.T., p. 636. Chief here evidently means the Patriarch.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTANCE OF ANTIOCH.¹

It is somewhat of a relief to turn from the serious ambitions of Alice to the heedless, inconsequential use of power which characterized her daughter, Constance. To youth, buoyantly defiant and carelessly gay, the Palestine of the Crusaders offered the daring charm of adventure and the crisp tang of novelty. Among the four women of the Latin Kingdom included in this study, Constance of Antioch represents youth - eager and joyous. From her career we can ascertain something of the attitude of the younger women of the feudal kingdom towards rule and command. The heavy responsibilities of power she blithely, heedlessly ignored; its duties she gaily forgot. One can well imagine the prudent men of Antioch mournfully shaking their heads over her, and wondering what was to become of a world in which youth so potently neglected its responsibilities. Yet it is significant that Constance did as she pleased in a feudal kingdom of the twelfth century, when state issues were hindered by her conduct, and in an age when the position of woman was ostensibly subordinate.

Constance ² was born in the year 1128 or 1129, and was the only child of Boemund II and Alice of Antioch. In the year 1130 ³ on the premature death of her father she became heiress of the principality of Antioch. Without question, it seems that feudal succession in the Latin kingdom could descend through

- 1) Career of Constance taken from the History of William of Tyre and the Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis. Scattered references in other sources confirm these two.
- 2) Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. IV, p. 246. W.T., Rec. I, p. 600. Secondary account in Röbriht Geschichte, p. 203.
- 3) See Ch. II, note 5.

that feudal succession in the Latin kingdom could descend through a woman. An obstacle to her mother's fiery designs, the idea of power surrounded Constance from infancy. That command was significant to her merely as a potent factor in securing the pleasures of existence was probably due more to her innate disposition than to her environment. Her early life ⁴ was spent at the home of the Patriarch of Antioch in an effort to separate her from her mother's influence. It is unlikely, however, that the impressionable years of her childhood were kept entirely free from the schemes and plans of Alice that permeated the country of Antioch in the years from 1130 to 1136.

Suddenly in the year 1136 Constance was brought forth from her peaceful environment and hastily married to Raymond of Pointou, "a youth of generous and admirable elegance but of the cult of letters illiterate." ⁵ This was another of those arranged marriages in the kingdom that usually secured fresh assistance from the West. Constance was a child at the time of her marriage and it naturally brought to her no gravity of action or settled dignity. Since throughout her whole life she reveals no resemblance to her mother with the exception of a queer streak of obstinacy equivalent to Alice's quality of persistence, it is permissible to imagine Constance as like her father, Boemund, that "yellow haired youth of Apulia, strong, generous, pleasing." ⁶

Constance lived her life in a rather critical period of political affairs in the kingdom. In 1137 a Greek army entered

4) W.T., Recueil I, p. 636.

5) W.T., Recueil I, p. 636.

6) See above, Chapter II, note

Syria, reduced Calicla and advanced towards Antioch. It was Raymond's preoccupation with this continual attack that kept him from aiding Edessa a few years later. In 1144 came the fall of Edessa and within three or four years the second crusaders entered Antioch. The early years of Constance's married life, then, the period that marked her development from childhood to girlhood, were by no means dull and prosaic. Danger and its ally, excitement, quickened the life of Antioch and gave it an added spice which would appeal to Constance's nature as it appears in her later career. It is clearly evident that, from childhood, the joyous, pleasureable aspects of life appealed to her. From the accounts given of her, we find no evidence that she was concerned overmuch with the fall of Edessa, or that she cared overmuch when Raymond her husband was forced to become a vassal of the Greek emperor. Due perhaps in part to her youth and admittedly to her nature, the accoutrements of power - "all the glorious art and civilization of the East" - appealed. For she was young, gloriously or disasterously so, as you will. Musicians, jongleurs, troubadors citing the deeds of heroes, catching for a moment romance and the glamour of life - these would find in Constance a willing listener. It was quite evidently the restless, adventurous nature of Reginald de Chatillon that held her fascinated and influenced her to give him power and official position in the kingdom. Reginald's headship at Antioch, due to a girl's wilful desire, was a potent factor in influencing the misdirection of affairs of Antioch and in weakening the principality.

7) Conder: Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second crusade was epoch-making in Constance's life bringing into it, as it did, Renaud, that daring spirit, that reckless adventurer who, though he was to put some of the fire and energy of the first crusade into the declining years of the kingdom, brought it no material aid. Record there is ⁸ that Antioch was very gay in its treatment of the Royal leaders of the second crusade, King Louis and his wife, Eleanor of Guienne. Eleanor of Guienne was by no means a great example of docility to bring before an impressionable young girl, and to Constance, her gay frivolity, colored by her love of rule, undoubtedly made Eleanor symbolic of the strength and delights of power. To the French queen, strong and adventurous by nature, the East held its fascination, and forgetting all restrictions she became the inspiration of intrigue. Splendid tourneys, jousts, and feasts were held until the inevitable scandal reared its head and Raymond defeated his own purpose. Two policies were open to the Crusaders: an attack in the North and an attack on Damascus, using Jerusalem as a base. Raymond, during the Western king's presence at Antioch had endeavored to secure his favor and assistance in the Northern plan through Eleanor. He had chosen the wrong means, however, for King Louis immediately became suspicious and turned South. Aside from its example, of little moment apparently to Constance was the frivolous conduct of Eleanor ^{8a} "the greatest of French queens"; the jealousy of King Louis and its resultant disfavor; and the complicity and plans of Raymond.

8) W.T., Recueil I. Chapters XVII, XVIII, XIX.

8a) Henry Adams: Mt. St. Michel and Chartres, Three Queens.

Probably using that freedom deplored by Osama, she was interested listening to the glorious tales of Renaud and oblivious to all else.

⁹
An episode that occurred in 1149 when Nuredin was man-
euvering around Antioch is illustrious of Constance's neglect or
incapacity to perform women's feudal duty. The feudal woman, it
will be remembered, was to care for the fief during her lord's
absence. Though Constance's territory was larger than the ordin-
ary one, she apparently made no attempt to perform this chief
duty in regard to it. Raymond of Antioch, in common with other
leaders of his time in the field of war, was probably trying at
this particular time to divert the attention of the second cru-
saders to his "northern policy". At all events, when Nuredin
approached the region of Antioch, "all the people feared, for
there remained in the state only the wife of the chief, Constance,
with her two sons and as many daughters. Nor was there anyone who
could perform the office of leader and elevate the dejection of
the people."¹⁰ Constance, meeting the responsibility of power
shorn of its allure, was unfitted and reluctant to cope with it.

Raymond of Antioch¹¹ was slain in the siege of that
state inaugurated by Nuredin in 1149. The surge of Moslem react-
ion was becoming stronger and Baldwin III of Jerusalem, realiz-
ing the necessity of a strong control at Antioch, "often urged
and advised the princess to marry one of her nobles by whose

9) W.T., Recueil I, p. 636.

10)

11) W.T., Recueil I, p. 1173 Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. IV, p.

work and policy the principality might be ruled." ¹² Constance scoffed at his lists of "prudent and discreet men" ¹³. Her ostensible reason for refusing to consider Baldwin's candidates was that she "feared conjugal chains and preferred a free life." ¹⁴ Yet from a knowledge of her character we feel that to this reason should be added the fact that "prudence and discretion" did not appeal. For she showed no fear of marital bonds when the impetuous Renaud appeared. Yet her scoffing had its effect, and showed the power that she possessed, for to none of these prudent and discreet men was she married. Antioch, due to this, was without a leader of its own in the critical years between 1149 and 1152 when Nuredin was hovering around and the burden of the control fell wholly on Baldwin III.

In the years between 1149 and 1152, dissention was rising in Jerusalem between Baldwin and his mother; while Nuredin was slowly moving downward and closing in on Damascus. Moved by the urgent need of strong control at Antioch, Baldwin called a council to urge his cousin, the princess Constance, to remarry. To this council came the Patriarch, Queen Milisende, Baldwin, and Alice - an imposing array against which to set a girl's will and desire. "But neither the king nor the queen could induce her (Constance) to provide for herself or the region.....Nothing was accomplished, so the council was dissolved and each returned home." ¹⁵ The brave defiance of Constance might indicate a pre-

12) W.T., Recueil I, p. 789-790.
15) Ibid.

13) Ibid.

14) Ibid.

vious arrangement with Renaud or an inclination to make such an alliance. Certainly it shows a modern, individualistic note in her character that slightly differentiates her from the other women discussed in this paper.

In the year 1152 or 1153 while war was being waged about Ascalon and a brief time before the conquest of Damascus, Constance "had repulsed according to feminine custom, many men, seeking her hand chose as husband Renaud de Chatillon a paid soldier,¹⁶ but also a dashing fascinating adventurer. Thus Renaud, a prominent and enthusiastic figure in later annals of the kingdom was definitely given official place by Constance. Both Baldwin and the Patriarch disapproved the marriage, fearing the reckless and dangerous Renaud, but finally with the king's consent, it was announced. The Chronicler, unheeding the glamour of Renaud's adventurous nature which allured Constance, coldly notes "that it was not without the admiration of many that so famous and illustrious a woman and so excellent a wife for a man should deign to marry a soldier, almost of the people."¹⁷

Renaud, thus given prestige in the principality by Constance, plunged immediately into futile wars with the Armenians and dissipated his energy about Cyprus. In 1160¹⁸ he was captured by the Turks and in 1175 a brief note states that Renaud and Constance came from captivity at Halopia. We know that Renaud spent fifteen or sixteen years in a Turkish prison and

16) W.T., Rec. I, p. 802. Ordenicus Vitalis, Bk.IV.p.318.
17) Ibid.
18) W.T., Recueil I.

this statement leads to the conclusion that Constance was with her husband at least part of the time. The attractions of Renaud's adventurous spirit evidently endured for Constance and made even captivity bearable. Not long after this return, Constance died and with her death Renaud lost his right to Antioch in which kingdom the son of Raymond and Constance, Boemund III, was ruling.

It is difficult to draw conclusions concerning the character of Constance. Like her illustrious aunt and ambitious mother, she loved power but with this difference: Milisende and Alice regarded command with a respectful seriousness, while Constance treated it rather flippantly as something instituted for her own pleasure and benefit. Her flippancy was disastrous for the principality. Prudence, wealth, and ability at Antioch in the form of Constance's husband in the years after 1149 would have materially aided the kingdom and given it greater protection and security.

CHAPTER IV.

SYBILLA OF JERUSALEM.

Milisende and Alice were contemporaries. Constance ruled at Antioch during the years of Queen Milisende's regency in Jerusalem, so the active participation in affairs of all three came at a time when Latin rule in the kingdom was still vigorous. Sybilla, whose life extended through the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, lived in the age of decline. She had opportunity to see both the external and internal causes of this catastrophe

On the external side she witnessed the fatal Egyptian policy that diverted the strength of the Latins; the rise of Saladin; the constant pressure exerted on the kingdom by Huredin in the North; his death and the consolidation of Turkish power under the great conquerer. Internally, her life saw the development of jealous rivalry within the kingdom, the lack of competent Latin leaders, and the insufficient supply of men and resources from the West. Sybilla had ample opportunity, then, to know the needs of the kingdom. Yet the common belief in woman, the intuitive, has many interesting historical exceptions, and not the least of these was Sybilla, the queen of Jerusalem from 1186 to 1189. More depended on her career than on that of any one of the three royal women mentioned above. Yet astute though she was, she made an error in her choice of husband which was greivous and disasterous for the kingdom.

It would be interesting to investigate thoroughly the political situation in the kingdom about the time of Sybilla's ascension to the throne. The game of politics was played with as

much skill and fascination then as in our own day. The question of interest was not Sybilla's right to the throne but rather what man would be chosen to share that right. That she had a husband seemed to make no difference to the Templars and Hospitallers who urged on her the necessity of choosing a nobleman. These powerful orders, realizing the need of the kingdom, apparently wanted her to choose some man who had great resources and following. Raymond of Tripoli's attitude toward Guido de Lusignan shows selfish desire to occupy the same position and thus secure the rule. In all, there were several points of opposition to Sybilla's quite normal wish to retain her own husband. The attitude of the Patriarch is puzzling, but in the main he seems to agree with Sybilla. Baldwin IV, Raymond, and the religious orders all opposed her desire; yet Guido de Lusignan was crowned king by his exceedingly clever, but mistaken, wife. Though the fate of the kingdom was inevitable, it is permissible to wonder whether the fall of Jerusalem might not have been averted for a time if Sybilla had listened to the advice of the opposition and married a man who could have brought fresh aid into the kingdom. At all events, the background for the life of this queen was that of the great political intrigue and schemes of a kingdom fast declining.

Sybilla¹ was the daughter of Agnes and Amalric, the fifth king of Jerusalem, and was older than her brother Baldwin

1) Accounts of Sybilla's life are found in Wm of Tyre, Rec. I, p.888, et seq.; Eracles, Rec. II; Accounts "Ex Bebedicti Petraburgensis, Bouquet XVII, XI, 364-366, X, 289, XVIII, 555-559. Ex Epitome Andrea Libri Priori Marchanensis, XI, 364-66, X, 289, XVIII, 555-559. De Geste et Successione Regum Francorum. Ibid: Ex Joannis Iperio, Chronico Sythiesi. Ibid:

IV. In 1162 Amalric was compelled to divorce Agnes, the daughter of Joscelyn of Edessa, on account of kinship within the forbidden degree.² This divorce³ of their mother did not injure the position of either Baldwin or Sybilla for according to William of Tyre "they were accorded full right of succession."⁴ Sybilla was educated at the cloister of St. Lazarus in Bethany under the care of Iveta, an aunt of her father and a sister of Milisende, and in 1176 she was married to William, Marquis of Montferrat, receiving as her dowry the maritime cities of Joppa and Ascalon. Ascalon had been captured by Baldwin III in 1152 and was the best Moslem stronghold in Syria to be taken. On son,⁵ who afterwards became Baldwin V, was born of this union. William died within a brief time, however, and Sybilla returned to the court of her father at Jerusalem.

In the years 1174 to 1176, Saladin spent some time conquering Damascus and a large part of Syria but he met defeat at Ramla in 1177, the year in which Sybilla returned to the court of Baldwin. In the same year⁶ a certain powerful noble of the kingdom offered his sons to Baldwin as husbands for her sisters, Sybilla and Isabella. Isabella⁷ was Baldwin's half-sister and was living with her mother at Naples. The victory at Ramla had given

Ex Chronico Anonymi Landunensi Canonico. Chronicle of William of Naxyes, Bouquet, Rec. XX, p. 312-406. Migne Patrologia Cursus Completus, Vol. 201, William of Tyre continued. Account of Bernardi Thesauri, Italicum Rerum, Volume VII. Points of difference in accounts will be noted.

2) W.T., Rec. I. p. 1004.

3) Ibid: p. 889.

4) Ibid: p. 1026.

5) Benedict of Peterborough, Bouquet XVII, p. 466.

6) W.T., Rec. I, p. 1029.

7) Ibid: p. 1030.

the Latins a certain sense of security, yet this plan offered in the same year is significant in showing the early trend of popular opinion towards the necessity of Sybilla's marriage. Baldwin was a leper and poorly chosen as defender of his people during this critical time. However, he showed great solicitude for their interests and maintained many soldiers at his court,"among whom was a certain one named Guido de Lusignon, pleasing in countenance, skilled in arms, and very intimate with the King's family."⁸ It is to be noted here, but not stressed, that the men in whom these royal ladies of the Latin kingdom were interested, usually possessed "a pleasing appearance." In this particular case, the Countess of Jappa "seeing that Guido was pleasing, wished to take him as husband, but not daring to show her wish loved him secretly."⁹ This affair was inevitably found out and the King was extremely angry at first. Finally, however, he consented to allow both of them to live, and, "since he did not have any other heir than this sister, he permitted Sybilla to marry Guido de Lusignon and gave her the command of Jappa on condition that her son Baldwin should succeed him into the kingdom."¹⁰

Affairs were thus settled for a time, and Guy, ingratiating himself with the King, more than likely at Sybilla's instigation, was made administrator of the Kingdom in 1183 on condition that he would not aspire to the kingdom while Baldwin was living. Considering the later incompetency of Guy it is apparent that this position was not attained through merit but rather through the efforts of some influential person. This person pro-

8) Benedict of Peterborough, Bouquet XVII, 466. 9) Ibid.
10) Ibid: W.T., Rec. I, 1180, states that Baldwin hastened this marriage at the time because he did not desire Sybilla

bably was Sybilla who as mother of the heir apparent and sister of the reigning king undoubtedly had power which she knew how to use. Guy's ¹¹ appointment aroused great difference of opinion in the kingdom and indicates the party strife of the time so much so that we find William of Tyre quoting in regard to it: "Tot homines, tot sententiae". ^{11a} That this promotion was the result of the queen's efforts and not the reward of merit appears in the fact that in a brief space of time Baldwin ¹² saw his error and discovered that Guy "administered the kingdom less prudently than he himself." It is probable that the party of Raymond of Tripoli influenced him to this decision for he recalled the administrative power and took away the hope of succession from Guido by having his nephew crowned king and Raymond of Tripoli appointed administrator. Thus Sybilla's first effort at a kingship for her husband failed.

Yet the Queen's desire at this time was a divided one. Sybilla displays little of the hardness of ambition that characterized Alice. She was simply an intelligent feudal woman, endeavoring to secure the best possible position for a hopelessly incompetent husband who lacked even the feudal man's ordinary attribute - military skill and knowledge. Interested naturally in the succession of her son, we find no evidence of effort on her part to keep Guido in power. The hatred, initiated by the above act, between Guy of Lusignon and the king was accentuated further

"because the king manifestly wished to collect causes by which

- to marry the nobleman he arranged to bring to the kingdom.
- 11) W.T., Rec. I, page 1117.
11a) Terence, "Phormio; Cicero": "So many men, so many opinions"
12) W.T., Rec. I, p. 1117.

his sister might be divorced.¹³ Baldwin even ordered a day for such proceedings but was forestalled by Guy who had no difficulty in persuading his wife to remain away from Jerusalem.

During the years from 1182 on, Saladin was occupied with little intermission in the Latin war and the Turkish menace of the kingdom grew darker and darker. In 1185 Raymond of Tripoli made appeal for a truce which was to last four years. Saladin having received information of danger to his lands in Mesopotamia agreed to the peace and was absent in the North for fifteen months. To the Latins, then, was given a space of time to prepare for the inevitable conflict. Instead of using it to consolidate their strength under one strong leader they dissipated it in dissensions and rivalry. On the death of Baldwin IV, the five year old son of Sybilla succeeded to the throne as Baldwin V, with Raymond, Count of Tripoli, as regent. On the death of the young king, who only lived a few months, the country was again left without a ruler. Certain suspicions regarding the death of the young Baldwin fell upon Sybilla who "sufficiently astute had exorted from the Patriarch and other chiefs of the kingdom that if the boy departed by an immediate death the crown would revert to her."¹⁴ This suspicion has not much basis in fact, however. The early death of Baldwin left the kingdom in a chaotic state. Two parties¹⁵ can now be distinctly seen : those against the coronation of Guy forming one, and those who favored it forming the other. Count Raymond opposed, not the succession of Syb-

13) W.T., Rec. I, p. 1133.
erti", Bouquet XVIII.
"Ex Behedicti Pertraburgens, Bouquet XVII, p.466.

14)"Ex Chronologia Rob-
15) W.T., Rec. I, p.1128

illa, but the coronation of her husband. The Knights Templar and Hospitalers, powerful in the kingdom, supported Sybilla but urged her to remarry a noble and powerful husband. For such a king was needed by the weak and insufficiently fortified state. In the ultimate it was probably the support of the Templars and Hospitalers that brought the Throne to Sybilla and through her to Guy. Her subtlety and cleverness secured this support and herein lies the significance of her career. The kingship of Jerusalem made very little real difference to these Knights. Controlling castles and forts on the frontier, commanding great support from the West (for they were influential all over Europe), and being powerful military forces as well - these facts made them secure and independent. Yet to Sybilla, they gave the weight of their influence, and albeit reluctantly, they concurred in her desire to retain Guy as her husband. This is an assurance of the queen's cleverness and intelligence which is perhaps greater than the actual strategy she used. The patriarch, Heraclius, who placed the crown on Sybilla's head, seemed to favor Guido to a certain extent. Opposing the above influential parties desiring to eject Guy was Sybilla and the small group in the kingdom that favored Guy's ascension to the throne. The various opinions on this subject, the influence exerted on Sybilla, her coronation and clever strategy appear best as they are given in the source accounts that follow.

"The Templars, Hospitalers, Counts, Barons, Clergy, and people chose as queen the countess of Jaffa on condition that she permit a divorce to be carried out between herself and her husband. For they said that Guido was not of noble parentage and it was not fitting for the daughter of a king to have any husband

but one born from the most noble line." ¹⁶ Sybilla then perceiving that she could not come into her inheritance otherwise yielded to their wish and consented to divorce her husband. She, in turn, made the condition that she be permitted to choose another husband as she pleased. This condition was conceded to her by the nobles and clergy and then she was led into the Temple to be crowned. When the coronation was complete it is related that the Patriarch said to her:

"You indeed are queen but you are a woman. Therefore it is expedient that you choose a man who can administer the kingdom with you." ¹⁷ The description of the ceremony continues and we are told that all who were present prostrated themselves and prayed to the Lord to provide a king that could rule and defend his kingdom from the enemies of Christ. After this prayer was ended, Sybilla in a loud voice exclaimed, "I, Sybilla, choose into the kingdom Guido who was my husband. For I know him to be a capable man - one showing honesty of old habit, one who will rule rightly and I feel that with him living I cannot have another husband, for Scripture says, Whom God hath joined let no man put asunder." ¹⁸ Another account of Sybilla's speech on this occasion represents her as saying to Guido, "Receive the crown of the kingdom, for I am ignorant of one to whom it is owed more deservedly." ¹⁹ Comments of two men on this occasion reveal significantly the discerning attitude of the kingdom towards Sybilla's choice. Raymond of Tripoli caustically and bitterly said "Si Rex

16) Ex Benedicti, etc., Bouquet XVII, p. 469.

17) Bernard Thesauri, Rerum Italicarum, Bk. VIII, p. 783.

18) Ex Benedicti, Page 469, Bouquet XVII.

19) Bernard Thesauri, Rerum Italicarum, VII, p. 782.

est, merito futurus, est Deus." ²⁰ while Baldwin de Romeo remarked, "Ea forte regnum accepit, ut annum non fit completurus in regno." ²¹ Sybilla's speech, subtly worded, shows a characteristic diplomacy. It is strange that she could not see Guy's inefficiencies but perhaps her strong desire to have her husband crowned king was colored by her wish to actually rule through him. However though many of the wealthier members of the kingdom were indignant at Sybilla "the Templars and Hospitalers, seeing that she could not be turned from this proposition, showed consent to her wish." ²²

In achieving this victory, Sybilla shows the greatness and weakness of her character. The whole episode illustrates clearly her shrewdness and acute cleverness. Agreeing to one condition only to circumvent it by another, she subtly appealed to the conscience of those men present at her coronation and her appeal succeeded. Her weakness, as a public woman, lay in the fact of her great affection for Guido. It clouded her vision and blinded her to his deficiencies. This emotion - her unflinching loyalty - must be commended, but Sybilla by nature of her position and the critical need of her country should have been guided by that greater loyalty. If she had possessed this truer sense of values, had accepted the judgment of Baldwin, of the powerful religious order, even of Raymond, the kingdom might at least have been spared Guy's incompetency.

Immediately after the ascension of Guy and Sybilla, "the king began to be active in greatest proof of military affairs," ²³

20) Ibid.

21) Ibid.

22) Ibid.

23) Ex Benedicti, Bouquet XVII, p. 469.

and obtained a lengthening of the time of truce from Saladin. Guy was evidently expecting aid from the West. "In the meantime, Raymond of Tripoli, angry and grieving that Sybilla was not willing to have him as a husband, plotted all the badness he could, even allying himself with Saladin." ²⁴ Raymond, of course, was a traitor, but his conduct judged in the light of Sybilla's career might have been averted if she had been willing to sacrifice her emotions to policy and state need. The rest of the story is brief. Saladin with his multitude of soldiers returned from Mesopotamia and invaded the Christian land. The battle of Hattin ²⁵ revealed as fully the incompetency of Sybilla's husband as it sealed the fate of the kingdom. Intrigue, weakness, and treachery had accomplished their work.

In 1189 ²⁶ a brief note chronicles the fact that Sybilla gave Ascolon to Saladin for the redemption of Guido who had been taken prisoner. Truly, her love for Guy was the ruling nature of her life. Firm in her fidelity to her husband, using him as the instrument of her power and command, Sybilla forgot her greater duty to the state. Clever, capable, astute, if she had married a strong, competent man with influential Western connections, much might have been done for the kingdom. Whether we condemn or laud her, Sybilla was the determining factor in the placing of power during the last years before the collapse of the kingdom. To her was conceded the right to rule and share that rule with one whom she choose. It may perhaps be said of her that she represents feudal woman at the zenith of her power.

24) Ibid.

25) Conder, "Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem".

26) Ex Benedicto, Bouquet XVII, p. 462.

CONCLUSION.

Conclusions drawn from interpretation of character can never be particularly definite and enlightening, since they are necessarily modified by the personal equation. Yet in the careers of these four women certain facts seem clear. Their commanding position was unchallenged; they received the succession without question; and what is more they actually and practically ruled. To infer the cause of their power is puzzling. Why was it that Milisende could "withstand siege and direct armies , or that Sybilla could set aside and defy the powerful Lord of Tiberius? There must have been a definite force or set of circumstances in the Latin Kingdom of Syria that could bring about this. For assuredly it was a queer twist of events that gave the kingship of Jerusalem to a woman little more than a generation after Godfrey had refused to wear the crown because he felt unworthy. This belief becomes intensified when it appears also that a woman dared to scheme for the control of the principality of the crusading leader, Boemund; and that his own grand-daughter defiantly refused to marry for the "best interest" of that principality. It is decidedly curious that such events should happen in a kingdom so basically military, so preëminently a man's field of action. Curiosity becomes astonishment when it is considered that feudalism at its height set up these Syrian outposts, incited and encouraged thereto by a Church which had never yielded the hierarchical position to women and which gave no approval to their assumption of men's positions.

Intelligence, sophistication, even a certain masculinity

do appear in varying degrees in these four characters. Yet though clever and capable they were not superintelligent or efficient. They made some woeful blunders in statecraft. Even Milisende, the most competent, showed herself but the ordinary skilled woman of affairs such as could be found in any community. Nor can their power be attributed to any strong feminist movement that swept through the twelfth century and overthrew its characteristic institution of feudal church and state in the endeavor to give women great political place. For there was no evidence of such a movement in the West where means were still found of compelling feminine holders of fiefs either to marry or give up their right to them. Women were still in subordinate position there. Eleanor of Aquitaine is sufficient proof of this. Assuredly if there had been strong feminist agitation she would have profited by it and ruled wholly without masculine interference.

By a process of elimination then, the probable explanation of the position and power of these four women appears. The best explanation of it lies in the personnel of the kingdom, the conflicting elements in its environs. Even in the first Crusade opposing interests held the stage from time to time and the best interests of the whole expedition were occasionally lost in the opposing designs of the leaders. Evidence of this is found in the deadlock after Antioch. This spirit and these factions had been contributed to the kingdom set up as a result of this expedition. Men of adventure, men with possessions, had come, all seeking definite objects, the pursuit of which brought conflict. Two strong military and religious orders grew up in the kingdom and acted as

checks on each other. The direct influence of the Church, acting through the Patriarchs and bishops, was another powerful element. Constantly incoming Westerners with great wealth and following had joined the different parties among the leaders. "The balance of power" was watched as anxiously there as in Europe today. So many elements inevitably would tend to nullify and make impossible united pressure for one purpose. Women of average intelligence, perceiving this situation, could easily find opportunity of gaining control and men were too engrossed in these conflicts, too busy in wars internal and external, too divided in policy and opinion, to put a check upon such feminine desires. Cooperation, united pressure, action as a unit, were characteristics lacking in this kingdom, and women simply made use of the opportunity that the lack of these forces developed.

With the growth of the kingdom these divided factions became more distinct, and the balance of power more closely watched. This is very clearly seen at Sybilla's coronation. The two religious orders, both military powers and rich, were watching the designs of each other, as well as those of the various leaders. Raymond of Tiberius and Tripoli, strong in the kingdom, pitted his strength against that shown by Guido de Lusignon. Sometimes one of these men received the king's favor, sometimes another. Renaud of Kerak threw in his influence on the side of Guido because of his hostility to Raymond. Two policies, one of attack on the Turks, the other of strategic waiting, divided the leaders and the Knights Templar and Hospitalers. Little wonder, then, that Sybilla using very cleverly one of these forces against the other, could persist in her desire to crown Guido, could even persuade the

religious orders to give her act their approval. These same forces are shown in the council that was called to make Constance remarry. In the ordinary feudal kingdom, such as a council would make a success of their business. Yet here, individual desires and enmit-ies held the stage. It was in session only a year or two before the altercation between Milisende and Baldwin which brought war in- to Jerusålem and so they were probably not a unit at the council. The followers of Alice undoubtedly wished to upset the designs of Baldwin II and the aid of the Church was very likely sought by both factions. Constance, however, was clever enough to understand the course of affairs and probably encouraged and supported by Renaud she could afford to stand by and scoff at the lists of "prudent men offered for her inspection." We may infer that the significant power of women can be attributed to this definite fact. There were too many personal ambitions and antagonisms, individual and collect-ive, secular and ecclesiastical, in the kingdom to admit of united action and to compel these women desirous of rule to relinquish their desire and bow to feudal law and the right of masculinity.

Therefor, since the internal cooperation ~~was~~ lacking the Latin power in Syria declined and since the influence of women developed mainly because of this division, their power can be look- ed upon as a factor contributing ~~to~~ likewise to decline in this feudal kingdom. In addition, since a study of the careers of these four royal ladies reveals them as women of merely average intelli- gence and capability, it may be concluded that they were represent- ative and that their prototypes , to whom similar opportunities of power were offered in the smaller fiefs and estates, could be found throughout Latin Syria. It would seem then, that there is

sufficient evidence to substantiate Von Sybel's statement that "there was no kingdom in Europe in which the beauty and influence of women played so conspicuous a part as in the community of the Holy Sepulchre."

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Fair treatment of characters. Comprehensive and detailed

The chief faults are repetition and a somewhat confused chronology. On the whole this account proved the most accurate, dependable, and definite source, both for information and description of the careers of the women herein described. (This source is indicated in the footnotes of the text by the letters W.T.)

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