Women and the Pursuit of Power in the Thirteenth Century: The Case of Alice, Queen-Regent of Cyprus (1218-1232)*

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Abstract
For the medievalists, the study of women's public role in medieval societies is an arduous task, because of the nature of the sources which reflected the societies' misogynistic approach to the treatment of the gender roles in the middle ages. Yet, a number of Lusignan queens challenge the public role of women. Drawing on a range of narrative and documentary sources, this article challenges the established image of the Queen Alice of Cyprus. Through such a study, we can complement our understanding of politics in the Outremer by challenging the male-centric interpretations of the thirteenth century, where women's public role is often ignored. This paper further explores Queen Alice's contribution to political events, how she pursued and exploited the means to power, and more importantly, how her challenge was encountered by the patriarchal society, particularly by the Church of Rome.
Keywords: Queen Alice, Cyprus, Lusignan, Women's history.

Özet
Kadınların kamusal alandaki rollerini çalışmak bir Ortaçağ tarihçisi için kaynakların, o dönemin toplumunun genel kadına ayrımcı yaklaşımını yansıtması bakımından çetin bir uğraştır. Ancak, bazı Lüzinyan kraliçeleri ortaçağda kadının kamusal alandaki rolü okumalarını sarsmaktadır. Bu makale, çok çeşitli anlatı ve belgesel kaynaklar üzerinden Kıbrıslı Kraliçe Alice'in literatürdeki yerleşmiş imgesini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Böyle bir çalışma ile onüçüncü yüzyıl kadınının kamusal hayattaki yerinin hep ihmal edildiği "denizaşırı" politik yapısını anlayışımızı kolaylaşacaktır. Dolayısıyla burada Kraliçe Alice'in politik olaylara katkısı, güç odaklarını nasıl elde ettiği ve kullandığı, ve daha da önemlisi bu tutumunun ataerkil toplum ve özellikle Roma Klisesi tarafından nasıl karşılandığı üzerinde durulacaktır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Kraliçe Alice, Kıbrıs, Lüzinyan, kadın tarihi.

In the historiography of medieval Cyprus, women's role in the body politic has long been overlooked in favour of the so-called august areas of study, shaped by the male-centric nature of the narrative sources, which

concentrates on the development of governments and institutions, and centres on the nature of the Latin Church and the Frankish government.[1] Whilst over the last decade there has appeared a proliferation of research into diverse areas as Lusignan art, culture and commerce, comparative study in the field of gender history continues to remains pitifully barren.[2] This paper makes women the focus of inquiry as active subjects and agents in the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Retracing some of the groundbreaking work on women and power in medieval societies, carried out by new crop of medievalists, it addresses women's active role in public life and their strategies for empowerment.[3] Significantly, this paper confronts the established notion that medieval political power is traditionally associated with men, and women who exercised *potesta* were anomalies. Finally, it challenges the traditional image of Lusignan queens as portrayed in the misogynistic historical interpretation, indifferent to the fact that nearly all actors were male.

Queen Alice of Cyprus and Jerusalem was an accomplished political player, whose single-minded pursuit of power exercised the combined guiles of the powerful Ibelins, the Houses of Champagne and France, as well as Honorius III, one of the cleverest minds who sat at the throne of St Peter. She is a key figure in understanding the marriage and inheritance debates that shaped the political history of western Christendom during one of the most exigent periods in the Outremer. Her struggle for empowerment highlights the range of opportunities open to queen-regents in the thirteenth century. In assessing these, certain questions needs exploring; to what extent the rule of queens in the East made more difficult by not having access to the properties in the West? What strategies did women employ for political empowerment? What was the attitude of the patristic society to female empowerment? Finally, what role did the Roman Church play when faced with a female claimant? Assessing these questions not only provides a more accurate view of gender and power in the Middle Ages, but goes a long way towards rehabilitating Lusignan women from their image as weak and officious subjects in the master narrative.

Apart from a band of Crusader historians, few people have heard of Queen Alice of Cyprus. In modern historiography, her reputation has suffered under successive academics who until recently tended to dismiss her public role and misevaluated events.[4] Sir Stephen Runciman ridiculed Alice's public role. He comments, "She offered nothing but trouble."[5]

William Stubbs ignores a corpus of evidence on young widow's crusading assistance following her husband's untimely death during the Fifth Crusade when wrongly asserting, "She maintained a hands-off approach to the expedition."[6] George Hill's aversion to Lusignan women is unmistakable in his characterization of Queen Alice. He describes her various attempts at political empowerment as "tactless!"[7] Likewise, John La Monte sees her as a feeble regent, unable to challenge the growing power of the Ibelins. He unfairly portrays the queen as "the most important pawn in the game of politics in Jerusalem."[8] In recent times, Queen Alice's image has somewhat mellowed. Commenting on her tenure as a regent of Jerusalem during 1243-1246, David Jacoby portrays her as a tragic subject of history. He argues that her authority could only be exercised as long as the Outremer's barons "interests would allow."[9] Lately, Chris Schabel has worked more then any other historian in attempting to dislodge the myth of Queen Alice as a persecutor of the Greek Church, perpetuated and developed by Archbishop Kyprianos, and which has since been part of Cypriot historiographical tradition.[10] He argues that "there is now a standard account that is so entrenched in the literature that it may be impossible to dislodge." According to Schabel, two notoriously unreliable XVI century chronicles, *Lusignan* and *Loredano,* has had a profound influence on later Greek historians as they wrongly credit Queen Alice for establishing the Latin Church on Cyprus.[11] Lusignan and Loredano did not have access to good documentary sources of the early Frankish period. "They knew that Queen Alice was somewhat involved and Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council were connected, and had a few facts but beyond that we have an opening of a new myth."[12]

The contemporary materials on Queen Alice are surprisingly rich and wide-ranging. These include narrative sources accounts, seals, charters, papal letters and correspondences that appear in French baronial cartularies.[13] Of these sources, the chronicles are both far-reaching and highly problematic, as their writers were "affected not only by the palette of images available to describe them, but more deeply by the nature of politics and structures that provided them with opportunities."[14] These structures were legitimacy, marriage, inheritance, and more specifically, the pattern of political action associated with succession disputes. The most important narrative source on Alice's life is Philip of Novara's history in a three part compendium, *Les gestes des Chyprois.*[15] It covers

the years between 1218 and 1243. He has nothing to say about her life prior to marriage to Hugh I, nor does he relate Alice's final years. Nevertheless, as the most comprehensive narrative source on the queen's life, Novara deserves close attention. He was a contemporary of Queen Alice and an eyewitness to the main events of the period. He is singularly responsible for her image of a meddlesome, avaricious and ineffective regent in later historiography, although his interpretation and accounts of events must be treated with a considerable degree of circumspection. Firstly, he was a layman with little or no interest in complex ecclesiastical issues, areas of immense disputes and power struggles under most of Queen Alice's regency. Secondly, his *History* was written as a panegyric to his paymaster John Ibelin, "The Old Lord of Beirut." As such, he displays rabid Ibelin bias against all others, including Queen Alice. In the re-construction of the events he was at times misinformed and at other times he deliberately withheld or omitted information to make events conform to his purpose in writing. La Monte observed, "His true causes are stated throughout from a partisan point of view."[16] Unfortunately there is no anti-Ibelin chronicle that could be used as counter-balance to Novara's work.[17] Other important chronicles detailing Queen Alice's career are the anonymous Continuation of William of Tyre, also known as the *Eracles; Chronique d'Amadi et Strambaldi;* and, Florio Bustron's *Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre.*[18] The French continuation of William of Tyre forms the second volume of *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hisitoriens Occidentaux.* It was written in Syria in the thirteenth century. It covers the period from1198 to 1229, then from 1229 to 1261. In its treatment of Queen Alice's regency, *Eracles* presents the queen more favorably then Novara. According to La Monte, "whilst Novara's depiction (of her removal of Philip from the bailliage) represents the tradition of the Ibelin house, *Eracles* gives the version generally accepted in Syria, possibly the version fostered by the Lusignans."[19] The Italian chronicles attributed to Florio Bustron and Francesco Amadi date from the sixteenth century. The writers seemed to have access to the earlier narratives of Novara and Eracles.[20] They describe in detail the establishment of the Latin Church on Cyprus and address the issue of tithes controversy during Queen Alice's regency. The latter is shown to have played a major part in the debate. They relate a quarrel between the queen and her uncles over the terms of the agreement.[21]

Alice was born in 1196 or 1197, daughter of Henry II of Champagne and Isabella I of Jerusalem. She was the paternal great grand-daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and the grand-daughter of Marie of France, the daughter of King Philip II. Alice had an impeccable crusading lineage that established her suitability for matrimony and maternity. She was an heiress to Jerusalem, her claim deriving from her mother, Isabella I of Jerusalem, and through her half sister, Queen Maria, daughter of Isabella and her second husband, Conrad of Montferrat. She later used these filial rights to contest the crown and the regency of Jerusalem in 1229 and in 1243. Henry II of Champagne was count-palatine of Troyes and cut a significant figure in French politics. He had followed in his father's footsteps by taking his crusading vows and eventually acting as a stabilizing influence on his nephews, Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France during the third crusade.[22] Through his marriage to Isabella in 1192 until his death in 1197, Henry II had become an effective ruler of Jerusalem, but never assumed the royal title.[23] According to Runciman he may have been concerned with his unclear legal position in the kingdom, and the willingness of the public and the Church to accept his title, or he may have wanted to wait until the recovery of Jerusalem before crowned.[24] Isabella (1192-1205) was daughter of Amaury, King of Jerusalem, and Maria Comnena. In historiography, she is usually depicted as feeble and a pathetic figure. In fact, her public life became a series of marriages, arranged by her shrewd and politically assertive mother, to powerful regional lords. She had married Henry at the age of twenty one. This was her third marriage. On Henry's death in 1197, Isabella was married off to Aimery of Lusignan, who through her assumed the title "King of Cyprus and Jerusalem." By the time of her death in 1205, Isabella had gone through four husbands. Her marriages certainly broke the conventions of the time. The first to Humphrey IV of Toron was cynically annulled in order for her to marry Conrad of Montferrat. Her mother had argued that at the time of her wedding she was underage, and also that the marriage was forcibly arranged by Baldwin IV.[25] Yet, her marriage to Conrad was canonically bigamous, as at the time both parties were already married.[26] Also, according to canon law at least two of her marriages were incestuous. Her sister Sybilla had been married to Conrad's and Aimery's brothers. Yet in the closing years of the twelfth century, Isabella offered continuity between the old and the new

kingdoms, and the Church had become a willing collaborator with powerful regional barons in overlooking the finer points of the canon law.

For a woman who was used by the powerful as a pawn to legitimize the rules of the sovereigns, Isabella's lasting legacy to Alice would be the confusion over her legitimacy that blighted her public empowerment most of her adult life. No other queen in the Latin East had such a sustained attack on her legitimacy as Queen Alice endured during her lifetime. In 1219, despite providing her dower to marry Hugh I of Cyprus some years earlier, her aunt, Blanche of Navarre, Countess of Champagne, pleaded with the pope to block Alice's claim to her Champagne inheritance.[27] She had claimed that due to Isabella's bigamous marriages Alice and her sister Phillipa did not qualify to inherit Champagne. Pope Honorius III responded by setting up an inquiry into Alice's legitimacy and instructed her to present a deposition in her favour before the papal commission in person or through a procurator. In June 1219, he instructed the ecclesiastical and secular leadership in France not to entertain the queen's request to access her inheritance until the end of the said papal investigation.[28] From the tone of his letters, Honorius III does not seem to have taken sides, except in that Alice's legitimacy should have been clear because so many people who would have known the truth of the circumstances of her legitimacy, such as her uncles, the Ibelins and the Archbishop of Nicosia, were still alive. The Church's role as a final arbiter in legitimacy disputes frequently enmeshed the medieval papacy in regional power politics. On Cyprus, the Church's encouragement of Alice's marriage to Hugh of Lusignan was probably partly to do with the need to unify two Christian kingdoms in the East, partly with receiving valuable religious patronage by the nascent royal house of Cyprus, but also partly because of its pragmatic need to side with the strongest party most likely to further the Church's interests. In the case of Champagne, it was siding with Alice's aunt. This was because the Church had enjoyed greater ecclesiastical patronage under Blanche of Navarre in Champagne, then under a queen-regent, controlling meager resources in the East. In Champagne, Blanche heavily patronized the church by lavishing rich donations to monasteries and undertook to protect the Church property from feudal advancements [29] Alice's successful claim to the county would have created a power vacuum in Champagne resulting in long periods of feudal struggles. Nevertheless, it is essential to ask why Queen Alice repeatedly snubbed papal demands to appear before the commission

investigating charges against her illegitimacy. There are a number of possible reasons; firstly, she could have been aware that such a hearing would have almost certainly resulted in her defeat; secondly, the loss of a legitimacy case at the papal hearing would have been catastrophic. It would greatly emasculate her authority, and reduce her chances of remarriage. She may have believed that her energies would be better spent canvassing for her case in France with loyal churchmen and disenchanted barons, than arguing legal points in the papal corridors in Anagni and Lateran.

In the thirteenth century, marriage played an important role in diplomacy. It was used to foster ties between kingdoms, expand territories, and bring contiguous areas under the ownership of one family. In short, it served to increase families' economic and political power. Likewise, through a favourable marriage alliance, women were also expected to improve their ability to acquire property and better their status in society. As a sign of political expediency for their kingdoms, in 1197, Count Henry II and Aimery I of Cyprus betrothed their children, Hugh and Alice, whilst they were still in cradle.[30] Alice was expected to provide continuity in royal succession to both kingdoms. For the Lusignans, her marriage and the fate of her existence were highly important, partly because she offered permanence to the succession through her lineage, but more significantly, she and her descendants were the hereditary bailli to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Accordingly, through this marriage the Lusignans would have expected to benefit from an alliance with Jerusalem and achieve respectability for their nascent kingdom.[31] If Alice had died without an heir, her husband would have a claim to the throne of Jerusalem. For the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cyprus offered a welcomed Christian coalition in a sea of Islam. The island was a geographical haven and a regional bread-basket. Its resources in manpower and materials would prove valuable assets to a tiny kingdom, stripped of land-space and under siege by a superior Muslim host. There were also other interested parties aiming to benefit from the union of Jerusalem and Cyprus; Maria Comnena had colluded with the papacy and Alice's aunt Blanche of Navarre to pursue Alice's marriage. Maria was an ambitious woman for her family, the Ibelins. A marriage alliance between her grand-daughter and the fledgling Lusignan kingdom presented new opportunities to a house whose rapid rise in fortunes saw its members occupy the highest echelons of government administration in

Jerusalem. Alice's aunt, Blanche of Navarre, had ruled Champagne as regent to her infant son, the future Thibaut IV, since the death of her husband, Thibaut III, and spent the entirety of her regency trying to secure her son's position. Blanche strengthened her rule over the county by forcing the castellans to sell their estates and by having a say in the nobles' right of fortification.[32] Naturally, she would have been happy to keep her niece in the East out of harm's way, even if it meant the full provision of her dowry. For the Syrian barons whose estates shrunk with gradual Muslim territorial advancement, the union between Jerusalem and Cyprus presented opportunities to gain secure fiefdoms in a neighboring Frankish realm, grateful for fresh intake of western vassals.

Alice probably married King Hugh I of Cyprus in 1208 or 1209.[33] According to Edbury, "their marriage was the first of a rapid series of events that transformed the politics of the Latin East, such as the growth of the Ibelins, the Longobard wars and the disputed regency of Jerusalem."[34] The extent of the teenage queen's political competence or her participation in royal government during her eight year marriage is not known. The lack of documentary evidence hinders our understanding of the scope of Alice's authority until 1218. She does not appear in any of Hugh I's charters, though this does not necessarily mean that she lacked authority.[35] Soon after her husband's death, however, Queen Alice successfully immersed herself in complex political issues. Indeed, papal letters of the period highlight her active role in politics.[36]. In a society within which political power was equated with manly skills, Pope Honorius III had recognised her maturity and her ability for political machination during the ecclesiastical crises of 1221, and had praised her ability to rule like a man despite being of fair sex.[37]

The period of history covering Queen Alice's Cypriot regency has received very little attention in modern historiography. It is one which needs a great deal of attention as it not only demonstrates the political power struggle between the young queen dowager and her kinsfolk, the Ibelins and Blanche of Navarre, but it also highlights the gradual rise of the baronial power at the expense of a weak central authority in the Latin East, specially when the office was occupied by a women. Queen Alice received the regency of Cyprus on the death of King Hugh in January 1218 in Tripoli. At the time, the future Henry I was eight year old.[38] In the middle ages queens were able to rise above their judicial and special status in society and enter into the public sphere which centered on the

exercise of power. Regents exercised royal authority until the heir reached majority. As such their powers were infinite: they applied grants on land, appointed office holders, assigned revenues, and directed governmental actions.[39] On the other hand, in politically fragmented societies, women succeeded to regency as a sanctioned right but more often were starved of power by their powerful vassals.[40] In order to transcend their marginalised status, women had to employ a male agency, such as a new husband, foster kinship networks, or if wealthy, exercise extensive religious patronage. Queen Alice's regency followed the customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, where the regency went to the nearest relative, male or female, on the side which the throne escheated. Alice had become a regent at a time when in the Outremer "the principle of the royal prerogative bound by a strict feudal contract to the vassals was being manipulated by the periphery (barons) in order to advance their socio-political status at the expense of central authority."[41] There is no direct evidence that in the early 1220s the queen was dominated by advisers but it is unlikely that she would have been able to act without a champion at her court. The lack of such support would have seriously hindered her establishing effective authority. Indeed, only days into her regency, she had become concerned about the safety of her family, herself and for the future of her realm because of some barons who were bent on creating mischief, instead of employing their skills in the crusades.[42] These un-named troublemakers were probably her uncles, the Ibelins. Following the king's death, John and Philip of Ibelin who had taken the cross with Hugh I returned to the island to participate in Cypriot politics. There is no contemporary evidence to suggest they continued crusading afterwards. Instead, they seem to be active political players throughout Alice's regency, consistently sabotaging her fledgling authority for their own advancement.[43]

Queen Alice became embroiled in weighty political and economic challenges early-on in her regency. These were over the selection of the Baillie to administer the island on her behalf, and the island's continued support to the ongoing crusade. Novara's account of queen's role in the events surrounding the appointment of Philip of Ibelin to the bailliage of Cyprus differs from that in *Eracles.* According to the former, following the homage paid to their regent, her liegemen then pleaded with Philip of Ibelin to take control of the island's administration as decreed by Hugh I in his last wish.[44] On the other hand, in *Eracles,* Queen Alice is seen as

the instigator of Philip's bailliage working independently from the island's baronage.[45] Edbury argues that Queen Alice was happy with Philip's bailliage, because "as a woman without a husband, Alice was not considered capable of exercising authority by herself and so would need to appoint a man to govern on her behalf."[46] There is no evidence to support his view that the Queen was happy with Philip's administration. She had no choice but to appoint her uncle. The Ibelins were her nearest relatives in the kingdom, and their political fortunes had risen considerably during the last year of Hugh I. Their advancement in Cyprus had been breathtaking. By 1217, they had replaced the established nobility whose families had arrived on Cyprus with Guy de Lusignan as principal vassals to the king. For a queen who was thrust into a position of authority without the established power-base, her appointment of Philip of Ibelin was a necessary political expediency, at least until she had acquired sufficient power to press for his removal.[47]

The death of Hugh I in 1218 ignited two major controversies that pitted the young queen and the island's nobility against the papacy. These were over the payment of tithes by the European settlers on Cyprus to the Catholic Church, and the debate over the status of the Greek Orthodox Church and its clergy under Lusignan rule. These episodes demonstrate the political dichotomy which was prevalent in medieval Church politics. Pope Honorius III was a zealous advocate of the Church's rights over the temporal authorities. He was an accomplished administrator, who had helped to bring order to the Church's finances by compiling in 1192 a thesis entitled *Liber Censuum.*[48] It listed institutions dependent on and owing dues to the Holy See. The newly established, but centrally weak Lusignan kingdom presented a perfect opportunity to apply the Church's ambitious policy of increased jurisdiction over the laity. For the embryonic Latin Church on the island, lay religious patronage and the imposition of tithes became means for advancement. Mas Latrie sees the tithe controversy as a power struggle between a confident papacy, following the success of Lateran IV, and secular authorities' intent on retaining their temporal gains, won through the subjugation of indigenous Greeks and their church property.[49] For the Papacy, therefore, the imposition of tithes on everything that the Latins possessed was a financial and political necessity: an exercise of power over the state.[50] If an estate and its revenues were spoils of war, the lord was liable for the payment of tithes. In Western Europe tithes were frequently contested,

because this type of estate could have been in a lord's possession for a long time. But in the Latin East, no lay lord was exempt from payment. On Cyprus, the Church had acted in pragmatic opportunism to press the politically weak and fragmented central authority for the payment of tithes at militarily desperate times when the island's secular wealth was drained in support of the fifth crusade. Additionally, for the nobility, tithes were unpopular partly because, "unlike donation of property and incomes, which was rewarded by prayers for the donor's soul, tithes were a direct tax for which the crown and the barons got nothing in return."[51] The relatively sparse Frankish nobility, whose estates were far smaller and poorer then their counterparts in France, had to shoulder the burden.

Negotiations between the queen and the papacy had dragged on until 1220. The agreed text on the payment of tithes was finally ratified at Famagusta in 1222.[52] In Queen Alice the papacy had encountered a passionate defender of the state's interest, an able adversary who by now was adept at playing power politics. She employed sophisticated legal arguments in attempting to postpone the implementation of the agreement. The queen frustrated the papacy's patience through her repeated appeals against the minutiae of the agreement's language. She is seen to object to the use of a specific phrase in a papal letter confirming the agreement, such as "since it was done cautiously without reservation," because the phrase did not appear in the content of the signed agreement.[53] Additionally, the Church had to retract from its original position of demanding the return of former Greek Church properties which had passed on to the crown and the nobility after the conquest of the island by the Franks.[54] Queen Alice eventually agreed to pay tithes on all revenues of the state and those of her barons', knights' and men's possessions. Moreover, the queen acquiesced for the Church to receive total exemption from poll tax and dues that the peasants of the archbishop and bishops of Cyprus owed to her.[55] Philip of Novara is conspicuously silent over the affair, possibly because Queen Alice was not only a direct participant in the debate but also was a leading player in orchestrating secular resistance against papal ambitions, much against the wishes of his overlord, John of Ibelin. The matter found voice in papal letters. The chronicles of *Amadi* and *Bustron* also draw attention to the quarrel between the queen and her uncles over the terms of the agreement, without any reference to the tithe question. Unlike Novara, however, they identify John of Ibelin as Alice's main adversary in the Ibelin camp.[56] By

allying themselves with the papal camp and opposing Alice, the Ibelins most probably ingratiated themselves as friends of the Church. Their strategy pays off, since the papacy would later openly support the Ibelin bailliage in their struggles with Queen Alice and Frederick II.[57]

Through the generous terms offered to the Church in the 1222 agreement, Queen Alice probably was seeking to cultivate an image for herself as a friend of the Church, whose ecumenical authority she was dependant on for the success of her claim to recover Champagne patrimony.[58] She had further sought prestige in her dealings with the Church through generous religious patronage. In 1220, she had confirmed the endowment of grain mills in Kytheria to the Cathedral of Nicosia in perpetuity.[59] The grateful Pope Honorius III addressed the queen as, "dearest daughter in Christ, illustrious queen."[60] On Cyprus, political exigency during her early regency, therefore, had thrown the two parties into each others arms.

In, interpreting the papal policy towards the Orthodox Greeks, historians should be careful of not projecting their notions of religion onto the Middle Ages. The resultant approach would render the historian a polemicist. The Greek-centric interpretation of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus, advanced by historians such as Hill and Hackett, who see the Lusignan period as nothing other then the Latin captivity of the Church of Cyprus, presents papal policy as temporal, devoid of spiritual motives.[61] Coureas rather simplistically elucidates that the Greek and the Latin Church were "institutions out for power and money and that different ideas about the true path to salvation play little role."[62] His argument suffers from a lack of emphasis on the spiritual element of ecclesiastical history. The controversy over the status of the Greek Church of Cyprus flared at the same time as the tithes debate. The indigenous Greeks, whose population is thought not to exceed 100,000 under the early Lusignan rule, were by far the largest ethnic group.[63] Queen Alice had to tread a fine line in keeping Greek grievances checked. Under Lusignan rule, their political and economic status had suffered a great deal, because, the enfranchisement of the European settlers, which included granting of lands and liberties to Syrian émigrés, came at their expense.[64] Additionally, "whereas previous conquests had aimed at strategic domination of the island and the economic exploitation of its inhabitants, the declared aim of the nascent Latin Church was to bring the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under the jurisdiction of Rome, which to Cypriot

Greeks represented not simply a move from one confession to another, but a challenge to their identity."[65] Willbrand of Oldenburg who visited the island in 1211 comments that they "obey the Franks and pay tribute like slaves."[66] The queen had to display an extraordinary knack of political astuteness in maintaining the fragile balance between the relatively small European settlers and the indigenous Greek majority. She sought to curtail papacy's expansionist agenda in order to reinforce her tenuous grasp on her administration. In 1221, Queen Alice pleaded with Pope Honorius III to allow Greek bishops to remain in Latin dioceses and continue to hold their Church properties. He not only refused her request, but also took an uncompromising line on the matter, stating that it would be "monstrous" for there to be two pontiffs in the same diocese, "as if one body had various heads."[67] Honorius III instructed Patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem and the archbishops of Tyre and Caesarea to force obedience from Greek bishops in Latin dioceses and strongly urged Queen Alice to work towards furthering the Church's mission.[68] Throughout the debate over the status of the Greek clergy, she provided a much needed political stability by carefully nurturing the aspirations of the Church and the Greeks. The queen also proved to be a tough adversary over Greek Church's status: in the 1222 Famagusta agreement, she won important concessions for the Greek clergy from an aggressive papacy. The Greek Church would continue in its pastoral role, albeit Greek bishops exiled to remote corners of the island. Whilst the number of the Greek bishoprics was reduced to four, the agreement affirmed the continuance of Greek bishoprics. Furthermore, their clergy became exempt from paying the poll tax, and the ordained Greek priests and deacons were granted freedom of movement, although this would be exercised with the permission of the Latin bishops. Long before Queen Helena's favorable treatment of her Greek subjects, Queen Alice became the first of the Lusignan house to value the relationship between the crown and its largest indigenous subjects After her departure to Tripoli in 1224, the condition of the Greek clergy under Ibelin administration reached a low ebb, resulting in the martyrdom of thirteen Greek monks at Kantara.[69] For the papacy, the terms of the Famagusta agreement were consistent with Lateran IV, because it reinforced the supremacy of the Latin Church over others', where the Greek bishops would show canonical obedience in spiritual matters to their Latin counterparts. Queen Alice's ardent support for the Greeks' case probably hides motives other then a simple desire to govern

placid subjects. Her authority competed with the Latin Church to benefit from the former properties of the disenfranchised Orthodox Church. Queen Alice's overriding concern therefore, would have been the furtherance of secular rights, whose continued support was necessary for her political longevity.

When dealing with the events of the early 1220s, both Hill and Edbury overlook Queen Alice's attempted marriage negotiations to William of Dampierre, the future count of Flanders. This affair not only highlights her lifelong preoccupation with seeking power and influence through long lasting territorial and political alliances, it also demonstrates Alice's desire to carve out an independent marriage and political path beyond the influence of her uncles. William hailed from an influential Champagne baronial house. The Dampierres were an important crusading family. [70] They had settled in Cyprus during the early days of the Lusignan kingdom and "were close to the Ibelins in terms of wealth, though not in numbers."[71] Alice's proposed marriage to William of Dampierre would present her with substantial advantages. Firstly, it offered her fresh sources of finances to exercise largesse, necessary in maintaining power. Secondly, as influential Champagne nobility, Dampierre would offer useful local support to Alice in her own territorial ambitions on the county. In August 1223, Pope Honorius III instructed Archbishop Walter of Sans and Bishop William of Chalons-sur-Marne to prohibit Queen Alice's impending marriage on the grounds of consanguinity.[72] The active role of the Papacy I in this issue needs a careful examination. This was one of many occasions when the Church impeded Alice's ambitions. The Church was an interested party in regional power politics. The marriage alliance between Queen Alice and the powerful Dampierre family could re-ignite a second civil war in the county, producing further socio-economic uncertainty. The Church could not afford another protracted dispute over the county like the one that took place soon after Phillipa's claim to the county, which lasted from 1216 until 1219. This dispute had not only destroyed feudal loyalties, but also the fortunes of the Catholic Church, who relied on the benefices and tithes collected from noble estates. Furthermore, by preventing Queen Alice's marriage, Honorius III was clearly affirming the canonical position on consanguinity. After all, the Church's *prima facie* mission was the care of the souls, especially the noble ones, since they were the

Church's most important adherents and those who provided the Church with rich patronage, such as the lords of Champagne.

Novara is dismissive of Queen Alice's tenure as regent. Accordingly, she had the revenues of the kingdom and disposed of them at will.[73] Proceeding from Novara, Hill called her an "inexperienced and tactless" woman who showed no interest in the kingdom and spent liberally.[74] The granting of trading privileges to Genoa in 1218 demonstrates Queen Alice's commercial acumen and astute political awareness.[75] Cyprus had no navy of its own and its trading activity was disturbed by the ongoing Fifth Crusade. The Genoese offered the economically depressed kingdom a valuable trading partner and a political ally. As Edbury observes, "seeking Genoese support in the face of the political challenges she was facing at the outset of her regency."[76]

In 1224 Queen Alice left Cyprus following an un-easy relationship with Philip of Ibelin, which can be traced back to the earlier days of her regency.[77] Novara does not elaborate on the reasons behind Alice's departure from Cyprus, only noting disdainfully that she had quarreled with Philip of Ibelin and left the island without consulting the *Haute Court*.[78] According to *Eracles,* in 1218 Alice made the mistake of having her vassals swear obedience to her uncle, the bailli, until her son reached majority. When she could not endure the abuses of the Ibelins she had left the island in shame.[79] *Eracles*' account is more plausible; Alice may have come to realize that under Philip's bailliage her lines of patronage were restricted, and she had become politically emasculated. Only an advantageous marriage alliance to a powerful lord would help her to recover her status and re-establish *potesta*. The Principality of Antioch offered such opportunity. Queen Alice married Prince Bohemond, the future Bohemond V of Antioch, in 1225 on an island off the Tripoli coast.[80] The connection between the two families extended back to Alice's father, Henry II, who in 1194 secured the release of Bohemond III from Armenian captivity. Alice expected to gain prestige by marrying Bohemond. Instead, she was drawn into the conflict that was raging between the Papacy and Antioch.[81] The Princes of Antioch were no friends of the Holy See. Bohemond IV was an excommunicant, who fell foul of the Church over the flaying of Hospitallers during a "diabolical rage."[82] The emergence of a potentially strong regional power hostile to the Papacy, allied to Honorius III's nemesis, Frederick II, would have been a daunting prospect for the Papacy. The Church had been left with a

serious dilemma over the "clandestine" marriage of "the irresolute and mobile princes."[83] Yet alienating Queen Alice, who had become an awkward adversary to her uncles, with whom she had often argued, meant she would have been free to pursue her claim in France or becoming a magnet to anti-Ibelin faction. The union of Cyprus and Antioch before the young Henry I reached majority would have extended Antiochene influence over Cypriot politics at the expense of Ibelin interests. The prospect would have been alarming to the Ibelins, who had ruled Cyprus unchecked since Queen Alice's departure to Syria. Her marriage to Bohemond Archbishop Eustorge of Nicosia, a relative of the Ibelins and distrusted by Queen Alice and the Prince of Antioch alerted the pope to the illegality of Alice's marriage, arguing that the couple was related within the forbidden degree of consanguinity. Eustorge became a vociferous opponent of the union, possibly because of his long lasting feud with Prince Bohemond IV relating back to the latter's excommunication by the papal legate Cardinal Pelagius.[84] In 1224, Eustorge asked the pope to be excused from travelling to the lands under Bohemond's jurisdiction, as he feared he would be harmed by the Count.[85] Yet, despite the obvious knowledge of the animosity between the Archbishop of Nicosia and the House of Antioch, a year later the pope instructed Eustorge to investigate the degree of consanguinity between Alice and Bohemond, most probably in order to discharge a canonical administrative procedure then a desire to investigate the truth.[86] When the couple's pleas to Eustorge were expectantly rejected, Frederick II championed their appeal to the Holy See.[87] Alice's procurator, a celebrated knight and lawyer, William of Rivet, who attended the consanguinity hearing in Rome, insisted that they could not receive a fair hearing in the Latin East before "a suspect judge," Archbishop Eustorge, demanding that their case is heard in Rome, where their case was supported by Bohemond's powerful ally Frederick II.[88] According to de Rivet, Alice was related to her husband in the fifth degree, thus, the marriage was legal.[89] Bending to imperial pressure, the pope removed the Archbishop of Nicosia from the case and replaced him with Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem.[90] However, the alienation of Frederick II from papal favour which would eventually lead to his excommunication had diminished the couple's chances of success with the papal commission. In 1228, Honorius III finally annulled their marriage.[91] Without the support of powerful local princedom to fight her cause, and the arrival of

Frederick II in the East to recover his rights over Cyprus and Jerusalem meant Alice's chances for re-empowerment on Cyprus had been irrevocably lost. In 1229, she had no choice but to leave Outremer in order to seek empowerment in the West, through the recovery of her patrimony in Champagne.

Philip of Novara claims Cypriot barons had universally condemned Queen Alice's marriage to Bohemond.[92] This is a gross historical misrepresentation. The anti-Ibelin barons, who included Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan, Gauvain de Clenchi, William de Rivet and Hugh de Gibelet had previously appeared as regular testators on King Hugh's charters.[93] They would have welcomed such a union, because their status had been gradually eroded under Philip of Ibelin's bailliage. Through the influence of the strongest Frankish power in the Levant, they would have expected to recover their previous status. In Tripoli, Queen Alice became the fulcrum of anti-Ibelin faction. Edbury argues that there is little evidence linking Alice with these nobles. However, on the contrary, not only had the above named barons appeared on Alice's charters from Cyprus, but she had also been closely connected to at least two of the protagonists, Amaury Barlais and William de Rivet. In 1227, the queen had championed the former as her choice of bailli to replace Philip of Ibelin.[94] As already noted, the latter had acted as her procurator during the consanguinity hearing in Rome. She had endowed him with the estate of Pyrgos on Cyprus as a benefice.[95] Once her son Henry I reached majority, Queen Alice lost the support of her vassals, the anti-Ibelin barons. They switched their allegiance to Frederick II, because he would offer them better opportunity to recover their lost status then a dowager queen, devoid of *potesta*. After 1229, none would appear in her charters.

The questions of fitness to rule and legitimacy were central to medieval lordship and to succession disputes. Political claimants often resorted to propaganda and character assassination in their attempts to beat their opponents. As claimants, women had traditionally been natural targets, but as protagonists they themselves used and manipulated political arguments.[96] They overcame strict gender roles to seek and maintain power by employing all means of guile and coercion at their disposal. Amongst the queens of the Latin East, Queen Alice's selfish determination to seek *potesta* was only matched by Queen Melisende of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. Alice's claim to recover her inheritance became the single most taxing concern during her adult life. Female

claimants were shunted off to the East, not so much in exile but more as a way of giving them the least defensible properties. If Alice was to rule in the East with largesse, she would need access to the revenues from her French patrimony, which was of redoubtable importance because of its size, richness, and the respect it commanded in France. Her rule in the East was therefore hampered by not having access to such in the West.

Queen Alice's claim to inheritance in Champagne was sabotaged by relatives in favour of their family's advancement. During this episode, the Roman Church acted as a willing collaborator in latter's machinations. By blocking Queen Alice's claim in France, the Papacy had ensured that she remained in the Levant, rather then upset the *status quo* in France. A political upheaval would have put the Church's patronage and benefices at risk. In his *Vie de Saint Louis,* John of Joinville recounted Alice's visit to France in pursuance of her claim to the County of Champagne and the subsequent events that culminated in a treaty between the queen and Count Thibaut IV, brokered by Blanche of Castille and Louis IX.[97] Henry II had left the county of Champagne in the hands of his brother Thibaut III until his return from the crusade or if he had no issue. When Henry died in Acre, his daughters Alice and Phillipa became legitimate claimants.[98] In 1216, Phillipa and her husband, Erard of Brienne, mounted an armed challenge to wrest the county from Thibaut III's widow, Blanche of Navarre. Envisaging such a threat to her son's tenuous position, Blanche had secured an undertaking from the pope and King Philip II of France that Alice and Phillipa's future claims to the county of Champagne would not be heard until her son reached the age of twenty one, or unless a charge was brought by an ecclesiastical person.[99] Phillipa's and her husband's struggle with the Countess lasted three years until 1219. During hostilities, Phillipa was supported by a number of barons, mainly from the southern part of the county. Following the hostilities, rebellious barons were forced to renew their homage to Blanche and her son. In 1229, Queen Alice began imposing her will on Champagne. Yet, her methods were far subtler and more purposeful then her sister's. They show understanding of the finer points of legal arguments, particularly when dealing with complex ecclesiastical pronouncements. Papal letters highlight the Holy See's concern over Alice's diplomatic skills and her ability to attract both lay and ecclesiastical leaders to her cause.[100]. Aware of the clause in the papal edict which allowed a legal charge in support of her claim through

ecclesiastical pronouncement, she had spent considerable time canvassing support from bishoprics that had previously enjoyed benefices under her father's rule. The queen did not arrive in France until 1232. Her ability to keep alive her claim through able procurators and letters for thirteen years highlights her remarkable skills in conducting power politics. Throughout her inheritance struggle that lasted sixteen years, she had demonstrated determined stubbornness and tenacity in the face of sustained attack on her legitimacy. Queen Alice herself was not without friends; according to John of Joinville, "all the barons of France…settled to send for the Queen of Cyprus," pointing to her wide support for her cause in France.[101] Certainly, her claim to Champagne was championed by other powerful neighboring barons, such as Philip Hurepel, the Count of Boulogne, Hugh of Burgundy, Hugh of Normandy, Guy of Nevers, and Robert Dreux of Btittany, no doubt eager to advance their own territorial ambitions on Champagne. Queen Alice's claim was finally settled through the intervention of the French royal house. She received 40,000 *livres* as a one-off payment and an annual income of 2,000 *livres.* Additionally, she was given the fiefs of the County of Blois, Chartres, Sancerre and Chateaudun.[102] Through this agreement, Alice became a very wealthy woman. In return she renounced her claim to the County of Champagne. Richard points to three factors to explain Alice's failure to recover Champagne: the erosion of her support due to concerns over her legitimacy; papal influence over local baronage and bishops through the threat of excommunications; and, the death of her champion, Peter Hurepel, the Count of Boulogne.[103] However, the most important factor for the peace treaty had had been the intervention of Louis IX, who intervened in order to spare France from descending into a full-blown civil war.

This paper has aimed to revise the field of Cypriot medieval studies in three directions: by adding new information, answering old questions in new ways, and creating entirely a new research area which focuses on the public life of Lusignan women. It has argued that in patristic societies the Church in collusion with the political periphery excluded women from many of the behavioral domains in which the right to rule was exercised. Women like Queen Alice of Cyprus challenged the society's constrictions that they could be in office but not in power. She had become a regent at a time "when the principle of the royal prerogative bound by a strict feudal contract to the vassals was being manipulated by

the periphery in order to advance their socio-political status at the expense of central authority."[104] Within such a politically fragmented society, she became a regent as a sanctioned right but her authority was challenged by her kinsmen, although, she refused vigorously to be a figurehead. Alice had realized early on in her regency that if she was to realize her potential as holder of the *potesta* she would have to acquire wealth, which she conspicuously lacked. The queen repeatedly pursued a marriage strategy not linked to Ibelin interest. Despite being ignored by the most powerful in Christendom, she ceaselessly pursued her strategy of empowerment. Her career is also important because it highlights the extent of the Church's active participation in regional power-politics. For pursuing her claim to rulership with single-minded determination at a point of Latin East's history when the baronial power had reached its apogee, she deserves more credit then historians have traditionally given her. In 1246, Queen Alice died in Acre in 1246, and was buried next to her husband, King Hugh I in the Hospitallers church of St John in Nicosia.[105] She continued to style herself Queen of Cyprus until her death.

Endnotes

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[1] Peter Edbury, "The State of Research: Cyprus under the Lusignans and Venetians, 1991-1998," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 57-65; 57. The following material has played a major influence on shaping the nature of research on medieval Cyprus.; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940); Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991); Nicholas Savvas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot, 1997).

[2] Some of the recent work on medieval Cypriot queens are; Benjamin Arbel, "The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a Family Affair," *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); Christina Kaoulla, "Queen Helena Palaiologina of Cyprus (1442-1458): Myth and

History," Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Cambridge); Chris Schabel, "The Myth of Queen Alice and the Subjugation of the Greek Clergy on Cyprus," in *Actes Du Colloque "Identites Croisees En Un Milieu Mediterranean: Le Cas De Chypre"* eds. Gilles Grivaud and S Fourrier (Rouen, forthcoming: Universite de Rouen).

[3] Some of the pioneering work on women and power are Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens ; London, 1988); Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Gendering the Master Narrative : Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y. ; London, 2003); Deborah Gerish, "Gender Theory," in Helen J. Nicholson, ed., *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2005); Judith Herrin, *Women in Purple : Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London, 2001); John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 1993); John Carmi Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in *Medieval Queenship,* ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993); Brigitte Bedos Rezak, "Women, Seals, and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages,* eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens ; London, 1988); Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England. Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship,* ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993).

[4] Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice*, 21.

[5] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 163-4.

[6] William Stubbs, *Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia. (October 26 and 29, 1878). Seventeen Lectures on the study of Mediaeval and Modern History and kindred subjects ... with two Addresses given at Oxford and Reading*, 3 ed. (Oxford, 1900), 198.

[7] Hill, *History*, 84.

[8] John La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1932), 69-70.

[9] David Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of the Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* (401986), 83-101; 96.

[10] See, Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice,* also, Chris Schabel, "The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus," in *"Sweet Land..." Lectures on the*

History and Culture of Cyprus, eds. Julian Chrysostomides, Dendrinos Charalambos (Camberley, 2006), 165-170.

[11] *Estienne De Lusignano's Description De Toute L'Isle De Cypre* (Nicosia 2004 [Paris, 1580]), 273-274; *Giovanni Francesco Loredano's Historie De" Re Lusignani* (Venetia, 1653), 33.

[12] Schabel, *Myth of Queen Alice*, 7.

[13] Complete corpus of papal letters on Queen Alice will appear in the *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters Involving Cyprus 1196-1316* eds. Chris Schabel and Jean Richard (Nicosia, forthcoming); On Alice' charters, see, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI),* ed. R. Rohricht, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893-1904). On her seals, see, Gustave L. Von Schlumberger, *Sigillographie De L' Orient Latin* (Paris: Geuthner, 1943), and references to Queen Alice' Champagne campaign can be found in, Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore, 1975), Theodore Evergates, *Littere Baronum : The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne* (Toronto, London, 2003).

[14] Pauline Stafford, *Portrayal of Royal Women*, 144.

[15] "Les Gestes Des Chiprois," in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades, Documents Armeniens*, ed. L. Mas Latrie, G. Paris, C. Kohler (Paris, 1906), 653-872. For an English version of Novara's history, see, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus by Philip de Novare*, ed. J. La Monte (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). For more up to date modern critical edition of Novara's work, see, *Guerra Di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, ed. Silvio Melani (Napoli, 1994)

[16] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick II*, 17.

[17] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49.

[18] *"L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer,"* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux,* 2 (Paris, 1844-1895); *Chroniques d'Amadi et Strambaldi,* ed. R. de Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891); *Florio Bustron's Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, (Paris: 1886).

[19] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick,* 25-6, note 1; *Eracles,* 362-3.

[20] For Edbury's assessment on the value of Amadi, see, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49, note 38.

[21] *Amadi,* 120; *Bustron,* 60-1.

[22] Henry II was the grandson of King Louis VII of France and his first wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. As such he was related to both the Capetian as well as the Angevin royal houses.

[23] La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*. 42; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*. (Cambridge, 1999), 230.

[24] Runciman, *Kingdom of Acre*, 69. Henry II married Isabella one week after the death of her husband Conrad of Montferrat. This was considered illegal and against the customs of the kingdom. The issue had later surfaced when Queen Alice"s pursued her claim to Champagne.

[25] Runciman, *Kingdom of Acre*, 26-7.

[26] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), 116.

[27] Hill, *History*, 36.

[28] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum Inde Ab Anno Post Christum Natum 1198 Ad Annum 1304*, ed. August Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874-1875), 6091; *Regesta Honorii Papae III,* ed. Pietro Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888-1895), 2121, 2231.

[29] Evergates, *Feudal Society*, nos. 56-8, 60.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Jean Richard, "Le droit et les institutions franques dans le royaume de Chypre" in *Croises, Missionnaires et Voyageurs: Les Perspectives Orientales du Monde Latin Medieval* (London, 1983), 18.

[32] Evergates, *Feudal Society*, nos. 25, 31.

[33] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 49. Edbury argues that the marriage took place in 1210, before the expiry of the Muslim truce, whilst accepting that there is some confusion regarding the date of marriage. See also, *Eracles*, 308-309. On the other hand, "Annales De Terre Sainte," in *Archives De L'Orient Latin,* eds. R Rohricht and G Raynaud, 2 (Paris, 1881), 427-61, 436, places the marriage to 1211. Presuming Alice married Hugh at a marriageable age of twelve, the union would have taken place sometime in 1209. The following year she was accompanied with her uncles to Cyprus.

[34] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 44.

[35] Despite ruling France in her son Louis IX's absence whilst he was on a crusade, Blanche of Castille does not appear in royal charters at all.

[36] *Regesta Honorii III,* 4998; Louis De Mas Latrie, *Histoire De L'Ile De Chypre Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1860-1861), 47.

[37] *Regesta Honorii III,* 3663; Mas Latrie, *Historie,* II, 44-5. "Cum in sexu fragili virile robur induas…"

[38] *Eracles,* 325, 360.

[39] La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy,* 53.

[40] La Monte, *Wars of Frederick II,* 199.

[41] Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 94-5.

[42] Mas Latrie, *Historie,* II, 610; *Regesta Honorii III,* 1524; *Regesta Pontificum,* 5871-2.

[43] *Eracles,* 361.

[44] *Gestes*, 2 (98)

[45] *Eracles*, 360-1.

[46] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 35-36.

[47] *Regesta Honorii III,* 5824*;* W. Edbury, "John of Jaffa and the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot, 1999), 39.

[48] *Le Liber Censuum De L'Eglise Romaine Compiled by Honorius III*, eds. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Paris, 1952).

[49] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 122-124.

[50] Ibid. 45.

[51] Coureas, *Latin Church*, 17.

[52] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 45; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4212. English translation in, *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196-1373*, ed. Chris Schabel (Nicosia, 2001), no. 11.

[53] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 47; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4998-9.

[54] *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, eds. Nicholas Coureas and Chris Schabel (Nicosia, 1997), no. 80; *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 10.

[55] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* III, 45; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4212; *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 11.

[56] *Amadi*, 120; *Bustron,* 60-61.

[57] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5824.

[58] *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no. 84; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 612-4; *RRH,* 938.

[59] *RRH,* no. 929.

[60] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 610. *Karrisime in Christo filie illustri regine.*

[61] John Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation (A. D. 45-A. D. 1878) Together with Some Account of the Latin*

and Other Churches Existing in the Island (London, 1901); Hill, *History of Cyprus,* II.

[62] Nicholas Coureas, *Latin Church in Cyprus*, 251.

[63] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 14-5.

[64] Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, Entitled "Chronicle,"* ed. R. M Dawkins, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1932), 25, 29.

[65] Nicholas Coureas, "The Cypriot reaction to the establishment of the Latin Church. Resistance and collaboration," in *Sources Travaux Historiques* 43-44: 75-84; 76.

[66] *Excerpta Cypia: Materials for a History of Cyprus,* trans. Claude Delaval Cobham (Cambridge, 1908), 13.

[67] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 3663; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 44-5. For English translation, see *Synodicum Nicosiense,* no. 8.

[68] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 3687; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II, 45; *Synodicum Nicosiense*, no.7.

[69] *Eracles,* 361.

[70] Janet Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text* (Aldershot, 1999), 138. William would later take the cross with St. Louis and suffer incarceration with the French king after the battle of Mansoura.

[71] W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, eds. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (Boston, 2005), 91.

[72] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4471. "…quod licet Wilelmus de Donnapetra (Dampetra) et (Allais) regina Cypri se in eo gradu propinguitatis attingat ut negueant matrimonialiter copulari, nihilominus tamen tractatus de contrahendo matrimonio inter eos."

[73] *Gestes*, 31 (127); *Amadi,* 125-9.

[74] Hill, *History*, II, 84.

[75] *RRH*, 912.

[76] Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 110.

[77] Ibid.; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 4561.

[78] *Gestes*, 19 (115).

[79] *Eracles,* 361-2.

[80] "*Annales De Terre Sainte,*" *AOL,* II, 438; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 47.

[81] Chris Schabel, "Frankish Pyrgos and the Cistercians," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities* (2000), 349-60; 351.

[82] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5593; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 47.
[83] *"Historie des Archeveques Latins de L'Ile de Chypre"* in *AOL,* II, 221.
[84] *Regesta Pontificum,* 7524a.
[85] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5182.
[86] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 5593; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 47.
[87] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6271; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 48.
[88] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272; Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 48. "…,ad prosequendam apellationem interpositam ad nostrum presentiam destinarint, et ipsi apud nos diu institerint ut, cum illis nimis periculosum existeret super hoc sub suspecto iudice litigare, providere super hoc misericorditer dignaremur."
[89] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272.
[90] Mas Latrie*, Histoire,* II*,* 48; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6271.
[91] *Amadi,* 123-4; *Bustron,* 63.
[92] *Gestes*, 19 (114).
[93] *RRH,* nos. 912, 929, 938.
[94] *Gestes*, 114; *Amadi*, 120.
[95] *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 6272.
[96] Pauline Stafford, *Portrayal of Royal Women*, 146.
[97] Jean Joinville, *Vie De Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995), 158.
[98] Ibid., 42.
[99] Evergates, *Littere Baronum*, docs. 36, 61.
[100] *Innocentii III,* II, 844; *Regesta Honorii III,* no. 2121.
[101] *Vie de Saint Louis*, 155-6.
[102] Ibid., 158.
[103] Richard, *Saint Louis*. 46.
[104] Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 94-95.
[105] *AOL,* II*,* Docs 426-61; *Amadi,* 198.