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Danielle A. E. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne and the Kingdom of France, 1095-1222*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2018. x, 244 pp. \$99.00 U.S. (cl). ISBN 978-1-78327-222-8.

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In November of 1095, Pope Urban II preached a call to arms familiar to all who study the medieval crusade movement. Urban's sermon, in the various iterations in which it has survived, is famous for many innovations: instituting the crusade vow, echoing a call for peace within Europe and, perhaps most importantly, granting remission of sins to all who would take part. A greater innovation that has long gone overlooked or under-appreciated was the Pope's offer of papal protection for crusaders, their families, and their property. As Danielle Park admirably unfolds in this study, papal protection offered a profound inducement for families, especially families of means, to take part on the First Crusade and the subsequent expeditions that followed the Latin victory in the east in 1099. Blending a careful reading of canon law and documents of practice, including the charters and legal instruments crusaders and their families had drawn up to protect their property and ensure peace, Park shows how papal protection worked in practice, on the ground, in routine but consequential ways. Her study also illuminates powerfully how much crusading involved men *and* women, vowed lords, knights, foot-soldiers and their wives, mothers, sisters, children, and kin. The author's adept use of the social and legal texts throws light on just how one-sided the chronicle evidence is, with its gaze directed almost solely at the deeds of male protagonists. The struggles to hold onto titles, lands, wardships, and to keep peace in Europe over the course of successive crusade campaigns shaped medieval Europe's bureaucratic, legal, and economic history in ways we are only beginning to uncover. Park's study offers a leap forward along this path.

Papal Protection and the Crusader traces just that, the interaction between a series of canon laws and privileges and the individuals whom they affected. The book reads like a dialogue, progressing chronologically, but alternating between developments in canon law and the adaptive responses taken up by regents in turn. Chapters one and three address key developments in the legality of the privilege; whereas chapters two, four, five, and six "explore how papal protection operated in practice and assess the political impact of long-term absences" (p. 10). To gauge what happened in the crusaders' absences, Park draws upon the charter evidence preserved by the regency governments of Flanders, France and Champagne; the heartland of crusader recruitment and participation. Park is especially interested in "what happened to the families and possessions that crusaders left behind...and [what] authority stepped in to protect the absent crusaders' interests" (p. 3). Crusade regency was a complex and responsive institution that often

drew upon secular and religious authority. While crusade regency often fell to the wives of departed lords, it could also, as Park addresses, fall to younger sons and ecclesiastics to take up regency rule. Looking at regencies as a form of governance allows her to think comparatively about the experiences of men and women in positions of power. As she shows, “most female regents could act as ordinary rulers without hindrance from either their gender or the temporary nature of their political status” (p. 9). Women regents could and did take part in military matters and displays of public power when needed. Park rightly draws out the crucial point, one that has long gone underappreciated until scholars began to ask about the experiences of women during the crusades: “the papal protection offered to crusaders made no gender distinctions and covered wives and children (male and female) equally. The privilege set these families apart from those of non-crusading men-at-arms; although they were left behind by their crusader kin these families now had a new defender – the pope – and a unique privilege” (p. 9). Indeed, rather than imagining women and children bereft of male paternal authority, it is possible to see regency rule and the cultural and political power that accrued to women and families as a whole as yet another mechanism to facilitate comital (or royal or aristocratic) rule and to widen the exercise of local control on the ground. Protection and its adroit implementation by regents allowed governments a new precision and greater facility in collecting taxes, confirming alienations, pressing claims of lordship and oversight.

Chapter one, “From Pilgrimage Privileges to Protecting the First Crusaders,” offers a careful exploration and untangling of a thicket of accumulated canon law that formed the basis of crusade-related legal practice. Tracing the intersecting influence of pilgrim protections and the Peace and Truce of God decrees, Park shows how Urban II innovated in extending protections to crusader families and possessions rooted in the idea of extending Christ’s peace. Canonists from Burchard of Worms to Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Lucca copied and amended different types of protections covering pilgrims and peace agreements. In many of these texts, especially that of Burchard, who compiled his materials as a practical guide for magistrates who needed to make decisions about everyday matters, the application of such privileges of protection generated new answers to difficult questions. Because the protection of the Peace of God encompassed only what pilgrims carried with them, not what or whom they left behind, most protections governing pilgrims were insufficient. Families often developed their own strategies for protecting their material interests as we see in the case of Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou who appointed his powerful brother as regent.

Yet this too was seen as insufficient, or so Park reconstructs it. From casebooks and letters sent among the episcopate of northern France, she argues that Urban originated the compounded law for papal protection. For example, the *Codex Laurentianus*, (ca. 1120) contained “canons that had their origins in circulated notes of the Clermont proceedings and hence were contemporary with the council.” The *Codex* notes: “These are the orders of Pope Urban, given in the Council of Clermont. 1. It is ordered that the Truce of God be held, as it was sworn. 2. The people were to be advised of the journey to Jerusalem and whosoever shall go for the sake of penitence both he and his possessions shall be under the Truce of God for always.” (p. 35). Other collections, like the *Cencius Baluze*, echo this provision, as did the eyewitness testimony of Fulcher of Charters which spoke of upholding the Truce of God and maintaining the peace in the crusaders’ absence. In this sense, although there has been a general trend to temper Urban’s influence over the genesis of crusading to give more allowance to popular sentiment and local initiatives, Park argues that for the protection privilege, “Urban was its architect” (p. 38).

Urban emphasized one other crucial factor: the need for spousal consent. The required parity or agreement in taking a crusade vow associated it with monastic vows and pilgrimage vows, which required a spouse's agreement. As Park acknowledges, "this probably gave the crusaders' wives far greater prominence and therefore protection than the wives of men-at-arms who did not take the cross" (p. 39). Such protections were not solely done for the good of crusaders or as an added inducement to take the cross. They also had the advantage of extending the authority and power of the Reform Papacy, which became the new arbiter and guarantor of the peace.

How such privileges took affect is the subject of chapter two, "Defending Flanders and Champagne during the First Crusade." In 1096, Robert II of Flanders and Stephen of Blois left their lands in the hands of their wives, Clemence of Flanders and Adela of Blois, to rule as regents. Indeed, "crusading husbands saw their wives as viable leaders" who often had prior experience in governance over their dower lands or as witnesses or in consenting to comital charters, and in possession of their own seals as signs of their authority (p. 47). Both women marshalled the support of the episcopate, turning to local bishops to ratify charters, translate relics, and to author letters on their behalf, bringing to bear the full brunt of spiritual sanction and reform rhetoric when needed. And in 1095, bishops Ivo of Chartres and Manasses of Rheims, in both Blois and Flanders, repeatedly proclaimed the Peace of God in the counts' absence to uphold the regents' rights in times of rebellion, giving new momentum to the application of the new papal protections.

Between 1123 and 1222, crusading was a surprisingly protean and adaptive religious movement. New expeditions were almost always called in response to losses in the East, representing a desperate struggle to hold onto lands gained after 1099. Canon law proved equally adaptive and came to clarify and set in writing what were only vague ideas at the close of the eleventh century. In chapter three, "Developing and Consolidating Protection, 1123-1222," Park shows how the crusader protections came to be institutionalized within canon law and practice. The piecemeal traces of Urban II's canons that surface in early twelfth-century decretals and casebooks came to be replaced and superseded by two powerful Papal bulls: Eugenius III's *Quantum praedecessores* in 1145 and Innocent III's *Ad liberandam* of 1215. These two bulls grew out of decades of responses to petitions and clarifications sent by crusaders and their kin. Indeed, what came to distinguish crusading from pilgrimage was the clear "extension of papal protection to home and family [as] the exclusive privilege of the crusader, despite crusading's irrefutable links to pilgrimage" (p. 77). This is seen again in 1145 when Eugenius "effectively changed" the formula of the protection so that it would cover families and houses but also "crusaders' wives and children in addition to goods and possessions" (p. 80). Not surprisingly, the extension of the privilege went hand in hand with the development in papal administration and the continual consolidation, clarification, and copying of canon law texts throughout the twelfth century. Park finds rather remarkable papal letters addressed to "the wife of a certain crusader, Angult of *Aiteio*"; a reprimand to Hugh of Grand-Pré who had stolen an unnamed crusader's villeins and possessions; and the letter of Pope Alexander III written "to subdue the tearful requests of the wife of the aforesaid O" to show that the privilege "did operate across the social spectrum" (p. 86). Punishments for breaching the papal protection included excommunication and interdict.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, as papally-sponsored crusade preaching increased, the papal protections were used as a clear inducement for recruiting more soldiers to the cause. Preachers promised to those who took the cross anew that "their goods are to remain in the meantime undiminished and unmolested" (p. 89). The privileges extended to crusaders were further

enhanced during the pontificate of Innocent III. As has been well documented, Innocent opened participation to a wide swath of society—women, the elderly, the infirm—by allowing all who took the vow to commute it for other forms of support, whether monetary, material or spiritual, through regular rites of prayer and processions. He also allowed the crusader to overturn a spouse's objections. In return, the need for papal protections expanded. Numerous individual petitions for papal privileges exist for the early thirteenth century, to be obtained for a fee (usually at least 2 *solidi*), which surely "precluded crusaders of lesser means from petitioning" the pope (p. 95). Indeed, in 1217, when Stephen of Cotrone's lands were put under papal protection, he was to pay one *livre* of gold per year to the Apostolic See for the duration of his crusade. As papal protection came to be purchased, it also came to be seen as an invaluable tool for the protection of family and possessions. Carried out in the interstices of hundreds of letters and petitions, there was also a fundamental shift in the very nature and conceptualization of power and sacred authority.

The second half of the book then turns to the implementation and use of the papal protection during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Here Park turns once again to the documentary evidence to reconstruct the dynamics of royal regency during the Second Crusade (chapter four); the crusader regencies of Flanders and Champagne between 1145 and 1177 (chapter five); and the regencies following the Third Crusade, from 1189 to 1222 (chapter six). These chapters offer up a wealth of details about how regents, many of whom were wives or female kin, navigated the temporary positions of power. It became an asset to learn how to cultivate ecclesiastical support or, in the case of royal regents like Abbot Suger, to find loyal local secular lords who could be trusted. Through the details of the charters Park also shows, although this is not the focus of her argument, the kinds of powers women could wield as well as the ways in which they too participated in the crusade movement, from home, through prayer, patronage, and peaceful protection. Some regents, like Sybilla of Flanders, made their commitment to the spiritual aspects of crusading and the Latin east more visible upon retiring from political life. Sybilla chose to travel with her husband to the Holy Land in 1157, where she entered the Cistercian convent of Bethany. By 1189, as Park argues persuasively, the dynamics of regencies and governance had become more routine and more deeply imbedded within political mechanisms and canon law. Using the regencies of Marie of Flanders and Blanche of Navarre in Champagne as examples, she shows how able chancellors became useful arms of governance rather than merely confidants and friends of the counts. In turn, these women acted with defining powers that reshaped political and social life in their realms. Law-giving and the implementation of justice were crucial avenues for making this power felt, as was the increased reliance on written documents to solidify this hard-won authority.

Refreshingly, Park's book is not a story of triumphalism or apocalypticism, but one of pragmatism and worry, which serves to humanize the traditional crusade history. Using documents of practice shaped by the force of an emergent and still protean canon law, she illustrates how families planned for contingencies, calibrated risks, and created mechanisms to underline in new ways the authority of regents, and especially wives and mothers, in the absence of male crusading kin. In the process, European society was marked profoundly by the crusading movement as it reacted to the crush of debts, the changing nature of fief-holding, and the ever-shifting political landscape that made the alliance of regent and papal protection so vital to encumbering the challenges of crusading.

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