

A STUDY OF THE STYLE AND  
METHOD OF RALPH OF CAEN

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of History

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
James Beach Daniels

December, 1972

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study of Ralph of Caen has been an interesting and often enjoyable task. The Gesta Tancredi, as a product of the culture of western Europe in the early twelfth century, expresses attitudes and values which are often surprising to the modern student. Understanding Ralph's cultural context has been one of the greatest challenges which I encountered in this investigation. However, several persons have assisted me greatly in this endeavor.

My advisor, Dr. John Hugh Hill, suggested this topic. Throughout the research and writing of this thesis, Dr. Hill's advice, aid, and criticism helped me greatly through numerous difficulties. His wife, Laurita L. Hill, gave advice and encouragement. The other members of my thesis committee, Dr. Richard R. Johnson, Dr. Eugene Decker, and Dr. George T. Morgan, helped me significantly with questions, suggestions, and criticisms. I also wish to thank my wife, Eugenia Daniels, for her helpful criticism of my form and style, for doing much of the typing, and for her patience and forbearance with me while I was engaged in this project.

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## ABSTRACT

The Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana, written in the early twelfth century by Ralph of Caen, has rarely attracted close attention from students of the First Crusade. Several factors account for this lack of interest. The book is incomplete. Although Ralph announced in the preface that he intended to relate the life and deeds of Tancred, the story ends abruptly in 1105, about seven years before Tancred's death. The author did not personally participate in the First Crusade, but only came to Syria nine years after the Frankish capture of Jerusalem. Consequently, Ralph's book is not an eye-witness account of the First Crusade. Finally, the style of the book is affected and pretentious. Ralph expressed the hope that the muse of Virgil would inspire him as he wrote. The Gesta Tancredi contains many quotes and paraphrases from Virgil and many other classical authors. While these classical references indicate that Ralph was well educated, they often tend to complicate the story which Ralph narrates.

However, for all of its shortcomings as a history, the Gesta Tancredi contains much information of value to the modern student of the First Crusade. Ralph was personally acquainted with Bohemond, Arnulf, and Tancred, and gives us information concerning the personalities of all of these men. He includes many personal anecdotes from Tancred's career

which are not available in other sources. Ralph's book is not an impartial and unbiased report. In fact, the book abounds with subjective attitudes. These attitudes range from Ralph's obvious ethnic bias against Greeks and Provençals to his skillful interpretation of the affair of the Holy Lance as a fraud. Since Ralph was not a twentieth century historian, he should be examined in his own cultural context. His attitudes and biases, as expressed in the Gesta Tancredi, can help to give us a better understanding of the attitudes and biases of his compatriots in the early twelfth century.

Ralph's literary education, which he parades throughout the Gesta Tancredi, appears surprising in a layman of Normandy of that period. However, available evidence suggests that Ralph was not a religious and, in fact, may have been a knight. Should this be the case, then the Gesta Tancredi would be the only known contemporary narrative of the First Crusade from a knight's viewpoint. Ralph's education indicates that some secular persons received a thorough grounding in Roman classical literature in Normandy in the last decade of the eleventh century.

Religious references are numerous throughout the Gesta Tancredi. These references are chiefly biblical rather than liturgical. They show that Ralph had a good knowledge of the Bible. Ralph was a devout Christian, but he did not fail to excoriate clerical persons for deeds which showed poor judgment or might otherwise endanger the military suc-

cess of the First Crusade. This reserved attitude toward the clergy, in fact, makes the Gesta Tancredi distinctive among contemporary histories of the First Crusade.

Evidence presently available suggests that the Gesta Tancredi never enjoyed a wide circulation. Dom Martène, the scholar who first published it, suggested that the only extant copy may well be an autograph copy. However limited its appeal may have been to medieval readers, Ralph's book holds much information of interest and value to modern students of medieval history.

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## Chapter I

### Ralph of Caen

The Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana (Deeds of Tancred in the Journey to Jerusalem) is a secondary account of the First Crusade and events in the Near East from 1099 to 1105. Ralph of Caen, a Norman soldier who served Tancred in Syria between 1109 and 1112, in writing this crusading history, declared that his chief purpose was to describe Tancred as a military leader.<sup>1</sup> His story is incomplete, since it ends in 1105, seven years before Tancred's death.<sup>2</sup> When Ralph decided to write his account, he apparently had in mind as models the anonymous Gesta Francorum (Deeds of the Franks),<sup>3</sup> which describes Bohemond favorably, and the Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem (History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem) of Raymond d'Aguilers,<sup>4</sup> which deals with the exploits of Count Raymond of Toulouse. These two books became very popular immediately after the First Crusade.

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1. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana, in Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux (hereafter cited as RHC Occ), III (Paris, 1866), 587-716.
  2. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (New York, 1965), II, 125.
  3. Louis Bréhier (ed. and tr.), Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade (Paris, 1924). Hereafter cited as Gesta Francorum (Bréhier).
  4. Raymond d'Aguilers, Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem ed. and tr. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968).



Unfortunately, Ralph's book, so far as we know, never had the circulation of the Gesta Francorum and Raymond's Historia.

As is evidenced by the manuscript history, the Gesta Tancredi was unknown to historians until 1716. In that year, Dom Edmund Martène discovered the only extant manuscript at the monastery at Gembloux. The manuscript, salvaged when the monastery burned down about 1685, came to the attention of Martène when the abbot of the monastery informed him of its presence in 1716. Martène found it in the form of an appendix to a chronicle of Sicily. He published the Gesta Tancredi in 1717 in his Thesaurus novus anecdotorum (New Treasury of Stories). Martène felt that the manuscript which he found was written by Ralph himself, and was later added to and modified by the same hand. This manuscript was subsequently published by L. A. Muratori in 1735 in his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum (Writers of Italian History), and translated by M. Guizot in his Collection des Memoires relatifs a l'histoire de France. It is now Latin MS.5373 in the Royal Library in Brussels.<sup>5</sup> If the manuscript history is limited, so is information concerning the author.

Ralph of Caen tells us very little about his life in his book. He states in his preface that his purpose is to describe the deeds of the leaders of the Crusade, particu-

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5. RHC Occ, III, xxxix, xl, 587-601. Gembloux is near Namur in Belgium.

larly Tancred; only rarely does he introduce personal reminiscences into the account.<sup>6</sup>

Since Ralph did not write explicitly about himself, we are compelled to search in Ralph's book for information about his life. Nowhere does he give his age or date of birth. Martène conjectured that he was born about 1080.<sup>7</sup> Ralph says that he grew up in his father's house at Caen, in Normandy.<sup>8</sup> We may presume from indications that he came from a wealthy and probably noble family. In boyhood, he received a good classical education. He mentions Arnulf of Choques, who later became Patriarch of Jerusalem, as his teacher.<sup>9</sup> Ralph also says that he had been hunting and knew the happy feeling of men stopping to eat after spending a day and night in the chase.<sup>10</sup> These facts are almost all that can be esta-

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6. Guizot, in the introduction to his translation of the Gesta Tancredi, notes this absence of personal information about Ralph and points out personal interest in an author is characteristic of more advanced civilizations than Europe in the Twelfth century. He adds that any historian of an event in modern times comparable to the First Crusade would himself become the object of a history. M. Guizot, ed. and tr., "Faites et Gestes du Prince Tancrede pendant l'expédition de Jérusalem," Collection des Memoires relatifs a l'histoire de France, XXIII (New York, 1969) (hereafter cited as Guizot, Tancrede), v.

7. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, 594.

8. Ibid., Chapter 57, p. 648.

9. He also asks Arnulf to edit the book. Ibid., 604. A good discussion of Arnulf has been given by Charles Wendell David, Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), 217-220.

10. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 104, p. 679.

blished concerning Ralph's life. A modern scholar, Henri Glaesener, has said that he became Patriarch of Jerusalem after 1130, but available evidence does not support this assertion.<sup>11</sup>

What sort of person was Ralph? We must turn to internal criticism of his book in order to learn about his personal character. The reader of the Gesta Tancredi soon observes that, although Ralph was a Christian, religious considerations had little weight in the judgments which he made. He was a pragmatic and cynical observer of human affairs,<sup>12</sup> who respected omens and inserted some of these into his

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11. Henri Glaesener, "Raoul de Caen - historien et écrivain," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XLVI (1951), 7. He also says that Ralph served Tancred as chaplain, but Ralph himself describes his service with the word "militare." Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, 603. The patriarchs of Jerusalem from 1112 to 1145 were: Arnulf (1112-1118), Warmund (1118-1128), Stephen (1128-1130), and William I (1130-1145). Reinhold Röhrich, Regesta Regni Hierosolymitana, (New York, n. d.), I. William of Tyre mentions a Ralph of Domfront (a town in Normandy) who was archbishop of Mamistra in 1136 and was in that year elected Patriarch of Antioch. William, who had met this man, says that he was "little learned" and that he was deposed by a synod in 1139. William of Tyre, A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, ed. and tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York, 1943), II, 60, 120, 121. Glaesener's statement has been noted in two subsequent articles on Ralph. Raoul Manselli, "Raoul di Caen nella cultura del secolo XII," Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, X (1955), 449, 450. Laetitia Boehm, "Die 'Gesta Tancredi' des Radulf von Caen," Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, LXXV (1956), 50 n. 16.
  12. After the Turks surrender at Nicaea, Ralph observes that to return Nicaea to Greek rule would be, in effect, to return it to the Turks, for the Byzantine Empire had already demonstrated its inability to defend its Asian domain. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 17, p. 618.

account.<sup>13</sup> He accepted astrology as a valid method of prophecy, but mentions it only once.<sup>14</sup>

Another supernatural phenomenon which Ralph accepted was the religious miracles which occurred throughout much of the First Crusade. Our author accepts them only after critical evaluation. He considers the affair of the Holy Lance to be a fraud and goes on to demonstrate its fraudulent nature.<sup>15</sup> However, he does accept the vision of Anselm de Ribemont as a true miracle.<sup>16</sup>

The theme of Ralph's book is, as he declared, the deeds of Tancred as a leader among the crusaders. In this respect, he follows the examples of the Gesta Francorum and the Historia of Raymond d'Aguilers. However, while these books concentrate on the Christian recovery of Jerusalem from Moslem rule, Ralph's interest is broader. He is interested in, and describes most favorably, Norman exploits in the First Crusade. At times he discusses, not so much the Christian recovery of the Holy Land, but rather the mission of the Normans to lead in the reconquest and government of lands that

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13. Ibid., Chapter 71, pp. 657, 658.

14. Signs in the stars indicate the impending victory of the Crusaders over Kerbogha. Ibid., Chapter 83, p. 665.

15. Ibid., Chapters 100-102, 108, pp. 676-678, 682.

16. Ibid., Chapter 106, pp. 680, 681.

had been taken over by Moslems.<sup>17</sup> He describes with great enthusiasm individual deeds of valor and military prowess, examples of which abound throughout the book.

As the theme of the Gesta Tancredi differs from that of the two above/named works, so also does the style. The two prototypes are written in simple, straightforward prose. Ralph, on the other hand, writes in an ornate Latin. In his preface, he defers to Virgil, whom he occasionally quotes or paraphrases; and, while the greater portion of the Gesta Tancredi is written in prose, many whole chapters are written in verse. In studying Ralph's book, an examination of borrowed material will tell us much about the books Ralph knew. This information can, in turn, tell us about his education and, to a degree, about his human values and the ideas which he considered important.

The Gesta Tancredi contains a great number of quotes, paraphrases, and references from secular and religious literature. The greatest number of these references come from such classical Roman writers as Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. In this thesis I shall examine these classical references for their

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17. It has been suggested, because of this strong tendency in the Gesta Tancredi, that Ralph is a spokesman for Norman nationalism and a sort of Norman expansionist "manifest destiny". Laetitia Boehm, "Die 'Gesta Tancredi' des Radulf von Caen," Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, LXXV (1956), 69-72.

meaning and the use which Ralph makes of them.<sup>18</sup> By examining these classical references and Ralph's use of them, perhaps we can also learn how well acquainted Ralph was with classical Roman literature, what were the concepts in this literature which he found attractive, and why he included Roman borrowings in his book.

Besides classical references, Ralph also used material from the Bible and other works of a religious nature. Although Ralph's religious references have been noted by other students of his book,<sup>19</sup> they have not been exhaustively studied. An examination of Ralph's religious borrowings may tell us something about his personal religious attitudes, his views toward the Roman Catholic Church, and his idea of the proper role of the Church in the crusader states.

Ralph includes in the Gesta Tancredi some accounts of supernatural events which occurred during the First Crusade. His accounts are taken from eye-witnesses in some if not all cases. His narration and comments on these supernatural phenomena, some of which were purported religious miracles, can inform us about his views of miracles and, generally speaking, of supernatural events.

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18. Most of these references have been indicated by the editors of the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, and a few have been noted by Henri Glaesener. In order to verify these references, I shall use the classical texts; whenever possible, the Loeb editions will be my authority.

19. Most of the religious references in the Gesta Tancredi have been noted by the editors of the Recueil.

Ralph's interests go beyond rhetoric to the human action of his subject. How did Ralph view the persons who participated in the First Crusade? His discussion of them is by no means impartial. The opinions which Ralph expresses, and the attitudes which they indicate, can tell us much about Ralph's biases toward his society and can suggest something of the prejudices and social attitudes of other Norman knights in the Holy Land.

In conclusion, through the foregoing study of Ralph's style, religious background, and personal biases, we may understand what sort of person wrote the Gesta Tancredi and be better able to evaluate him as a source for the study of the First Crusade and the earliest years of the crusader states.

## Chapter II

### Ralph's Use of Classical Material

Ralph was well acquainted with Roman classical literature. Frequent quotes from such secular writers as Virgil, Horace, Lucan, and Ovid distinguish the Gesta Tancredi from most of the other contemporary sources for the First Crusade. Direct quotations are the most common form of classical references which Ralph uses. He often simply inserts single lines or phrases into his narrative by way of ornament and elucidation. Rarely does he use more than two consecutive lines at a time. Often he paraphrases a line in order to make it fit the facts of his story. He also alludes to some identifiable episodes from classical literature.

A brief survey of the Roman literature which Ralph used is necessary for an understanding of his use of the classics. Virgil and Horace are used most frequently. There are eighteen quotes and references from Virgil in the Gesta Tancredi, of which sixteen come from the Aeneid.<sup>1</sup> The Bucolics<sup>2</sup> and Georgics<sup>3</sup> provide the three remaining Virgilian references. Sixteen classical references are derived from Horace. Of

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1. Publius Vergilius Maro, Aeneis ed. Gualtherius Ianell (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1920). Hereafter cited as Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner).

2. Publius Vergilius Maro, Bucolica et Georgica ed. T. E. Page (London, 1931).

3. Ibid.



these, seven come from the Art of Poetry,<sup>4</sup> five from the Epistles,<sup>5</sup> and four from the Odes.<sup>6</sup> Seven quotes and paraphrases come from Lucan's Civil War.<sup>7</sup> Other references include three passages from Ovid's Metamorphoses,<sup>8</sup> two more from the Art of Love,<sup>9</sup> and one each from the Tristia<sup>10</sup> and the Heroides.<sup>11</sup> Ralph has drawn single references from the Fables of Avianus,<sup>12</sup> Columella's On Agriculture,<sup>13</sup> and Sallust's Catiline,<sup>14</sup> and two from plays by Plautus.<sup>15</sup>

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4. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, De Arte Poetica in Horace - Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (London, Loeb, 1926). Hereafter cited as Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry.
  5. Ibid. Cited hereafter as Horace (Loeb), Epistles.
  6. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, The Odes and Epodes of Horace ed. and tr. John Marshall (London, 1907). Horace, (Loeb), Odes.
  7. Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, Lucan ed. and tr. J. D. Duff (London, Loeb, 1957). Hereafter cited as Lucan, (Loeb).
  8. Publius Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoses ed. and tr. Frank Justus Miller (London, Loeb, 1951), 2 vols.
  9. Publius Ovidius Naso, L'art d'aimer ed. and tr. Henri Bornecque (Paris, 1924).
  10. Publius Ovidius Naso, Tristia and Ex Ponto ed. and tr. Arthur Leslie Wheeler (London, Loeb, 1924).
  11. Publius Ovidius Naso, Heroides and Amores ed. and tr. Grant Showerman (London, Loeb, 1914).
  12. Avianus, Fabulae in Minor Latin Poets ed. and tr. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff (London, Loeb, 1968).
  13. Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, Columella on Agriculture ed. and tr. Harrison Boyd Ash (London, Loeb, 1948).
  14. Gaius Sallustius Crispus, Sallust ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe (London, Loeb, 1947).
  15. Titus Maccius Plautus, Plautus tr. Paul Nixon (London, Loeb, 1937), 5 vols.

Many modern scholars recognize the widespread use of Virgil in medieval Europe. One modern authority, John Edwin Sandys, says that in the middle ages Virgil and Lucan were preserved as models of grammar, and Sallust as a model for writing history. Virgil was used as a model for composing medieval epics. Horace was preserved chiefly in France, where writers were particularly interested in style and form. Ovid was used as a model for poetical composition.<sup>16</sup> F. J. E. Raby, another modern scholar, says that Lucan was respected in his own day as a writer of great rhetoric and that in the eleventh century he was regarded as one of the great poets of antiquity.<sup>17</sup> Avianus was studied by beginners in medieval schools. Plautus was only very occasionally read during the middle ages, but some isolated lines from Plautus were quoted by medieval writers.<sup>18</sup>

How does Ralph use these Roman writers? In order to answer this question, we must examine closely the classical references which he has included in the Gesta Tancredi. Since the Aeneid has supplied the greatest number of classical references, let it be our starting point in this study.

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16. John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (New York, 1958), I, 627, 634.

17. F. J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1957), 34-36.

18. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, I, 630, 652. No statement by a modern author was available concerning the currency of Columella in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Ralph's first use of the Aeneid appears in Chapter Nine. Here he describes the decision of the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenus, to use to his advantage the military power of the First Crusade, then approaching Constantinople. Alexius, recalling the invasion of his Balkan domain by Robert Guiscard and Bohemond in 1082, certainly viewed the army of the First Crusade as a potential threat to the security of the Byzantine Empire. Ralph describes the emperor in a defensive and hostile way. When Alexius heard of the approach of the crusaders, Ralph says he "planned a new and deceitful scheme." This is a paraphrase of the line in the Aeneid which introduces the love affair of Aeneas and Queen Dido: "But Venus was meditating a new and artful scheme."<sup>19</sup>

His next use of the Aeneid is a direct quote. In his explanation of how Tancred evaded the emperor's demand that all crusading leaders should swear homage to him, Ralph uses the line: "if our own will had not been contrary."<sup>20</sup> Aeneas

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19. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 9, p. 611: "Corde dolos nova pectore versat consilia." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), I, 657: "at Cytherea novas artes, nova pectore versat consilia." This has been translated: "But Venus was meditating a new and deceitful scheme." Publius Vergilius Maro, The Aeneid of Virgil tr. C. Day Lewis (Garden City, N. Y., 1953), 31. Hereafter cited as Aeneid (Lewis).

20. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 11, p. 614: "Si mens non laeva fuisset." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), II, 54: "Si mens non laeva fuisset." Aeneid (Lewis), 36. Exactly the same line occurs in the Bucolics. Publius Vergilius Maro, Bucolica et Georgica, I, 16.

said this to Dido, telling her how the Trojans' misplaced trust in a Greek gift caused their downfall. Ralph is here drawing a direct parallel, for he views the oath to Alexius as a trap. He shows Tancred as believing that the other western leaders were acting foolishly and placing themselves in a dangerous position by acceding to the demand of the emperor. Tancred's actions at the time suggest this attitude, for he disguised himself incognito with a group of foot-soldiers.<sup>21</sup>

Further on in the story, while the crusaders were marching in two separated columns, at Dorylaeum a Turkish army attacked them. Count Robert of Normandy rallied Bohemond and the other soldiers to battle with these words from the Aeneid: "Let's go, men, let us die, let us charge into the battle's heart!" Aeneas used a similar rallying-cry when he fought the Greek soldiers inside Troy.<sup>22</sup>

Later during the battle at Dorylaeum, Tancred's brother William (Willelmus) was killed. Ralph sympathizes with Tancred in his sorrow: "What did you feel, Tancred, watching these actions? What means did you give?"<sup>23</sup> This line para-

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21. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 11 and 12, pp. 612-614.

22. Ibid., Chapter 22, p. 622: "Ergo agite, o juvenes, moriamur, et in media ruamus." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), II, 353: "moriatur, et in media arma ruamus." Aeneid (Lewis), 45.

23. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 26, p. 624: "Quis tibi, Tancrede, spectanti talia sensus? Quosve dabas gemitus?"

phrases one in which Virgil sympathizes with Dido's grief as she watches the Trojans preparing to leave Carthage: "Ah, Dido, what did you feel when you saw these things going forward? What moans you gave . . . ." <sup>24</sup> The sorrow is similar in both cases. But, while grief persuades Dido to commit suicide, Tancred and his comrades are inspired to fight all the more fiercely.

When Tancred had captured the city of Tarsus from the Turkish garrison which had held it, Ralph describes Tancred's treatment of the inhabitants of Tarsus with this quote from the Aeneid: "Generosity to the conquered, and firmness against aggressors." <sup>25</sup> Virgil puts these words in the mouth of Anchises, who thus described to Aeneas, visiting him in Hades, the destiny of Rome. The statement fits Tancred's policy accurately in this Cilician city. The inhabitants were chiefly Armenians. Since the Armenians were Christians with a military tradition and a strong dislike of Byzantine government, Tancred desired their support. He presented himself to them as a liberator from Turkish oppression. Soon afterward Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, arrived at Tarsus with an army larger than Tancred's and compelled Tancred

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24. Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), IV, 408, 409: "Quis tibi tunc Dido cernenti talia 'sensus? Quosve dabas gemitus." Aeneid (Lewis), 93.
25. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 36, p. 632: "parcere subjectis et debellare superbos . . . ." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), VI, 853: "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos." Aeneid (Lewis), 154.

to hand over the city to him. The Cilician Armenians regarded both Tancred and Baldwin as liberators.

Early in the Frankish siege of Antioch, Tancred distinguished himself in combat. One day as he reconnoitered the walls of Antioch, accompanied only by a squire, Tancred was attacked by three Turkish warriors whom he killed. Ralph describes him on this occasion as "followed only by an Achates."<sup>26</sup> This is a direct reference to a similar line in the Aeneid: "accompanied by Achates only," which tells how Aeneas, having just landed on the North African shore, explored to learn his location.<sup>27</sup> Ralph uses this same reference later in his story, relating a dispute between Tancred and Arnulf in Jerusalem. Tancred, defending his military record, used this line to describe the fight before the walls of Antioch, which has just been mentioned.<sup>28</sup>

In his description of this fight, Ralph paraphrases another line from the Aeneid: "You must get out of here. Quick!" Thus, rhetorically, he warns the Turks that Tancred will kill them. Virgil includes this line in the story of a Greek soldier from Ithaca whom Aeneas found marooned on Sicily. He told how Ulysses and his comrades had blinded the Cyclops Polyphemus and, in their haste to escape the wrath of the Cyclops, had left him behind. In both instances,

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26. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 52, p. 645: "uno comitatus Achate ad excubandum egrederetur."

27. Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), I, 312: "ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate." Aeneid (Lewis), 22.

28. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 700: "uno comitatus Achate."

the urgent need for swift flight is made clear.<sup>29</sup>

After the Franks entered and captured the city of Antioch, Yaghi-Siyan, commander of the Turkish garrison, fled the city. Ralph describes his plight in sympathetic detail. Yaghi-Siyan, badly wounded, attempted to reach a fort on a nearby hill during the night. Daybreak caught him en route, so he hid in some bushes to await the cover of night-fall. Ralph says: "Lo! How the mighty have fallen! Who is now more wretched than this man? Yesterday he was the prince of Antioch, lord of Syria and Phoenicia, the terror of Assyria and, after the Persian sultan, the mightiest of the eastern rulers?"<sup>30</sup> Yaghi-Siyan was exhausted, wounded, and extremely thirsty. A passing peasant, bearing a jug of water, recognized Yaghi-Siyan and let him drink. He asked:

29. Ibid., Chapter 52, p. 645: "miseri, fugite, fugite, inquam." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), III, 640: "fugite, o miseri, fugite." Aeneid (Lewis), 78. Ralph's rhetoric, often excessive, becomes even more fanciful in this same sentence. He endows Tancred with the horse of Castor, the spear of Achilles, and right hand of Meleager, the courage of Tydeus, the club of Hercules, and the shield of Ajax: "fugite, inquam, Castoris Cyllarum, Achillis fraxinum, dextram Meleagri, animos Tydei, Herculis trinodem, Ajacis septemPLICEM."

30. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 68, p. 656: "Proh mundi gloria! Quid nunc eo infelicius? idem heri Antiochiae princeps, Syriae dominator ac Phoeniciae, Assyriae terror, regum orientalium potentissimus, uni Solidano, qui regnum Persida regnaverit, secundus." Ralph calls him "Cassian," but modern authorities identify this commander as "Yaghi-Siyan". Kenneth L. Setton (ed.), A History of the Crusades, (Madison, Wisc., 1969), I, 318.

"My lord prince, who could go to such lengths against you?"<sup>31</sup> Aeneas, while visiting Hades, saw the severe mutilations which Deiphobus had suffered and asked him: "who could go to such lengths against you?"<sup>32</sup> Aeneas showed sincere concern for a friend. But the Syrian peasant, upon learning of the capture of Antioch, weighed this defeated prince's promise of a reward against Yaghi-Siyan's horse and rich clothing and the certainty of a reward from the Franks. The latter choice was more attractive, so he killed Yaghi-Siyan. Ralph deplores this dishonorable deed.<sup>33</sup>

Soon afterward, when the crusaders had occupied Antioch, Bohemond amazed his guests at an evening meal by slicing a burning candle into halves: both halves continued to burn without human intervention. Ralph says of this trick: "Our people could never be done with gazing at it."<sup>34</sup> The same words are spoken in the Aeneid. King Evander used them in telling Aeneas how Hercules had killed the monster Cacus. But Virgil thus describes the fascinated horror of the Arcadians gazing upon the dead Cacus who had devoured many of their own men and cattle. Ralph describes fascinated amazement at a trick.<sup>35</sup>

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31. Ibid., Chapter 68, p. 656: "Heu, inquit, domine mi princeps, cui de te tantum licuit."

32. Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), VI, 502: "cui tantum de te licuit?" Aeneid (Lewis), 144.

33. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 69, p. 656.

34. Ibid., Chapter 71, p. 658: "nequeunt expleri corda tuendo."

35. Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), VIII, 265: "nequeunt expleri corda tuendo." Aeneid (Lewis), 187.



Since the flame on the smaller candle went out quickly, it was understood that Bohemond's heir would have a brief career. Ralph summarizes this omen compactly in a phrase from the Aeneid: "Fate shall allow the earth one glimpse of this young man -- no more." Anchises, in the Elysian Fields, thus describes a brilliant Roman warrior who died young.<sup>36</sup> Ralph refers here to Bohemond the Younger, who died while still a young man.

Now that the crusaders had captured and occupied Antioch, their own prize made them prisoners. The besiegers were now besieged by newly arrived Turkish forces under Kerbogha, and famine within the city added seriously to the discomfort of the crusaders. They were not yet ready to meet the Turks in a pitched battle outside the city walls. After about a week of uncertainty and waiting,<sup>37</sup> the nerves of some of the crusaders were chafed beyond endurance, and a few of them planned to flee the city. Ralph summarizes their feelings in these grandiose words: "If I cannot influence the gods above, then I'll move all hell." Juno, chagrined to see that Aeneas and

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36. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 71, p. 658: "Ostendent (aiunt) terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra esse sinent." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), VI, 869, 870: "Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra esse sinent." Aeneid (Lewis), 155.

37. Ralph does not indicate specific dates or periods of time here. I depend upon a modern authority for specific dates. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la Première Croisade" in Revue de l'Orient latin (Paris, 1900), VII, 297, 298.

the Trojans had reached Italy, announced in these words her decision to hinder their destined settlement thereby inciting King Turnus of Ardea to make war on the Trojans.<sup>38</sup> Ralph is describing the disgruntled mood of soldiers who have decided to desert.

The defeat of Kerbogha's army gave to the crusaders a position of military security in the vicinity of Antioch. But, now that the crusaders had conquered this large and important city, a dispute arose over which Frankish leader was to retain possession of Antioch. The contenders were Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, and Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse. The Holy Lance was involved in this dispute, for Bohemond questioned its authenticity. Bohemond had already, just before the capture of the city, obtained the assent of the leaders of the crusade that he should keep possession of the city.<sup>39</sup> Ralph has vividly described Count Raymond deli-

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38. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 79, p. 662: "Si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), VII, 312: "Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo." Aeneid (Lewis), 164. This passage is an example of Ralph's tendency to use more extravagant language than the subject (army desertion) merits. Ralph adds that Arnulf dissuaded the would-be deserters from their project. This incident took place about June 10 or 11, 1098. See the preceding footnote.

39. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 63-65, pp. 652-654. Hagenmeyer dates this dispute between the 5th and 18th of November, 1098. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie", Revue de l'Orient latin, VII, 329-331.

berating how best to avenge the affronts which Bohemond had given him. He uses a line from the Aeneid: "Craft or courage -- who cares when an enemy has to be beaten?"<sup>40</sup> During the Greek sack of Troy, Coroebus, a Trojan, spoke these words to persuade Aeneas and other Trojans to put on the armor of dead Greeks so that they could better attack the Greeks by surprise. Ralph uses this line to convey Count Raymond's desperate state of mind.

The crusaders reached the city of Jerusalem early in the summer of 1099. Bohemond had kept possession of Antioch, and Baldwin of Boulogne remained in Edessa. The other leaders, Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, and Tancred were at Jerusalem. The city was well guarded by Egyptian soldiers, and was well fortified for defense. The crusaders soon realized that they needed siege machinery in order to enter the city walls. Trees were scarce in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and the Franks, as they harassed the city's garrison, searched the neighborhood for timber. An unfortunate ailment of Tancred's led to the discovery of the necessary timber. As dysentery has afflicted soldiers for centuries, so it tormented Tancred during the siege of Jerusalem. Ralph describes sympathetically Tancred's attempts to take his part in reconnaissance patrols on horse.

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40. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 103, p. 678: "Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?" Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), II, 390: "Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?" Aeneid (Lewis), 46.

His unfortunate ailment repeatedly compelled him to dismount and seek solitude and relief. Upon one such instance Tancred had to search four times before finding a secluded place of repose: "At last, in a deep ravine beneath an overhanging cliff he found a place surrounded with trees and shifting shadows." Here Ralph is paraphrasing three lines in which Virgil describes the location of Carthage and the landing there of the Trojans: "He saw that the ships were concealed in a woody creek beneath the overhang of the cliff, with trees and shifting shadows about them."<sup>41</sup> Tancred realized that his search had met with miraculous success, for the trees which he had found would provide the timber needed for building siege-towers. In using these words, both Ralph and Virgil are discussing the discovery of refuge, but Tancred's needs were far different from the needs of a storm-driven fleet of lost Trojans.

Immediately after the capture of Jerusalem, Arnulf denounced Tancred for rifling the Temple of Solomon. This confrontation took place before the other crusader chiefs. The decision of the chiefs was a compromise between Arnulf's demand that temple ornaments be restored and Tancred's insistence that he needed the gold, silver, and gems to pay his men: Tancred was advised to give seven hundred marks to the Temple. By this donation he made a form of resti-

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41. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 120, p. 689: "Demum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata arboribus clausa circum atque horrentibus umbris." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), I, 159: "Est in secessu longo locus." Ibid., I, 310, 311: "Classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris occulit." Aeneid (Lewis), 17, 22.

tution, and Arnulf and Tancred were thus reconciled. Ralph paraphrases the Aeneid in his comment on this clash of two strong personalities: "If France had sent two more such men, Memphis and Babylon would already have had French kings." When King Latinus sought aid from Diomed at Arpi for aid against the Trojans, Diomed declined. Referring to Hector and Aeneas, he said: "If two other champions of equal calibre had risen in Troyland, the Dardans would have stormed up to the cities of Greece." But Diomed was sincerely advising the Latins to make peace with Aeneas, to give up a war already weighted by divine favor to the Trojans' advantage. Ralph is simply lavishing praise upon a petty clash between two strong wills.<sup>42</sup>

Ralph used no more passages from the Aeneid, but he did use one quote from the Bucolics. It is used just after the siege of Nicaea, when Tancred met the Emperor Alexius. Bohemond persuaded Tancred to take the oath of fealty to the emperor.<sup>43</sup> Alexius then offered to Tancred, as he had to the other crusade leaders, whatever reward he wished for the capture of Nicaea. Disdaining gold, silver, or gems, Tancred asked for the emperor's tent, a large, elaborate affair which, Ralph

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42. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 137, p. 702: "Si duo praeterea mississet Gallica tales terra viros, jam dudum Gallos habuissent reges Memphys et Babylon." Virgil, Aeneis (Teubner), XI, 285-287: "Si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes Dardanus." Aeneid (Lewis), 268.

43. For a fuller discussion of this oath, see the article by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, "The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint-Gilles," American Historical Review, LVIII (1953).

says, made a heavy load for five camels. It was much taller than all other tents: "As cypress trees stand high above shrubs." Here Ralph quotes a line from the Bucolics.<sup>44</sup> Virgil uses this simile to contrast cities, while Ralph is contrasting tents. There are, to my knowledge, no more quotes or paraphrases from Virgil in the Gesta Tancredi.

Ralph used Horace as extensively as he did Virgil. Since the Epistles provide the first use of Horace in the Gesta Tancredi, they serve as a starting point. In the preface to his book, Ralph announces that he will attempt to describe Tancred's career. In apology for his shortcomings, Ralph says: "It is worthwhile to take some steps forward, though we may not go still further."<sup>45</sup> Horace uses this line in a letter, written in verse, to his patron Maecenas, explaining that he was tired of writing ornamental poetry and wished to study philosophy. Ralph uses this line as a rhetorical device with what appears to be false modesty, to introduce his story of Tancred's career.

Early in the story, when the crusader chiefs were in Constantinople to do homage to Alexius, Tancred was reluctant to submit himself to this alien yoke of homage. He considered the senior leaders to be foolishly exposing them-

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44. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 18, p. 619: "Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi." Publius Vergilius Maro, Bucolics and Georgics ed. T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh (Oxford, 1891), I, 26, p. 22: "Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi."

45. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, 604: "Est quodam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra." Horace (Loeb), Epistles, I, i, 32: "est quodam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra." Fairclough lists "quodam" as a variant reading.

selves to unknown risks by accepting the demand of Alexius. Ralph expresses this feeling by paraphrasing a line from Horace's Epistles: "Seeing the next wall go up in flames, he was sure that danger threatened."<sup>46</sup> With this line, Horace, discussing the nature of friendship, advises prudence with one's reputation and caution in the face of slander. Ralph uses it to introduce Tancred's decision to evade the emperor's demand by disguising himself in order to cross the Bosphorus.

After the battle of Nicaea, when Tancred requested the emperor's personal tent as a reward, Alexius refused and rebuked him for this extremely bold presumption. He gave Tancred a lengthy rebuke which included this paraphrased line from Horace: "He should measure himself according to his own rule and standard,"<sup>47</sup> rather than the emperor's. Horace thus forms a moral to a parable. Ralph's usage of the line is different, but apt.

Immediately after this exchange with the emperor, Tancred and Bohemond left Pelecanum, the location of the interview with Alexius. They had a boat ready to carry them back across the Bosphorus and were hurrying toward it when, evi-

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46. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 11, p. 612: "quippe proximum videns parietem accensum, suo non dubitat imminere incendium." Horace (Loeb), Epistles, I, xviii, 84: "nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." "It is your own safety that's at stake, when your neighbour's wall is in flames." Ralph's wording is different, but the meaning is similar.

47. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 18, p. 619: "Metiatur se autem modulo suo ac pede." Horace (Loeb), Epistles, I, vii, 98: "metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est." "'Tis right that each should measure himself by his own rule and standard."

dently, Alexius decided to recall them. A messenger from Alexius followed them to the shore and cried out that they should return. But, says Ralph, "since they had already received his permission to depart,"<sup>48</sup> they untied the ropes and left. Horace uses a similar expression in a letter in which he complains that Maecenas, his patron, wishes now to revoke his leave to the countryside and recall him to Rome. Ralph uses this expression for different and more dramatic circumstances than does Horace. This is another example of how Ralph strains to use classical quotes and paraphrases.

Much later on, after Arnulf denounced Tancred at Jerusalem, Tancred defended himself. In his lengthy defense, Tancred claimed that Arnulf was a faithless liar. Ralph seizes this opportunity to include yet another paraphrase from Horace: "How shall I hold this face-changing Proteus?" Horace said essentially the same thing in a general discussion of the rapid change of a man's moods and whims. Ralph's usage occurs

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48. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 19, p. 620: "verum donati rude." Horace (Loeb), Epistles, I, i, 2: "spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris." "You . . . seek to shut me up." The term "donatum rude" is an idiom meaning "permission to depart".



in a dramatic event, comparable to a modern-day court martial.<sup>49</sup>

Ralph uses Horace's Art of Poetry more frequently than the Epistles. He introduces it during his description of the siege of Nicaea. In his account of the crusaders besieging the city, he describes the Provencal as "skilled at managing all necessities of life, and mindful of what the future might bring." He has lifted a similar line by Horace completely out of context and has altered its meaning considerably. Horace says: "the thought, full of wise saws and prophetic of the future" when he describes the development of Greek tragedy.<sup>50</sup>

49. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 136, p. 702: "Quo teneam nodo mutantem Prothea vultus?" The editors of the Recueil note that in the original manuscript "nodo" is written "modo". I prefer "modo", for in the preceding line Ralph quotes Tancred as comparing Arnulf to a slippery snake and a Proteus ("et angui lubrico conformetur et Protheo"). Guizot's translation suggests that he, too, prefers to read "modo". Guizot, Tancrede, 255. Horace, (Loeb), Epistles, I, i, 90: "Quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?" "With what knot can I hold this face-changing Proteus?" Ralph has, I believe, altered Horace's words in order to produce a simpler metaphor. For Tancred to have said "with what knot" in this situation would suggest that he meditated a legal stratagem. But Tancred had earlier stated that he was ignorant of legal procedure. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 136, p. 701. "Voltus" is a variant spelling of "vultus".
50. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 15, p. 617: "rerum sagax utilium, divinusque futuri." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 218: "utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri."

Ralph next uses the Art of Poetry in describing Tancred's exploits during the Frankish siege of Antioch. During a solitary patrol near the city wall, when Tancred encountered three armed Turkish warriors, Ralph rhetorically warns the Turks to flee, then stops his own warning with this quote from Horace: "Who saves a man against his will does the same as murder him."<sup>51</sup> Horace says this to defend a poet's right to follow his own inspiration, even though it may lead to his detriment. Ralph uses this line simply as rhetorical ornamentation in narrating an impressive event.

Horace's words appear again in Ralph's verse narration of the battle against Kerbogha at Antioch. As the Christians won the advantage and the Moslems began to flee, Tancred led the pursuit of the defeated and scattering enemy soldiers. Ralph praised Tancred's courage, military prowess, and altruistic motives, saying that "he craved naught but glory." Ralph paraphrased a similar line in the Art of Poetry.<sup>52</sup> Horace, contrasting the national characters of Greeks and Romans, said that the Greeks "craved naught but glory." Ralph observed that this phrase would fit well, and included it in his eulogy of Tancred.

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51. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 52, p. 645: "Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 467: "Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti."

52. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 91, p. 670: "praeter laudem nullius avara." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 324: "praeter laudem nullius avaris."

Shortly after this battle, when the Holy Lance had served its purpose, Bohemond began to question the authenticity of this relic. Ralph quotes Bohemond's challenging questions about whether Peter Bartholomew was worthy to receive a vision from Saint Andrew. Bartholomew's personal conduct, Bohemond says, cast suspicion on his visions, for this man frequented taverns and associated with idle riff-raff, "as though he were born at the cross-ways." Horace cautions the aspiring playwright not to take fauns from the forest and make them speak "as though they were born at the cross-ways."<sup>53</sup> This phrase is not really essential to Ralph's sketch of Bartholomew's character. Apparently he just recognized and employed here an opportunity to include a phrase from Horace, a model of style and form widely used in France during Ralph's lifetime.

Before narrating the siege of Jerusalem, Ralph pauses to describe the city. He introduces the description by expressing concern for those who can not see Jerusalem because they live too far away. Even so, Ralph offers: "At least when this account is brought before their eyes or enters their ears it may stir their minds." Horace says: "Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears

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53. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 102, p. 678: "triviis innatum." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 245: "innati triviis."

than by what is brought before the trusty eyes." Horace is contrasting the merits of narration and action in drama. Ralph is introducing a travelogue account.<sup>54</sup>

During the siege of Jerusalem, the Franks attempted to enter the city by means of one lone scaling ladder. The scarcity of timber in the area did not, for the time being, allow material for more than one ladder. Ralph appreciates the hopeless prospect of attacking a walled and well-guarded city with one ladder, for as he describes it standing alone against the wall: "It almost spoke in extravagant words" of its solitude when it ought to have companions. This is an idiom which Horace used to indicate "extravagant words" when he advised a playwright that simple language is the most effective.<sup>55</sup> Rhetorical passages such as this indicate that, although Ralph was aware of Horace's advice, he did not take it to heart.

In 1104, well after the First Crusade, Bohemond proposed to other Franks in Syria the need for obtaining new Frankish recruits. He described the military and political weaknesses of the Franks in Syria. Tancred, seconding Bohemond's remarks, says: "Fine, good, perfect!" Horace used this phrase

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54. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 115, p. 686: "saltem per animos juvet transmissa ad manus et infusa per aurem." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 180, 181: "segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus."

55. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 118, p. 688: "Quasi sesquipedalia haec jactans." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 97: "sesquipedalia verba." Literally, "words one-and-a-half feet long."

to show how a friendly listener will uncritically praise his friend's poetry.<sup>56</sup> Ralph takes this line out of context and adorns Tancred's speech with it. The words make Tancred seem a sycophant. Bohemond, in his above-mentioned speech, gave the reasons why he felt that he must go to the west to recruit more soldiers. Tancred requested that he, instead, be given the task of recruiting in the west.

Ralph uses Horace's Odes as well as the works cited earlier. In his narration of the conversation between Alexius and Tancred, Ralph introduces a term which resembles a phrase in the Odes. Tancred replied to the emperor's rebuke: "as if imitating the mocking image of himself (Tancred)" which the emperor had described. Tancred said that he would rather have Alexius an enemy than a friend. Horace, in his praise of Augustus Caesar, asks: "Whose name shall the playful echo make resound . . . ?"<sup>57</sup> The resemblance is due chiefly to both writers' use of the word "imago", which can mean "image" or "echo".

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56. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 152, p. 713: "Pulchre, bene, recte." Horace (Loeb), Art of Poetry, 428: "pulchre! bene! recte!"

57. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 18, p. 620: "quasi jocosae illius imaginis imitator." Horace (Loeb), Odes, I, xii, 3, 4: "cuius recinet iocosa nomen imago." In the context in which Ralph uses "imaginis", it must mean "image" or "representation". Horace's meaning of "echo" just does not fit in well with the emperor's rebuke of Tancred. The editors of the Recueil indicate that Ralph is paraphrasing Horace in this phrase, but I feel that such a parallel is very far-fetched, due to the meaning demanded by the context.

Soon afterward, during the battle at Dorylaeum, Tancred's brother William was killed. Depicting Tancred's grief, Ralph says his heart, which had been as firm as though "oak and triple bronze must have girt his chest," was now brought to tears like a woman's. Horace, in his ode dedicated to Virgil setting out for Greece, says the same words in imaginary description of the first man to sail the Adriatic.<sup>58</sup> Ralph is telling a very different story, but the words well fit the story.

As the Frankish army journeyed eastward toward Syria, two groups split off to pass through Cilicia to secure Armenian support and to protect the crusaders' rear flank. Tancred led a small force; Baldwin followed with a larger number of soldiers. The two groups, jealous of each others' territorial ambitions, often clashed. As both armies were encamped between Adana and Mamistra, one of Baldwin's knights fell seriously ill. This illness made a truce between the armies necessary, and this truce lasted for a few days, "when the flames burst forth from beneath treacherous ashes." Horace, describing the Roman civil wars, uses a similar phrase to indicate a similar phenomenon -- an intermittent war.<sup>59</sup>

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58. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 26, p. 624: "robur et aes triplex circa pecta erat." Horace (Loeb), Odes, I, iii, 9, 10: "robur et aes triplex circa pecta erat."

59. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 42, p. 637: "quum cineri suppositus doloso ignis flammas eructuat." Horace (Loeb), Odes, II, i, 7, 8: "per ignes suppositos cineri doloso." "Over fires hidden beneath treacherous ashes."

After the crusaders captured Antioch, the Turkish commander, Yaghi-Siyan, fled to the countryside and was murdered by a local peasant. Ralph introduces this story by paraphrasing a few lines from Horace's Ode to Fortune: "When fortune's face is sad, our friends scatter so soon as they have drained the wine-jars to the dregs, too treacherous to help us bear the yoke of trouble." Horace spoke the same words when he described human misfortunes. Ralph uses these words to indicate a real example of misfortune.<sup>60</sup> Ralph uses no further quotes or paraphrases from Horace's work.

Ralph does use phrases from Lucan, who, like Horace, was respected during the middle ages as an authority on style.<sup>61</sup> Lucan's only surviving work is the Civil War, an epic poem which narrates the war between Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus. Ralph's first use of Lucan occurs in his narration of

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60. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 69, p. 656: "eadem fortunam tristi, amicos diffugiunt, siccatis cadis cum faece, ferre jugum pariter dolosi." Horace (Loeb), Odes, I, xxxv, 26-28: "diffugiunt cadis cum faece siccatis amici, ferre iugum pariter dolosi." The editors of the Recueil have indicated only the words "ferre jugum pariter dolosi" as a quote. But, allowing for antecedents in preceding clauses, all the words here quoted are identical: Ralph has only simplified Horace's syntax. In the second subsequent chapter, the editors of the Recueil have a footnote for this clause: "potus, quod per quemdam prudentem dictum est, loquaces." The footnote reads: "Cf. Horat. Ep. I, 19." I could find no similar phrase in all of the Epodes, nor could I observe anything similar in the Epistles, which are numbered differently.

61. F. J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry, (Oxford, 1957), I, 36.

the battle at Dorylaeum. The Frankish army had split into two groups after leaving Nicaea. The group which included Tancred was attacked by Killij Arslan.<sup>62</sup> Just after Tancred's brother was killed, the Franks saw: "the dust which bore witness that the Christian troops were near." Shortly before the battle of Pharsalia, a small unit of Caesar's soldiers was attacked and overwhelmed by a much larger unit of Pompey's soldiers. Scaeva, lone survivor of Caesar's men, was dying when: "a pillar of dust showed that cohorts of Caesar's were near." The application and meaning of this line is identical in the Gesta Tancredi and the Civil War. Only the antecedents of the rescuing troops differ.<sup>63</sup>

When the crusaders continued eastward across Asia Minor, Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne separated from the main army and entered Cilicia. There, they conquered towns from the Turks and often clashed with each other. Describing the first clash between them, at Tarsus, Ralph laments this conflict between brothers: "Thus to be defeated would be bad, but it would be even worse to win." Lucan says: "Victory was worse than defeat" in describing the fight between Romans at

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62. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (New York, 1964), I, 184, 185.

63. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 26, p. 625: "Christicolas pulvis testatur adesse cohortes." Lucan (Loeb), VI, 247: "Caesareas pulvis testatur adesse cohortes."



Pharsalia. Both writers express similar sentiments in their treatment of impending fratricide.<sup>64</sup>

Further along in their march through Cilicia, Tancred's army and Baldwin's army camped close together between Adana and Mamistra. A serious illness suffered by one of Baldwin's knights made a truce necessary. After a few days, a fight in a tavern led to a full-scale battle between Tancred's men and Baldwin's men. Commenting regretfully on this fight, Ralph says: "Which had the fairer pretext for warfare, we may not know." He is quoting a line from Lucan, who makes the same comment on the war between Caesar and Pompey.<sup>65</sup>

When the crusaders left Mamistra, they went in different directions. Baldwin went northwest to rejoin the main army at Marash, and then proceeded eastward to Edessa, where he established himself as ruler. Baldwin's cousin, called Baldwin of Le Bourg, appears to have remained in command of a group of men near the coast. He and Tancred proceeded around the gulf of Alexandretta, through the Syrian gates southeast toward Artasia.<sup>66</sup> Baldwin of Le Bourg captured

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64. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 38, p. 633: "Ergo malum vinci : sed multo vincere pejus." Lucan (Loeb), VII, 706: "vincere peius erat."

65. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 43, p. 638: "Quis justius induit arma, scire nefas." Lucan (Loeb), I, 126, 127: "Quis iustius induit arma, scire nefas."

66. This inference is made by Guizot in Tancrede, 99. Statements in Setton support this inference. Artasia appears to be identical with Artah. Setton, A History of the Crusades, I, 301-305, 390.

Artasia, but was then attacked by superior Turkish forces. Tancred successfully aided his defense, but the two men could not get along well together. Ralph expresses this by quoting Lucan: "There was never any loyalty between sharers in tyranny." Lucan thus evaluates the stability of the First Triumvirate. Ralph is describing a much briefer and less important alliance.<sup>67</sup> Ralph further states that Godfrey of Bouillon assigned Baldwin of Le Bourg to hold Artasia and ordered Tancred to proceed to join in the siege of Antioch.<sup>68</sup>

After the crusaders had captured Antioch and defeated Kerbogha, Bohemond remained there to protect his new principality. Tancred went south, Ralph says, because, like Julius Caesar, he: "thought nothing done while anything remained to be done." Lucan says that of Caesar's decision to capture Brundisium, Pompey's last base in Italy. Ralph uses the line to introduce Tancred's progress from Antioch toward Jerusalem. With Raymond of Toulouse and Robert of Normandy, Tancred besieged Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān.<sup>69</sup>

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67. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 47, p. 641: "Nulla fides regni sociis." Lucan (Loeb), I, 92: "Nulla fides regni sociis." "So long will loyalty be impossible between sharers in tyranny."

68. "Eustachides," or "son of Eustace," is frequently Ralph's way of referring to Godfrey. Godfrey's brother, Baldwin of Boulogne, did not have the authority to give orders to Tancred. Often Ralph refers to Tancred as "Marchisides," or "son of the Marquis". Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 47, p. 641.

69. Ibid., Chapter 96, p. 674: "Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum." Lucan (Loeb), II, 657: "Nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum." "He thought nothing done while anything remained to do." Marrah is Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān. Setton, History, I, 326, 327.

Soon after Jerusalem had been captured, Tancred had been denounced by Arnulf to other crusade chiefs for rifling the Temple of Solomon. Tancred's defense included this paraphrased line from Lucan: "Among a thousand forms of death, men must fear only the one which makes timid men die of fear." Lucan, telling of a sea-battle near Marseilles, says: "Among a thousand forms of death, men fear one form only -- that in which death first approaches them." Lucan thus describes drowning sailors. Tancred was accusing Arnulf of cowardice.<sup>70</sup>

Ralph's last usage of Lucan occurs at the end of the book. In the spring of 1105, Tancred was besieging the town of Apamea and had good reason to expect to capture it soon from its Moslem defenders. The seaport of Latakia had recently been seized by Greek forces who were still trying to take the town's citadel from its Norman defenders. These Normans urgently requested aid and provisions from Tancred. His forces were limited, and he could not successfully deploy them in two places at once. Faced with the choice of yielding his half-won prize or losing what he still held, Tancred decided to go to the aid of the garrison at Latakia. Ralph introduces this decision with a quote from Lucan: "A starving people is incapable of fear." Thus Julius Caesar, having chased Pompey from Italy, went to Rome to seek public favor and to seize the treasury, in order to recruit and pay an

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70. Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 136, p. 702: "*Mille modos inter lethi, mors illa timori qua timidi coepere mori.*" Lucan (Loeb), III, 689, 690: "*Mille modos inter leti mors una timori est, qua coepere mori.*"

army. Tancred went to Latakia to provision his men.<sup>71</sup>

The last classical author whom Ralph uses extensively is Ovid. He paraphrases a line from the Tristia, a collection of letters which Ovid wrote during the journey to his exile on the Black Sea coast. When Ralph describes the death of Yaghi-Siyan, he says that when fortune smiles upon you, "you will count many friends." Ovid says: "So long as you are secure, you will count many friends." Both writers make this philosophic observation while reflecting upon misfortune.<sup>72</sup>

Ralph quotes, in his narration of the siege of Jerusalem, a line from Ovid's Heroides, a collection of love letters from women of Greek and Roman legend. Ralph laments the damage done to a siege machine: "Hope, too, has been slow to leave me." Phyllis writes thus to her lover, Demophoon, who sailed away and had not returned to her in Thrace. Ralph is simply voicing the crusaders' hope that their machine will soon be working again in the siege.<sup>73</sup>

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71. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 157, p. 716: "Nescit plebes jejuna timere." Lucan (Loeb), III, 58: "nescit plebesieiuna timere." Robert L. Nicholson, Tancred, (Chicago, 1940), 157-160.

72. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 69, p. 656: "multos in eo numerabis amicos." Publius Ovidius Naso, Tristia tr. Arthur Leslie Wheeler (London, Loeb, 1924), I, ix, 5: "multos numerabis amicos."

73. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 125, p. 692: "Spes quoque lenta fuit." Publius Ovidius Naso, Heroides tr. Grant Showerman (London, Loeb, 1914), II, 9: "Spes quoque lenta fuit." Ralph is not specific, but apparently he is referring to a siege-tower.

Twice Ralph uses Ovid's Art of Love in the Gesta Tancredi. The first usage occurs in the story of Tancred's march through Cilicia. Tancred attacked and captured the Turkish garrison which had held part of the town of Adana. Tancred captured alive the Turkish commander, whom Ralph describes as a dog whose only pleasure was in watching the execution of Christians. He comments thus on the capture of the Turkish commander: "For no law is fairer than that which kills with their own invention those who have devised a means of killing people." Ovid says this when telling of justice among the gods. Ralph speaks as a partisan in a religious war.<sup>74</sup>

Just before the Franks captured Antioch, Bohemond called all the crusading leaders to a council. There he proposed to them that the city should be given to him who obtained access into the city. He had already secured an accomplice within Antioch and devised a plan by which the Franks could enter the city walls. But he did not wish to divulge this information until the other crusader chiefs had promised under oath to give him permanent possession of the city. Although Bohemond did eventually make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, his chief objective in going on the crusade was to obtain his

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74. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 39, p. 634: "Nec enim lex aequior ulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua." Publius Ovidius Naso, L'art d'aimer ed. and tr. Henri Bornecque (Paris, 1924), I, 653, 654, p. 27: "Neque enim lex aequior ull est quam necis artifices arte perire sua." "Rien de plus juste que de faire périr par leur propre invention ceux qui ont inventé un moyen d'envoyer à la mort."

own principality. Therefore, he required his peers to swear as he wished. "Any man," he said, "can be rich in promises," so he wanted their promises to be guaranteed by an oath. Ovid uses this line to discuss prayers to the gods. Ralph's usage has nothing to do with mercy or favors, but shows Bohemond's determination to receive a concrete reward for his military prowess and political acumen.<sup>75</sup> Later, when Count Raymond of Toulouse disputed Bohemond's claim to Antioch, this oath served to confirm Bohemond's possession of the city.

Ralph also uses the Metamorphoses, which is the work which probably did most to give Ovid his reputation as a great classical writer. It is a collection of stories from ancient mythology. Ralph's first use of the Metamorphoses occurs when he tells how Tancred asked Alexius for his tent as a reward. The emperor had offered Tancred whatever he wanted, but was surprised and affronted by Tancred's request. Ralph explained the personal conflict involved in this event by referring to Ovid's story of Apollo and his son, Phaeton. In Ralph's words: "When he learned Tancred's wish, Alexius was just as shocked at this request as Apollo once was at Phaeton. Because, unless Tancred could arouse fatherly affection for his case, Alexius would be extremely angry." Apollo

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75. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 65, p. 654: "Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest." Publius Ovidius Naso, L'art d'aimer ed. and tr. Henri Bornecque (Paris, 1924), I, 442, p. 19: "Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest." "En promesses tout le monde peut être riche."

promised Phaeton whatever he wished, and Phaeton asked to drive the sun-chariot across the sky. Although Apollo could not refuse him he wished to, for he knew that the boy would not be able to control the chariot horses. Apollo's concern was partly for the damage the sun might do the earth in an uncontrolled journey, and partly for the safety of his son. His concern was justified: the earth was badly scorched, and Phaeton was killed. Alexius, like Apollo, was shocked that Tancred should ask for something far above his own station in life. But the emperor's outrage, as Ralph indicates, was not softened by fatherly affection for Tancred.<sup>76</sup>

Ralph uses the story of Phaeton once again when he tells of the siege of Jerusalem. Tancred's servant<sup>77</sup> was wounded during one of the earlier assaults on the city walls. His name was Raiboldus Cremium of Chartres. Ralph laments his injury with this quote from Ovid: "Though he greatly

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76. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 18, p. 619: "Quo comperto, Alexius sic fertur aestuassee ad petentem, sicut olim Delius ad Phaetontem : nisi quia illic paterna pietas trepidabat, hic saeviebat indignatio hostilis." Ovid, Metamorphoses (Loeb), II, 48-52: "Paenituit iurasse patrem : qui terque quaterque concutiens inlustre caput temeraria dixit vox mea facta tua est;" utinam promissam liceret non dare." "Phaeton's father Phoebus repented him of his oath. Thrice and again he shook his bright head and said: 'Thy words have proved mine to have been rashly said. Would that I might retract my promise.'"

77. Ralph says "auriga currus," which means "chariot-driver". He is using a classical metaphor and probably means "squire". Since Ralph is not specific, I prefer to say "servant", which is more general in meaning but suggests a similarly subordinate relationship. Ralph mentioned such a person as a weapons-bearer in Chapter 52. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 119, p. 688.

failed, still more greatly he dared." This line is part of Phaeton's epitaph. Ralph uses it to sympathize with and praise a wounded soldier.<sup>78</sup>

Ralph's last use of Ovid occurs during the confrontation between Tancred and Arnulf in Jerusalem. Here Ralph alludes to Ovid's story of the argument between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of the dead Achilles. In the story, Ajax appears as a great warrior who speaks little, while Ulysses, a good fighter, is more conspicuous for his skill with words. Ralph attributes to Tancred the character of Ajax and to Arnulf that of Ulysses. He paraphrases Ovid to describe the hearing given to Tancred and Arnulf: "The leaders sat together, and the new Ulysses arose." The hearing began with Arnulf's charges. The use of this line is similar in both books.<sup>79</sup>

In his preface, Ralph uses an idiom which occurs in Columella's manual On Agriculture. Excusing his deficiencies as a writer, Ralph calls himself: "a fat-head," and asks that some future editor improve the style of the Gesta Tancredi. Columella says that "agriculture can be conducted without the greatest mental acuteness, but not, on the other hand, by the fat-witted, to use a common expression." Ralph's

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78. Ibid., Chapter 119, p. 688: "Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis." Ovid, Metamorphoses (Loeb), II, 327, 328: "Quem si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis."

79. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 699: "Consedere duces, surgitque secundus Ulyxes." Ovid, Metamorphoses (Loeb), XIII, 1: "Consedere duces et vulgi stante corona." "The leaders sat together, and the people stood in a ring about them."



use of the term is different because he uses it in false modesty, but the meaning is the same in both cases.<sup>80</sup>

Ralph refers once to the animal fables of Avianus. This collection of fables, as has been noted earlier, was used extensively in medieval schools. Ralph inserts into Alexius's rebuke of Tancred a reference to the story of "The Ass Who Put on a Lion's Skin." Alexius asserted that Tancred was not fit to receive the emperor's tent as reward, and emphasized his remark by saying: "He reminds me of the story of the donkey who had disguised himself in the lost skin of a lion. Clothed thus to frighten others, he deserved to experience the terrible farmer." The story and its moral are plain. Tancred lacked even the pack animals necessary to carry such a gift.<sup>81</sup>

Ralph uses a quote from Sallust's Catiline. After the battle at Dorylaeum, Tancred set out to march through Cilicia with one hundred knights and two hundred archers. Ralph rhetorically laments Tancred's small force and proceeds to give him advice. He includes the following quote in his

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80. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, preface, p. 604: "nunc pinguis, ut aiunt, Minerva." Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, De Re Rustica ed. and tr. Harrison Boyd Ash (London, Loeb, 1948), I, preface, 33, pp. 26, 27: "Potest enim nec subtilissima nec rursus, quod aiunt, pingui Minerva res agrestis administrari."
81. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 18, p. 619: "Recolat vero asino se dissimilanti fuisse damno leonis exuvias : quibus indutus ut terreret, meruit rusticum sentire terribilem." The Fables of Avianus, V, in Minor Latin Poets ed. and tr. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff (London, Loeb, 1968), 688-691. The editors of the Recueil call him "Fl. Avianus," but Duff and Duff give this author no other name than "Avianus" and they accept "Avianus" with some reservations. His identity is quite unknown. Ibid., 669, 670.

advice: "Before you begin, deliberation is necessary; when you have deliberated, prompt action." Sallust uses these words to make the point that success in arms depends upon both strength of body and excellence of mind, rather than upon just one of these qualities. The lines are good advice for a military campaign. Ralph's usage is apt for this rhetorical statement.<sup>82</sup>

Ralph uses three exclamations which occur in plays by Plautus. In describing the battle against Kerbogha, when the crusaders see the battle begin to turn in their favor, Ralph makes the Christians say to the Moslems: "Your 'oh! good!' is being changed to 'ow! ooh!'" The happy exclamations are used in the comedy Bacchides and the painful one occurs in another comedy, The Pot of Gold.<sup>83</sup> Ralph uses these exclamations in narrating the battle which won for the crusaders control of Antioch and most of northern Syria. It was the last major battle they fought before they attacked Jerusalem.

What can we learn about Ralph from this examination of classical references in his book? We can safely assume that he had read Virgil and Horace rather thoroughly, at least

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82. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 33, p. 630: "Et priusquam incipias, consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature opus est facto." Gaius Sallustius Crispus, Bellum Catilinae, I, 6: "Et prius quam incipias, consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est." in Sallust ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe (London, Loeb, 1947), 3.

83. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 88, p. 668: "'Evax ahahe' vertuntur in 'attat.'" Titus Maccius Plautus, Bacchides, II, iii, 248, pp. 354, 355: "'Evax,' apersisti aquam." "Oh, good, good! That news is like a dash of water!" Titus Maccius Plautus, Aulularia, III, i, 6, pp. 276, 277: "Attat, perii hercle ego miser." "Uh - ow - oo! Good Lord be merciful!" in Plautus tr. Paul Nixon (London, Loeb, 1937), I.

the Aeneid, Epistles, Art of Poetry, and Odes, because he used them so extensively. For the same reason, we can assume that Ralph was well acquainted with Lucan's Civil War and Ovid's Metamorphoses. Since Ralph had obviously read rather thoroughly one book by Virgil and one by Ovid, it is quite possible, even likely, that he had read the other books by these men from which we find quotes or paraphrases. Also, since modern authorities cited above say that Avianus and Sallust were widely used in Europe during Ralph's lifetime, there is no reason to assume that he had not read the Fables of Avianus and Sallust's Catiline. On the other hand, where Ralph's reference consists simply of an unusual term, such as Columella's "fat-head", or the exclamations which have been traced to comedies by Plautus, Ralph may very well not have read the original works. He could well have obtained some of this material from one of the florilegia, or books of literary extracts, which were used in the teaching of Latin Grammar.

Nearly all of Ralph's classical sources were in verse. Apparently Ralph had a preference for literature in verse. Verse was a popular form for literary writing in the Roman Empire and in the middle ages.<sup>84</sup> Only Sallust and Columella, among Ralph's classical sources, wrote in prose form. The fact that many of Ralph's chapters are written in verse sug-

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84. Raby, Secular Latin Poetry, 1.

gests that he may have intended eventually to turn all of his prose narrative into verse form. His use of classical authors indicates that Ralph received a good foundation in Latin secular literature, and that he used this education to write a historical tale intended for popular reading.

### Chapter III

#### Ralph's Use of Religious Material

The use of religious material in the Gesta Tancredi is equally important, in studying Ralph's style, as is his use of classical material. Religious literature and ideas pervaded men's thought in the middle ages. The ideas, stories, and even the terminology of Christianity dominated the thinking and writing of most medieval Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Other contemporary histories of the First Crusade contain much church-related material.<sup>2</sup> Ralph of Caen illustrates this tendency by using religious references extensively in his book.

From what sources did Ralph draw these references? The Vulgate Bible is the most important source. Other church-related expressions come from the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. The religious material with which most European Christians in the early twelfth century, laymen as well as clerics, were well acquainted occurs in the services of worship.<sup>3</sup> In addition to phrases from the liturgy,

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1. Henry Osborn Taylor, The Medieval Mind, (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), II, 200. Will Durant, The Age of Faith, (New York, 1950), 736, 737, 748-750.
  2. May Graham Matthews Duke, A Study of the Problems of Authorship and Style M. A. thesis (Houston, 1967), 61-81.
  3. Albert Blaise, Le Vocabulaire Latin, (Turnhout, Belgique, 1966).

Ralph occasionally uses pious adjectives and interjections in his book.

How did Ralph use these religious references, and what was his purpose in using them? In order to answer these questions, we must examine closely the church-related expressions and phrases in the Gesta Tancredi. Since the source for most of these references is the Bible, this study will begin with biblical materials. Ralph includes in the Gesta Tancredi twenty-seven phrases and passages which derive from the Bible. Some of these phrases and passages are quotes or paraphrases of lines in the Bible, while others are references to identifiable episodes in this book.<sup>4</sup>

Ralph first paraphrases the Bible in the preface. He introduces his topic, the First Crusade, in these words: "Behold your sons, Jerusalem, who have come from afar, and your daughters, Joppa, have arisen at your side." In the Book of Isaiah, the new glory of Jerusalem is, in part, indicated similarly: "Jerusalem, your sons come from afar, and your daughters stand up at your side." This line in the Bible refers to a prophesied future greatness of Jerusalem in religion. Ralph applies this exalted language to the arrival of the army of the First Crusade before the walls of

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4. Most of these references have been indicated by the editors of the Recueil. My reference is the Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, (Madrid, 1959), (hereafter cited as BS).

Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> During the siege of the city, a Genoese naval force which had landed at Joppa aided the crusaders significantly by building siege equipment.<sup>6</sup> Presumably this Genoese support force is the object of Ralph's reference to Joppa.

Ralph's next use of biblical language occurs in his narration of the hasty departure of Tancred and Bohemond from the emperor's court immediately after Tancred had insulted Alexius by asking for his personal tent. This incident took place just after the city of Nicaea surrendered to Frankish and Byzantine forces. Pursued by a Byzantine official, the two Normans evaded him by escaping in a boat from the shore. When the official called out for them to return, they continued across the water, for "having put their hands to the plow, they did not look back at the lights" of the city. In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus says: "No one who puts his hand to the plow and then looks back is ready to

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5. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Preface, 603: "Ecce filii tui, Iherusalem, de longe venerunt, et filiae tuae Joppe . . . de latere surrexerunt." BS, Isaias, LX, 4: "Ierusalem Filii tui de longe venient et filiae tuae de latere surgent."
  6. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, (Syracuse, 1962), 129, 130.

enter the Kingdom of God." Jesus spoke these words to illustrate moral resolution. Ralph thus describes a less elevated matter, the firm resolution of Bohemond and Tancred to escape a diplomatically dangerous situation.<sup>7</sup>

Ralph expands upon the two Normans' desire to escape by using a double reference: "But those two women did likewise, one of whom looked back at the destruction of Sodom, while the other, Eurydice, looked back when she and Orpheus had climbed up to the light of day, although they had been forbidden to look back, and she fell into darkness again." Ralph is referring here to Lot's wife, who was turned into a pillar of salt when she looked back at the destruction of Sodom, and to Eurydice, whom Orpheus tried to ransom from Hades. Pluto permitted Orpheus to take Eurydice back to the world of daylight only if Orpheus did not look back during the journey. According to Ovid, when the couple were near the entrance to the world of daylight, Orpheus, anxious about his wife, looked back, and Eurydice then fell back into Hades. Ralph has confused the story slightly by saying that Eury-

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7. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 19, p. 620: "immissave aratro manu, lumina non reflectunt." BS, Lucam, IX, 62: "Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum, et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei."



dice looked back.<sup>8</sup> Here Ralph has combined a biblical and a classical allusion, but they aptly illustrate the necessity for the two Normans to move swiftly in order to escape the emperor's wrath.

In the story of Tancred's march through Cilicia, the Gesta Tancredi includes a reference to one of the Psalms. When Tancred left the main army of the crusade in order to secure Cilicia, he led a small force of one hundred knights and two hundred archers. Ralph rhetorically warns Tancred,

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8. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 19, p. 620: "Sed et illae, quarum altera chaos Sodomae res-pexit, altera Threicio conjugii est respecta, emersos ad lucem rursus prohibent tenebris immergi." BS, Genesis, XIX, 26: "Respiciensque uxor eius post se, versa est in statuam salis." The editors of the Recueil suggest that this reference to Orpheus and Eurydice comes from Publius Vergilius Maro, Georgics, IV, 490, 491: "restitit, Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa immemor heu! victusque animi respexit." In Virgil ed. and tr. H. Rushton Fairclough, (London, Loeb, 1960). "He Orpheus stopped, and on the very verge of light, unmindful, alas! and vanquished in purpose, on Eurydice, now his own, looked back." Another possible source for this classical reference is Publius Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoses tr. Frank Justus Miller, (London, Loeb, 1946), vol. II, X, 56, 57: "hic, ne deficeret, metuens avidusque videndi flexit amans oculos, et protinus illa relapsa est." "He, afraid that she might fail him, eager for sight of her, turned back his longing eyes; and instantly she slipped back into the depths." I prefer to attribute this reference to Ovid because, at the end of the Gesta Tancredi, Ralph refers to Lyaeus as an agent of revenge. "Dumque vel modico uti Lyaeo propter stomachum blande moneretur." "If only, for example, according to the temperate action of Lyaeus when provoked by anger, he should be warned softly." RHC Occ, III, Chapter 153, p. 714. Ovid states that when the Mae-nads murdered Orpheus, Lyaeus (a special name for Bacchus) turned them into trees in order to avenge the death of Orpheus. Metamorphoses (Loeb), XI, 67-84. Although Virgil does make brief and scattered references to Lyaeus in the Georgics, Ovid presents a fairly unified story of the life and death of Orpheus.

and also others on the crusade must then have warned him, to take more soldiers with him for reasons of safety. Tancred apparently preferred a small number of soldiers, for "he hardened himself like a deaf adder" and declined this advice. One of the Psalms denounces unjust men, saying that they stop up their ears and are "just like deaf adders." Ralph's usage of this simile is different from the biblical usage, but the meaning fits well in both cases.<sup>9</sup>

Early in Tancred's march through Cilicia, he attacked and defeated the Turkish garrison which guarded the city of Tarsus. The Christian inhabitants of Tarsus are depicted as welcoming Tancred's army as liberators. Ralph takes this opportunity to eulogize Tancred: "Well done, son of Robert Guiscard, leader placed over a few." In the New Testament, two of the Gospels quote Jesus Christ as saying in a parable: "Well done, good and faithful servant, since you were faithful with a few things, let me place you over many things." Jesus uses these words to show a merchant's pleased reaction when two of his servants sold goods on consignment abroad and brought back a large profit. Ralph uses them to praise Tancred for the first city he captured without the aid of

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9. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 34, p. 630: "ipse in aspidem surdam obduratus." BS, Psalmus LVII, 5: "Sicut aspidis surdae et obturantis aures suas."

other leaders of the crusade.<sup>10</sup>

Tancred was soon compelled to leave his newly-won prize to Baldwin of Boulogne, who had followed him with a larger army. Proceeding eastward, Tancred came to the city of Adana. Part of the city was occupied by a Turkish garrison while an Armenian prince, Oshin,<sup>11</sup> controlled the remainder. Tancred defeated and killed the Turkish commander. Ralph announces that this is God's judgment with a quote from the Psalms and a paraphrase from the Gospels: "On this account, he, who cares for the humble and recognizes the proud from afar, has given back to him (the Turkish commander) in the same amount in which he had given to others, by the agency of Tancred." Ralph describes the Turkish commander as a cruel persecutor of Christians who is now receiving God's justice, namely, the justice which he had himself given out. Ralph has combined very well two very different descriptions of God. It is, however, somewhat surprising to see him

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10. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 36, p. 632: "Euge, Wiscardida, super pauca constitutus." BS, Matthaeum, XXV, 21: "Euge serve bone, et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam." Ibid., Matthaeum, XXV, 23: "Euge serve bone, et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam." Ibid., Lucam, XIX, 17: "Euge bone serve, quia in modico fuisti fidelis, eris potestatem habens super decem civitates."

11. Ralph calls him "Ursinus." Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 40, pp. 634-636. However, modern authorities call him Oshin. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (New York, 1964), I, 196.

imply that Tancred, who had insulted the emperor Alexius, was humble.<sup>12</sup>

Tancred met Oshin at Adana, and Oshin introduced himself and told how the Armenians had taken Adana from the Turks. He paraphrased a Psalm to describe the confused helplessness of the Turkish garrison which, lured into combat unprepared, were defeated: "If indeed the profaners of God's church had eyes, still they could not see." The Psalm says: "They have eyes, and they shall not see." The Psalm thus describes those people who did not worship the True God. Oshin, as Ralph quotes him, is using the Psalm in a similar way.<sup>13</sup>

The day after Tancred and Oshin met, the Turkish troops of the nearby town of Mamistra departed. The Christian inhabitants of the town asked Tancred to take them under his protection, for: "His yoke was pleasant and his burden light." Ralph is paraphrasing the New Testament here. Jesus invited sinners to follow him, saying: "For my yoke is pleasant, and

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12. Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, *RHC Occ*, III, Chapter 39, p. 634: "Quapropter is qui humilia respicit et alta a longe cognoscit, eandem ei qua mensus fuerat, Tancredo dispensatore, mensuram reservavit." *BS*, Psalmus CXXXVII, 6: "et humilia respicit, et alta a longe cognoscit." *Ibid.*, Matthaeum, VII, 2: "et in qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis." *Ibid.*, Lucam, VI, 38: "Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis."

13. Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, *RHC Occ*, III, Chapter 40, p. 636: "Dei siquidem ecclesiae profanatores oculos habebant, nec videbant." *BS*, Psalmus CXIII B, 5: "Oculos habent, et non videbunt."

my burden is light." Jesus Christ was describing a religious code of conduct. Ralph has adapted these words to a different situation. The citizens of Mamistra sought military protection from Tancred, a fellow-Christian.<sup>14</sup>

Tancred rejoined the main army of the crusade near Antioch. The crusaders secured their military position near Antioch before commencing the siege of that city. Although the nearby town of Artasia had been secured, the surrounding countryside was still occupied by Turkish soldiers. Consequently Tancred, "knowing that man's life is like a soldier's," occupied the neighboring mountains in order to harass the Turkish soldiers from a relatively safe base. Ralph has adapted here a phrase from the Old Testament. Job, complaining to God of his afflictions and requesting a swift release through cure or death, said: "Man's life on earth is like a soldier's military service." Job is describing man's life as being, like military service, of limited duration. Ralph is paraphrasing Job in order to explain rhetorically the military considerations which persuaded Tancred to become a mountain-based raider.<sup>15</sup>

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14. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 41, p. 636: "suave jugum onusque leve." BS, Matthaëum, XI, 30: "Iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve."

15. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 47, p. 641: "militia vita est hominis." BS, Iob, VII, 1: "Militia est vita hominis super terram." The rest of the seventh chapter of Job clearly expresses the concept of a limited duration of time. The word "militia" means both "warfare" and "military service," hence the radically different meaning expressed in virtually the same words.

Further along in his story, Ralph uses a biblical reference when describing the means by which the crusaders, after a long siege, captured Antioch. After Bohemond had received an offer, from a resident of Antioch, of aid in entering the city walls, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy presented to a council of the crusading leaders the possibility that Antioch might soon be captured. He impressed upon them the military necessity of capturing the city in order to protect the rear of the army during its southward march to Jerusalem. In his speech, he explained the necessity of entrusting Antioch to one man after it was captured. In order to illustrate his point, he said: "There was no one among the Hebrews who would challenge Goliath, until the promises of the king's daughter and the freedom of the palace aroused David."<sup>16</sup> Adhémar made this reference to the biblical story of David in order to persuade his audience that the man who would make it possible for the crusaders to capture Antioch must be rewarded with the possession of it. David earned his reward through his skill with the sling. Bohemond had won the assistance of Fīrūz, his accomplice residing within Antioch.

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16. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, Chapter 64, p. 653: "Non fuit in Hebraeis qui contra Goliath surgeret, donec regis filia et libertas patriae domui promissa David suscitarunt." The same story is told in the Old Testament. BS, I Samuelis (also called I Regum), XVII, 25-32. Although Ralph has not named Bohemond's accomplice, this man has been identified by others as Fīrūz. Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 317.

Ralph uses the Old Testament when he tells how the Franks actually entered Antioch. Bohemond's ally, Fīrūz, hung a rope over the city wall. Some young Frankish soldiers, armed, climbed up to the top. The first man to the top of the wall was Gouel of Chartres. Paraphrasing the Old Testament, Ralph says of him: "'Just as an eagle arouses her nestlings to fly and flies above them,' that noble man . . . wished to live for glory." The Old Testament says that God watches over his people "just as an eagle arouses her nestlings to fly and flies above them." In the Bible, the simile illustrates watchful care. Ralph uses the same simile to describe a feat of military prowess.<sup>17</sup>

Soon after the Franks had captured Antioch, they began to suffer from a shortage of food. The arrival of a large Moslem army commanded by Kerbogha made the Franks prisoners within the city. The Frankish defenders found themselves exposed to severe attack from Turkish archers on a high mountain which overlooked the city wall. For protection they built another wall further out to block the mountain access, under cover of darkness. Ralph says of the construction of this protective wall: "It was a good thing, but it could not prosper in the daylight." He is paraphrasing a line from the New Testament. Jesus said to Nicodemus the Pharisee: "For every-

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17. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 66, p. 654: "sicut aquila provocans pullos suos ad volandum, et super eos volitans: vir ille nobilis . . . propter laudem vivere cupiebat." BS, Deuteronomium, XXXII, ii: "Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos volitans."

one who acts wrongly cannot bear the light of day." Jesus was describing God and salvation. Ralph is describing military necessity, which demanded the construction of a new wall but permitted it only at night.<sup>18</sup>

Much later, after the Franks had defeated Kerbogha and besieged Artasium, Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy died. Ralph reports Adhémar's last words, in which he commended Arnulf to the leaders of the crusade as their new spiritual leader: "This is my beloved son," he said, "in whom I am greatly pleased." The Apostle Matthew reports that when Jesus Christ was baptized, a voice from heaven said: "This is my beloved son, in whom I am greatly pleased." God in these words introduced Jesus to the people of Galilee as a spiritual leader. According to Ralph, Bishop Adhémar used these words for a similar purpose.<sup>19</sup>

The relic of the Holy Lance, which had served the crusaders as a rallying standard when they defeated Kerbogha's

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18. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 74, p. 659: "bona res, lucem tamen odit." BS, Ioannem, III, 20: "Omnis enim qui male agit, odit lucem."

19. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 94, p. 673: "Filius hic, inquit, meus est dilectus, in ipso. Est mihi complacitum." BS, Matthaeum, III, 17: "Et ecce vox de caelis dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui." Pope Urban II had commissioned Bishop Adhémar du Puy as papal legate. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, I, 109. Although Arnulf did not receive the title of papal legate, the fact that the Crusaders chose him to be the first Patriarch of Jerusalem indicates that they regarded him as their spiritual leader.



army, soon fell under suspicion. Bohemond doubted that God would have chosen a man of such questionable character as Peter Bartholomew to receive a vision, and he felt that the Holy Lance was a fraudulent relic arranged by the Provençals. Bohemond asked, rhetorically, how he could repay the Provençals for the insult of claiming that the victory, "which came from above, descending from the Father of all goodness," was won by their bit of iron. Here Ralph has paraphrased a line from the Epistle of James: "All the best things and every perfect gift comes from above, descending from the Father of all goodness." James attributes all good things to God. Bohemond, according to Ralph, attributed the crusaders' victory over Kerbogha to God directly, rather than (as the Provençals maintained) to God's influence working through the now-disputed relic.<sup>20</sup>

At approximately the same time that the miraculous nature of the Holy Lance was being questioned, another miracle occurred. During the siege of 'Arqah, near Antioch, one of the Frankish knights experienced a vision in which he was warned that he would soon die and go to heaven. This knight, Anselm of Ribemont, recognized in his vision a comrade who had died at Antioch. This comrade told Anselm: "For you have fought a good fight, and you have finished your journey." These words paraphrase a similar line in the Apostle Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy: "I have fought a good fight, and I have finished my journey."

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20. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 102, p. 678: "quae desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum." BS, Epistola Iacobi, I, 17: "Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum."

Paul described in these words his own approaching death and urged Timothy to continue with his mission. Ralph uses these words rhetorically to tell Anselm that he would soon die and go to heaven.<sup>21</sup>

Ralph next uses a biblical paraphrase in his description of the siege of Jerusalem. After a lengthy assault by siege engines, the crusaders captured the city. Ralph introduces the entrance of the crusaders into Jerusalem by saying that God, Who divided the Red Sea into two parts and led Israel through the middle, now comforted his forsaken men. He is quoting here two lines from the Psalms: "[God] Who divided the Red Sea into two parts, . . . and led Israel through the middle." These lines in a Psalm praise God. Ralph uses the same lines to praise God and to show that God was still helping his chosen people, the crusaders, just as, much earlier, He had helped the Hebrews to flee Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

Ralph apparently felt that the Christian capture of Jerusalem accomplished God's wish. He says that the capture occurred on Friday, July 15, 1099, a day which should always be celebrated. Speaking in a flowery manner, he suggests that

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21. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 106, p. 681: "bonus enim certamen certavisti, et cursum consummasti." BS, II Epistola Pauli ad Timotheum, IV, 7: "Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi." This vision is discussed more fully in Chapter IV.

22. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 125, p. 693: "Qui divisit mare Rubrum in divisiones, et eduxit Israel per medium ejus." BS, Psalmus CXXXV, 13, 14: "Qui divisit mare Rubrum in divisiones . . . Et eduxit Israel per medium ejus."

the Christina control of Jerusalem created the kingdom of heaven on earth. "On this ides," he said, "early in the morning that head of a household sent laborers into his vineyard." The Apostle Matthew reports that Jesus Christ compared the kingdom of heaven to "the head of a household who goes out early in the morning to bring laborers into his vineyard." The parable is much longer than this one line. Jesus used it to show that God rewards as He chooses all who answer Him. Ralph uses this line to say figuratively that with the capture of Jerusalem the laborers in the vineyard (the crusaders) have completed their work.<sup>23</sup>

Immediately after the Christian capture of Jerusalem, a confrontation between Tancred and Arnulf occurred. The nature and significance of the confrontation will be discussed further below in this paper. However, it is appropriate to examine here the biblical references which were used in the dispute. Arnulf denounced Tancred in a lengthy harangue which contained four biblical references and quotes, all of which describe the Temple of Solomon. First, Arnulf said: "This is the Lord's firmly built house; the Lord Himself esta-

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23. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 699: "In his Pater ille familias operarios mane in vineam misit." The editors of the Recueil write "pater" with a capital "P". If Ralph had capitalized "Pater," he could be referring to God as the head of the family of man. Since I am not presently able to consult the original manuscript, I cannot verify this conjecture. BS, Matthaeum, XX, 1: "Simile est regnum caelorum homini paterfamilias, qui exiit primo mane concucere operarios in vineam suam."

it." This line alludes to a Psalm which says: "When the Lord chose Sion, He chose it for His own dwelling."<sup>24</sup> Having thus established this temple as God's own house, Arnulf then recalled events of biblical history which had occurred there. He recalled Jacob's dream of a ladder going up to heaven in these words: "Here is that place in which the patriarch Jacob recognized God, which he called the gate of heaven, where he saw a ladder touching the sky on which angels rose and descended." In these words Ralph summarizes three lines in the Book of Genesis.<sup>25</sup> Arnulf then noted that Mary and Joseph had brought Jesus as a baby to this temple: "Here Christ, as an infant, was presented to the Lord." The Apostle Luke says that the parents of Jesus obeyed the law of Moses by presenting their infant son to God in the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> Arnulf exhausted his biblical asso-

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24. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 700: "haec est enim domus Domini firmiter aedificata; ipse Dominus fundavit eam in habitationem sibi." BS, Psalmus CXXXI, 13: "Quoniam elegit Dominus Sion, Elegit eam in habitationem sibi."

25. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 700: "Hic ille est locus in quo patriarcha Jacob vere Dominum esse asseruit, quem portam coeli vocavit, ubi scalam coelos tangentem et angelos ascendentes et descendentes vidit." BS, Genesis, XXVIII, 12: "Viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram, et cacumen illius tangens caelum: angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per aem." Ibid., Genesis, XXVIII, 16, 17: "Cumque evigilasset Iacob de somno, ait: Vere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego nesciebam. Pavensque, Quam terribilis est, inquit, locus iste! non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei, et porta caeli."

26. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 700: "Hunc Christus Dominus et praesentatione sui illustravit infans." BS, Lucam, II, 22: "Et postquam impleti sunt dies purgationis enius secundum legem Moysi, tulerunt illum in Ierusalem, ut sisterent eum Domino."

ciations with this building when he told how Jesus Christ drove the merchants out of the temple, saying: "For it is written: 'my house will be called a house of prayer.'" This incident is described in the gospels of Mark and Luke. Jesus felt that the transaction of business detracted from the religious function of the temple. Arnulf used this incident to convince his audience that his complaint against Tancred was just.<sup>27</sup>

One year after the crusaders captured Jerusalem, their first king, Godfrey of Bouillon, died.<sup>28</sup> Ralph is careful to report Godfrey's dying words. The king called to his side Arnulf, Daimbert, who was the new Patriarch of Jerusalem, and other dignitaries, and said to them: "Behold, I am entering upon the way of all the earth." These words are almost identical with the words Joshua spoke to the people of Israel just before he died: "Today I am entering upon the way of all the

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27. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, p. 700: "Scriptum est: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur." BS, Marcum, XI, 17: "Nonne scriptum est: Quia domus mea, domus orationis vocabitur omnibus gentibus? Vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum." BS, Lucam, XIX, 45, 46: "Et ingressus in templum, coepit eiicere vendentes in illo, et ementes, dicens illis: Scriptum est: Quia domus mea domus orationis est. Vos autem fecistis illam speluncam latronum."

28. Modern authorities say that Godfrey was Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher, rather than king. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, I, 292, 293. John La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 4, 204. Whatever legal distinctions in the title may have been intended in 1099, the crusaders soon came to regard Godfrey as the first Christian king of Jerusalem. Ralph of Caen calls him a king: "Nam Gottifredus, rex optimus et timens Deum, . . . ex hac luce migravit." Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 142, p. 705.

earth." In both cases, a leader bids his people farewell.<sup>29</sup>

Ralph's narrative becomes sketchy after the capture of Jerusalem. He notes briefly the capture of Bohemond by Gümüştekin, the Danishmendid emir, and Tancred's appointment to the regency of Antioch in 1101. Shortly after the disaster of the Crusade of 1101, Count Raymond of Toulouse obtained aid from the emperor Alexius which Tancred feared would be used to take Antioch from him. Raymond sailed from Constantinople toward the Byzantine-held city of Latakia, but was blown by contrary winds into the port of Tarsus, where Tancred's men took him prisoner. Ralph considers this event to be an instance of divine intervention, for he says: "Men dispute on earth. But God, Who sits above the Cherubim, gives judgment in heaven." Ralph is adapting a line from the Psalms: "The Lord rules Who sits above the Cherubim." The Psalm praises God as ruler of the universe. Ralph uses this line to indicate that God, as ruler of the universe, intervened in earthly affairs to preserve Tancred's rule of Antioch.<sup>30</sup>

Three years later a battle occurred at Harran in which most of the prominent Franks then present in Syria and Palestine fought and were defeated by the Seljuq Turks.<sup>31</sup> Great

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29. Ibid., Chapter 142, p. 705: "Ecce, inquit, viam universae terrae ingredior." BS, Iosue, XXIII, 14: "En ego hodie ingredior viam universae terrae."

30. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 145, p. 708: "Deliberant in terra homines: judicat qui sedet super Cherubim in coelo Deus." BS, Psalmus XCVIII, 1: "Dominus regnavit . . . Qui sedet super Cherubim." Robert L. Nicholson, Tancred, (Chicago, 1940), 128-130.

31. Nicholson gives a detailed description of the battle of Harran and its effects upon Syrian affairs and includes a critical evaluation of the sources for this battle. Ibid., 138-146, 237-240.

numbers of the Franks and their Armenian allies were captured or killed during the rout which occurred after the first day of fighting. During the rout, Patriarch Bernard of Antioch, fearing that the mud-encrusted tail of his mule would impede his flight, begged the nearby knights to cut off his mule's tail. He offered a full remission of sins to anyone who would thus speed his flight. After many men passed him by, one knight stopped, cut off the mule's tail, and received the remission and a blessing from the bishop. Ralph describes this incident with a paraphrase from the New Testament: "The soldier, when he reaped a mule's tail, sowed generously, and also reaped generously." The Apostle Paul says: "He who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly; and he who sows generously will also reap generously." Paul thus advises people how to live a religiously rewarding life. Ralph applies Paul's general principle to a specific incident in battle and improves upon it.<sup>32</sup>

Soon after the disaster at Harran, Bohemond returned to Europe to recruit more Frankish soldiers. He left Antioch in the care of Tancred and never returned to Syria. Bohemond took all the available gold, silver, and gemstones with him and left Tancred in such poverty that for a while he drank no

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32. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 150, p. 711: "Miles, dum caudam metit, in benedictionibus seminat; metit quoque de benedictionibus." BS, Epistola Pauli ad Corinthios II, IX, 6: "Qui parce seminat, parce et metet: et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et metet."

wine, but only water. When someone, to vex Tancred, asked him to drink a little wine, Tancred replied: "Let me continue in my abstinence: I am determined not to partake of the fruit of the vine until I can provide wine for all." This line paraphrases a similar line from the Gospels. Jesus Christ, at the Last Supper, said: "I will not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it again within my Father's kingdom." Jesus was, of course, instituting the rite of Holy Communion. Tancred had stopped drinking wine, Ralph says, for reasons of economy. It is reasonable to expect that he hoped to set an example of economic conduct, but religious motives were not involved in this decision.<sup>33</sup>

Twice Ralph uses the phrase "Kyrie eleison," or "Lord, have mercy upon us." Ralph first uses this phrase when the crusaders approached Jerusalem. As soon as Tancred first saw the city, he knelt, directing his eyes to the city and his heart to heaven, and said: "Hail Jerusalem, glory of the world!" Tancred recalled some of the events in Jerusalem in the life of Jesus Christ, including Pentecost: "Hail again, royal Sion, where the disciples cried: 'Kyrie eleison.'" <sup>34</sup>

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33. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 153, p. 714: "Sinite me, aiebat, cum abstinentibus abstinere: fixum fixi de genimine vitis nolle accipere, donec omnibus sufficiam dare." BS, Matthaeum, XXVI, 29: "non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum, cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei." Ibid., Marcum, XIV, 25: "Amen dico vobis, quia iam non bibam de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum, cum illud bibam novum in regno Dei."

34. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter III, p. 684: "Salve praeterea, regia Syon, in qua discipulos, 'Kyrryeleson' clamantes."



The phrase "Kyrie eleison" occurs in the Book of Isaiah in a call for a day of judgment. It forms a choral prayer in litanies.<sup>35</sup> Tancred's long and religious salutation of Jerusalem illustrates the nature of the crusade as a popular movement inspired by religious devotion. Tancred's reference to the disciples indicates that the crusaders viewed themselves as Christ's latter-day disciples. Just as on Pentecost Jesus commanded his disciples to go forth and do his work; so, in 1099, the crusaders in Palestine felt that they, too, were working for God and Jesus Christ.

Ralph used the "Kyrie eleison" once more when he told of the final assault on the walls of Jerusalem. Shortly before the crusaders crossed over the city walls, many Frankish soldiers were exhausted and numbed by the toil of the siege. The soldiers were revived in spirit when they beheld a line of priests wearing white stoles; carrying a ladder up to the walls, mournfully singing hymns, and also directing words of encouragement to the disheartened soldiers. "The soldiers returned to the walls," Ralph says, "accompanied by that pious kyrie eleison. Yes, and that prayer going out from their hearts, it went up most effectively to the ears

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35. BS, Isaias, XXXIII, 2: "Domine, misere nostri." Vetus Testamentum Graecum, (Lipsiae, 1887), ΗΣΑΙΑΣ, ΑΓ', 2: "κύριε ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς." The descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost is described in BS, Actus Apostolorum, II, 2, 3, but this account does not include the words "kyrie eleison". Ralph reports the apostles as shouting: "Lord, have mercy upon us," when the noise of a rushing wind entered their house and tongues of fire appeared above them ("sonitu sub vehementi, Demisso veluti turbine coeli, Replesti subito, Spiritus alme, in linguis veniens terror et igne." Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter III, p. 684). The phrase "kyrie eleison" appears in early litanies. Albert Blaise, Le Vocabulaire Latin, (Turnhout, Belgique, 1966), 148.

of the highest judge."<sup>36</sup> This incident, as Ralph tells it, may suggest that his view of the clergy in the army is as a morale-building element; chaplains serving in the American armed forces today fulfill the same function. Also, Ralph expresses confidence that devout prayers aid a man in his endeavors and receive God's favorable attention.

After Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān was captured, the crusaders began to besiege the nearby fortress-town of 'Arqah. Ralph introduces this new attack thus: "And now, most frequently accustomed to rise from the valley of tears to the lofty mount of rejoicing, the Christians, striving diligently, did not cease trying to fulfill God's will." Their efforts at 'Arqah were unsuccessful during this campaign. The phrase "valley of tears" come from the hymn "Salve, Regina."<sup>37</sup> The church uses this term to indicate sorrow. Ralph's usage refers to military reverses which the crusaders experienced.

In addition to the established terms and phrases from worship which Ralph uses, some new words appear in the Gesta Tancredi which Ralph may have invented. A modern student of medieval literature, Maximilian Manitius, notes some new words. Among the examples which Manitius gives are these words of

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36. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 125, p. 693: "Redit ad muros, pium illud kyrryeleison comitans; illud, inquam, et ab imo pectore egressum, et ad summi aures Judicis efficaciter progressum."

37. Ibid., Chapter 105, p. 680: "Jamque saepius de valle lacrymarum ad montem gaudii excelsum surgere assueti Christicolae successus urgere suos, instare favori numinis haud cessant." Albert Blaise, Le Vocabulaire Latin, 540.

38. Maximilian Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, (Munich, 1931), III, 424.

religious significance: "Iherosolymipeta" and "Mahummicola."<sup>38</sup> "Iherosolymipeta" means "Jerusalem-seeker," and Ralph occasionally refers to the crusaders by this poetic term.<sup>39</sup> Ralph refers to Moslems by the term "Mahummicola," which means "worshipper of Muhammed." Similarly, he often designates Christians as "Christicolae," meaning "worshippers of Christ." Occasionally he puts both terms in a single sentence in order to dramatize the First Crusade as a religious war.<sup>40</sup> Ralph illustrates even more vividly the religious conflict in his report of the Armenian capture of Adana. Oshin thus summarized the battle: "From their side the infidels shouted their prayer, 'Allachibar!' . . . and from ours resounded, 'Christ conquers, rules, and commands!'"<sup>41</sup>

After the defeat of Kerbogha's army, another type of religious conflict arose in Antioch among the crusaders. Many of the common people of the crusade were persuaded by Arnulf and another priest to build an image of the Savior from pure gold, because the Holy Lance had already been proven a fraud

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39. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 17, p. 618: "Hierusolimipetas." Ibid., Chapter 103, p. 679: "Iherosolymipetis."

40. Ibid., Chapter 20, p. 620: "Christicolis . . . Mahummicolas." Ibid., Chapter 104, p. 679: "Igitur vae, vae Mahummicolis, Christicolis gaudium."

41. Ibid., Chapter 40, p. 636: "Ex illo, Allachibar, quod delitas orando exclamat . . . ac pro eo Christus vincit, regnat, imperat . . . reboavit." Brehier suggests that Ralph, in writing "Allachibar," was attempting to reproduce the traditional war cry "Allah akbar." Gesta Francorum (Bréhier), 45.

and many people wanted a new and distinctive relic to accompany them on the crusade. This project was extremely expensive and evidently was viewed by the crusading leaders as a foolish expense, but the project was completed after the two preachers persuaded most of the people to support it. Some of the gold was obtained through voluntary contributions, but much was also obtained through indiscriminate robbing of local merchants. Ralph narrates this incident as a deplorable instance of irresponsible exploitation by the clergy of popular religious sentiment.<sup>42</sup>

The golden image is not the only instance in the Gesta Tancredi of religious ambitions clashing with the more temporal concerns of the crusade. In Jerusalem, just after the city was captured, the confrontation between Tancred and Arnulf, referred to above, demonstrates in rough outline the conflicting objectives of the church and the military (shortly to become "the State"). Ralph tells vividly how Tancred led his men into the Temple of Solomon, where they found a silver statue of Muhammed encrusted with gem-stones and much other temple ornamentation of gold, silver, and precious stones.<sup>43</sup> They knocked over the statue and broke it up and then rifled the Temple of the portable and more valuable part of its decora-

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42. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 110, p. 683: "Proponitur fabricanda aurea Salvatoris imago."

43. Ibid., Chapter 129, pp. 695, 696. The statue of Muhammed must certainly be the fruit of Ralph's imagination. The Koran prohibits the making of images. H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, (New York, 1962), 68.

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Very soon, Arnulf heard how the Temple had been robbed. At a council of the crusading leaders, he denounced Tancred for having robbed the Temple of Solomon. Arnulf maintained that Tancred had desecrated God's house of prayer and had thus insulted the Roman Catholic Church. Tancred admitted to robbing the Temple. Arnulf wanted Tancred to restore to the Temple all that he had taken. Tancred insisted that he could not; that he had robbed the Temple in order to pay his soldiers.<sup>44</sup> The compromise settlement, by which Tancred agreed to pay to the Temple 700 marks,<sup>45</sup> ended only the first in a long series of similar disagreements. The root of the quarrel was money, or its nearest contemporary equivalent. The substance of the dispute appears to have been whether the Church or the military should have the greater authority in the Holy Land. Should the Church have a pre-emptive authority over available funds, or should the military (or the State) have the foremost claim? Within a very few years, King Baldwin I quarrelled fiercely with the Patriarch Daimbert over the disposition of funds held by the Church in Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> Ralph's story of this confrontation between Arnulf and Tancred indicates that this serious conflict over supreme authority existed from the very beginning of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

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44. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 135, 136, pp. 699-702.

45. Ibid., Chapter 137, p. 702. Ralph says only: "septingentis Templum redonat." However, Guizot has rendered this: "restitue a l'église sept cent marcs."

In addition to the instances just noted, in which Ralph deprecates arrogant or irresponsible actions by the clergy, there are a few other religious references in the Gesta Tancredi. Ralph occasionally calls the crusaders "athletes of Christ."<sup>47</sup> When Christians defeat Moslems or hear of such a victory, they "thank Christ" or "sing thanks to God."<sup>48</sup> Such religious references show that the First Crusade was regarded by Ralph and his contemporaries as a war for God and Jesus Christ. Since the crusaders (or most of them, in any case) were religiously motivated, the Church and its teachings were important in their daily lives. They felt a close personal relationship with God and Jesus Christ. Consequently, the crusaders frequently asked God for help in defeating opponents; after such victories, as at Jerusalem, they thanked God for His help.<sup>49</sup> Ralph reports faithfully this popular religious devotion. He recognizes it as the most important motivating force for the First Crusade.

Such a feeling among the common people of the crusade gave significant power, based upon popular support, to their

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47. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 62, p. 650: "Sed jam expertus misertusque athletas suos Christus." Ibid., Chapter 87, p. 668: "Athletae Christi, totius gloria mundi."

48. Ibid., Chapter 35, p. 631: "Alius itaque admissis, alii repulsi per trunca redeunt cadavera, Christo gratantes." Ibid., Chapter 40, p. 636: "Deo gratias Tancredus occinuit."

49. Ibid., Chapter 120, p. 689; Chapter 125, p. 693; Chapter 135, p. 699.

spiritual leaders. Ralph concedes that spiritual leaders ought to possess significant influence in the direction of the crusade, but that this influence must have limits imposed by practical considerations and the demands of the military situation at the moment. Sometimes the army chaplains joined in the labor of a siege. At Jerusalem, as mentioned above, several army chaplains helped in the siege and also raised the men's morale.<sup>50</sup> This sort of cooperation from the clergy was, in Ralph's eyes, a valuable and praiseworthy thing.

But occasionally the work of the crusade was, Ralph felt, impeded by irresponsible outbursts of popular religious enthusiasm or by the actions of obstinate individuals among the clergy. The whole crusade was an act of religious faith. The chief physical support, and its main strength, lay in the knights in the army. One might summarize the motivating forces of the crusade by saying that faith works wonders and lances win battles. Faith and lances worked together in the First Crusade. Since the crusade's success depended chiefly, in Ralph's opinion, upon its military success, the considerations vital to the war effort ought to receive foremost attention.

One hindrance to the military success of the crusade was the popular movement, noted above, to build a golden image

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50. Ibid., Chapter 125, p. 693. See Footnote 36.

of the Savior. By draining the army of much-needed funds and by robbing local merchants, the zealous crusaders who undertook this enterprise actually endangered the crusade as an expedition of conquest. The military and religious interests in the crusade also conflicted strikingly in the confrontation between Tancred and Arnulf after the capture of Jerusalem.

Ralph, a devout Christian, conceded to the Church a position of rightful authority on the crusade, and in the crusader states. The crusade was religiously motivated, and religious devotion was the chief reason for the existence of the crusader states. However, since the crusade owed its success chiefly to its military strength, and since the Latin states in Palestine and Syria survived only by virtue of their capacity for armed self-defense, the demands of armed defense, Ralph felt, must necessarily remain paramount. Priest and knight had each his own role to play in the crusade, but these roles ought to cooperate rather than conflict with each other. Ralph believed that the religious authority in the Holy Land should not obstruct the military requirements for conquest, consolidation, and defense upon which the crusader states were founded. The crusader soldiers were instructed in the proper conduct of Christian life and inspired to do God's work by the effort of the clergy. The soldiers, in turn, by living Christian lives and by fighting for God in the crusade, advanced the work of the Church.

Much of the spiritual encouragement of the crusaders came from prayer and religious exhortation. However, less



conventional forms of spiritual encouragement, such as miraculous visions, played a significant role in the motivation of the crusaders. While these visions would be regarded by modern observers as supernatural phenomena and perhaps unworthy of serious study, miracles were viewed less skeptically in the middle ages and, since they were often endorsed by religious leaders, supernatural phenomena could influence human events significantly in such a great endeavor as the First Crusade.

## Chapter IV

### Ralph's Use of Supernatural Phenomena

Ralph describes four supernatural events in his account of the First Crusade. All of these events occurred shortly after the Franks captured Antioch. The first two supernatural occurrences, in the order of narration, were omens. The latter two were visions of a miraculous nature. Omens and miraculous visions also occur in other contemporary accounts of the First Crusade. The supernatural phenomena related by Ralph include, in each case, elements which are also found in other histories of this crusade written by eyewitnesses. However, Ralph's treatment of these phenomena is unique.

The first omen in the Gesta Tancredi is an instance of prophecy by the burning of two candles.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the crusaders had captured Antioch, Bohemond gave a dinner party which Count Robert of Flanders and Count Eustace of Boulogne attended.<sup>2</sup> After the men had eaten, Bohemond announced that

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1. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 71, pp. 657, 658.

2. Ibid., p. 657: "Considebant Boamundo vocati ad coenam comites, Flandrensis dexter, laevus Boloniensis." I presume that Ralph refers to Eustace because Baldwin was in Edessa at this time. Both Baldwin and Eustace are referred to as "counts" and of "Boulogne." Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 268, 302-304, 410.

he would show them a trick. With a knife he sliced a candle into halves. The upper portion, now fallen, continued to burn, while the lower part, although no one put fire to it, began also to burn. The two counts were amazed at this spontaneous ignition of a candle. But, as they watched, the men saw the spontaneously burning candle soon go out. Ralph inserts here a line from Virgil: "Fate shall allow the earth one glimpse of this young man, no more."<sup>3</sup> Ralph then explains how the omen was interpreted. The spontaneous ignition of the candle signified that Bohemond would soon have an heir. Had this candle burned all the way down before the flame went out, that would have indicated an infinitely long and successful career for Bohemond's posterity. However, since the flame went out quickly, leaving much of the candle yet unconsumed, Bohemond would have only one son whose career, although impressive, would be brief. Ralph adds that this omen referred plainly to the death of Bohemond the Younger.<sup>4</sup> In the Gesta Tancredi this candle omen is used to dramatize the careers of two men as knights and rulers of Antioch. In this picturesque

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3. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 71, p. 658: "ostendent (aiunt) terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra esse sinent." Virgil, Aeneis, VI, 869, 870. Virgil, Aeneid (Lewis), 155.

4. In 1130. Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 431. Since the crusaders captured Antioch on June 3, 1098, the dinner-party must have occurred shortly after that date. Ibid., I, 318. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 71, p. 658.

but tactful way Ralph has indicated the ultimate end of Bohemond's ambition to found a dynasty of Norman princes in Syria.

No other contemporary history of the First Crusade contains any story quite like Ralph's candle omen. However, Raymond d'Aguilers does include a candle omen in his crusading history. In Raymond's book, the slow and steady burning of a candle demonstrated a contrite heart and moral purity on the part of him who burned the candle as an offering. On the other hand, if a giver was not repentant of his sins, no matter how large a candle he burned, it would melt quickly to the ground.<sup>5</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers was a priest and wrote his book for the purpose of religious edification. Sincere morality and religious devotion, as we can see in his use of a candle omen, were more important to Raymond than material success in a military and political career. However, religious interest is completely absent from the candle omen in the Gesta Tancredi. Instead, Ralph employs this omen in order to discuss military and political careers. The candle omen apparently occurred while Kerbogha's army was blockading Antioch.

While the crusaders were blockaded inside Antioch, a sign in the stars told them the most successful moment to attack

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5. Raymond d'Aguilers, Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem tr. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, (Philadelphia, 1968), 71.

Kerbogha's army.<sup>6</sup> An unnamed astrologer<sup>7</sup> in Antioch showed Arnulf a pair of stars, one of which represented the fortunes of the Christians, the other the fortunes of the Moslems. During the night in which the Christians' star passed in front of the star of the Moslems, the astrologer informed Arnulf of this event. Arnulf observed the astral conformation and then hurried to Bohemond's palace, where he roused the residents and advised them that the stars now indicated that the Christians would win in battle against the Moslems. Arnulf's advice was heeded: the crusaders prepared for battle and, in the morning, marched out of Antioch to fight Kerbogha. The crusaders won the victory which had been promised them by the stars.<sup>8</sup>

Ralph's story of a sign in the stars portending the Frankish victory over Kerbogha is not unique. The anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum tells a somewhat similar story, but from a Turkish viewpoint. In the Gesta Francorum, Kerbogha

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6. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 83, 84, pp. 665, 666.

7. Ibid., Chapter 83, p. 665. Ralph does not name this man, but says that he taught Arnulf. Since the astrologer pledged himself and his family as a security for the victory of the crusaders, I believe that he was a citizen of Antioch. Ralph says: "pericli si quicquam est, obses tenear: cremar aut crucifigar; et conjux et uterque parens, gnatique uxorque erat illi."

8. Although Kerbogha's army reached Antioch by June 7, 1098, the battle did not take place until June 28, some three weeks later. Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 322-324.

the Turkish governor of Mosul,<sup>9</sup> was warned by his mother not to battle the Franks. Kerbogha's mother explained to her son that the Christians enjoyed a special divine favor and that she had found signs in the stars and planets which indicated a Christian victory.<sup>10</sup> She vainly entreated her son to avoid battle. Kerbogha, however, remained firm in his determination and went forth to battle and defeat at Antioch.<sup>11</sup>

In both accounts, the nature of the omen is similar -- prediction in the stars of the outcome of the battle. In both accounts, the battle and its predicted result are reported similarly. Perhaps Ralph borrowed and adapted this story from the Gesta Francorum. However, he does not ordinarily follow closely the story of the First Crusade as it is told in the Gesta Francorum.<sup>12</sup> It is quite possible that a story was current in the Holy Land, at the beginning of the twelfth century, to the effect that the Frankish victory over Kerbogha had been portended in the stars, and that this story was picked up and used by Ralph and by the anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum. This story may have been an oral tradition; on the

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9. His title was 'atabeg'. Ibid., I, 169, 322.

10. Gesta Francorum (Bréhier), 118-125.

11. Ibid., 125. Kerbogha survived the battle and died in 1102. Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 169.

12. Heinrich Hagenmeyer did suggest that Ralph borrowed from the anonymous Gesta Francorum, but this suggestion has been refuted by Raoul Manselli. "Raoul di Caen nella cultura del secolo XII," 452, 453.

other hand, it may well have been included in a contemporary history of the First Crusade which is now lost.<sup>13</sup> Whatever Ralph's source for this story, he certainly used it to show that external forces favored the cause of the crusaders. The addition of an astrologer who taught Arnulf was, I suspect, an ornamental device originating in Ralph's imagination. Since Arnulf was said to have known the man, and since Ralph subsequently spoke with Arnulf, the omission of the astrologer's name is somewhat puzzling. The astrologer's pledge of his family as security for a Christian victory increases the dramatic effect of the prophecy. I believe that Ralph elaborated upon an already-current story in his account of two stars prophesying the crusaders' victory over Kerbogha's army.

Some historians of the First Crusade, including Raymond d'Aguilers and the anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum, attribute the Christian victory over Kerbogha to divine intercession operating directly through the recently-discovered relic of the Holy Lance. Ralph disagrees completely. He implies that one reason for the discord between Count Raymond and Bohemond over the possession of Antioch was Bohemond's disbelief in the authenticity of the Holy Lance and the visions which led to its discovery.<sup>14</sup> Peter Bartholomew, a Provençal in

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13. May Graham Matthews Duke has proposed such a now-lost history as a common source for the anonymous Gesta Francorum and for Peter Tudebode's Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere. A Study of the Problems of Authorship and Style of the Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, M.A. thesis (Houston, 1967), 108, 109, 113, 114.

14. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 102, p. 678.

Count Raymond's army, said that on three successive nights the Apostle Andrew appeared to him in visions and commanded him to dig up the Holy Lance. The Apostle instructed Bartholomew where to dig. In the third vision, St. Andrew reproached Bartholomew for disobedience. After this third vision, Bartholomew, frightened for his spiritual welfare, made public his visions. Count Raymond, upon hearing the news, ordered Bartholomew to comply with the Apostle's instructions. Accordingly, Bartholomew dug behind the altar in the basilica of St. Peter in Antioch. According to Ralph, Bartholomew surreptitiously dropped into the hole an old Arab spearhead which he had found. Concealed by shadows, he was then able to pull out this old spearhead and, pointing out that in shape it differed from spears currently in use, he persuaded his audience that he had indeed found the Holy Lance which, ten centuries earlier, a Roman soldier had plunged into the side of the crucified Jesus Christ.<sup>15</sup>

Probably most of the crusaders then accepted the authenticity of the Holy Lance and of Peter Bartholomew's visions. Count Raymond and many of his soldiers accepted it absolutely as an authentic relic. Ralph says that Bohemond doubted that St. Andrew would appear in visions to such an irresponsible man as Bartholomew. But Bohemond voiced his disbelief only after the victory over Kerbogha's army.

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15. Ibid., Chapter 100, pp. 676, 677.



We may ask why Bohemond waited so long to voice his misgivings about this relic. I believe the answer lies partly in Bohemond's character and partly in the nature of his challenge of the authenticity of the relic. Bohemond was an extremely practical-minded man who did not exert himself unduly for altruistic motives. His concern to guarantee his possession of Antioch by an oath from all the crusade leaders<sup>16</sup> illustrates Bohemond's true nature. When the Lance was first discovered, Bohemond was not seriously concerned because it was, at the moment, relatively unimportant. The Lance added to the prestige and political importance of Count Raymond among the common soldiers of the crusade. But, until Kerbogha had been defeated, Count Raymond's political competition was of less urgent importance. Since many soldiers regarded the alleged Holy Lance as an authentic relic, we may presume that Bohemond saw no good reason not to let the soldiers use it as a rallying symbol and was, in any case, probably powerless to prevent them from doing so.

After the crusaders had defeated the Turkish army led by Kerbogha, Bohemond and other skeptical persons evidently felt that the alleged Holy Lance had served its usefulness. From this time on, the Holy Lance, since it was in the possession of the Provençals, was likely to be used as a weapon by Count Raymond in his conflict with Bohemond, referred to above,

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16. This oath is discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

over the possession of Antioch. For this reason, soon after the crusaders had established their military security in Antioch, Bohemond voiced his doubts. He doubted that the Apostle Andrew would appear to a man who frequented taverns, had idle, trifling friends, and spoke like a ruffian. After questioning the trustworthiness of Bartholomew's visions, Bohemond went on to say that the Holy Lance had belonged to a soldier of Pontius Pilate, and there was no record of Pilate's having come to Antioch after the Crucifixion. Further, Bohemond preferred to attribute the crusaders' victory to divine assistance direct from God, rather than to divine intercession manifested indirectly through the agency of a dubious bit of iron. Bohemond's doubts were shared by the counts of Normandy and Flanders and by Arnulf and Tancred.<sup>17</sup>

These widespread doubts of the authenticity of the Holy Lance were resolved by the characteristically medieval trial by the ordeal of fire. During the siege of 'Arqah, the leaders of the crusade agreed upon trial by fire in order to resolve popular unrest in the army over the question of the authenticity of Bartholomew's visions. After three days of prayer and fasting, Peter Bartholomew walked the prescribed nine steps between two parallel lanes of fire. He emerged from the fire badly burned and collapsed; he died the next day. Since

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17. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 102, p. 678.

Bartholomew was fatally injured by the fire, the relic of the Holy Lance was by this trial shown to be a fraud.<sup>18</sup> So much for Peter Bartholomew's visions and the miraculous power of the Holy Lance, according to Ralph. However, two eye-witness historians tell quite different stories of the Holy Lance.

Since Raymond d'Aguilers was a compatriot of Peter Bartholomew and, in fact, carried the Holy Lance during the battle against Kerbogha,<sup>19</sup> let us examine his story of this relic. According to Raymond, St. Andrew appeared four times to Peter Bartholomew in visions and instructed him to recover the Holy Lance after the crusaders had captured Antioch. St. Andrew also ordered Bartholomew to bring together Count Raymond of Toulouse, Peter Raymond of Haut-Poul, and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and tell them that the Apostle desired the Bishop of Le Puy to preach more actively and to bless the people more frequently. The first of these visions occurred around New Year's Day, 1098, some five months before the Frankish capture of the city. Raymond d'Aguilers adds that Bishop Adhémar thought Bartholomew's story fraudulent.<sup>20</sup>

After the crusaders had captured Antioch, Peter Bartholomew collected twelve men to help him and began to dig for the Holy Lance in the church of St. Peter. These twelve men included the Bishop of Orange, Count Raymond of Toulouse,

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18. Ibid., Chapter 108, p. 682.

19. Raymond d'Aguilers, Historia Francorum (Hill and Hill), 63.

20. Ibid., 51-54.

Farald of Thouars, and Pons of Balazun and Raymond d'Aguilers, the two authors of the work now under examination.<sup>21</sup> Peter Bartholomew uncovered the Holy Lance, and Raymond d'Aguilers kissed it as it lay imbedded in the earth. After the searchers had located the relic, St. Andrew, accompanied by Jesus Christ, appeared again to Peter Bartholomew and told him that Count Raymond of Toulouse was to retain possession of the Holy Lance.<sup>22</sup> Raymond d'Aguilers adds that soon after the discovery of this relic, the crusaders were so uplifted in spirit, and God so increased their numbers, that they soundly defeated and routed Kerbogha's army, which had outnumbered the Franks.<sup>23</sup>

Raymond goes on to report that Bishop Adhémar, who died in Antioch, appeared with Jesus Christ and St. Andrew in a vision to Peter Bartholomew. Bishop Adhémar said that he had suffered punishment in hell for his disbelief in the Holy Lance.<sup>24</sup>

Raymond also describes Peter Bartholomew's trial by fire. According to Raymond d'Aguilers, Bartholomew fasted for three

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21. Ibid., 57. The Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem was begun jointly by Raymond d'Aguilers and Pons of Balazun. However, Pons of Balazun was killed during the siege of 'Arqah, and the book was finished by Raymond d'Aguilers alone. Ibid., 87.

22. Ibid., 57, 58.

23. Ibid., 60-64.

24. Ibid., 66, 67.

days. On the fourth day, Good Friday, April 8, 1099, a large fire was built in two lanes, each thirteen feet long. Bartholomew wore a tunic and carried the Lance with him into the flames. He walked through the fire unharmed. When he emerged, he waved to the crowd, held up the Holy Lance, and cried out: "God help us!" Immediately the crowd of onlookers rushed forward to touch him. Bartholomew was badly injured by this frenzied attack by his audience, and he had to be rescued by a knight. Later examination revealed that Bartholomew's legs had been singed. According to Raymond d'Aguiers, Peter Bartholomew's survival of this trial by fire was itself miraculous and clearly demonstrated the authenticity of the Holy Lance.<sup>25</sup>

The story of the Holy Lance is also related in the Gesta Francorum. The Anonymous, as the author of this book is called, tells a somewhat different story of this relic. He says that Bartholomew saw St. Andrew in two visions and was instructed to recover the Holy Lance. Nobody believed Bartholomew until he told them that the Lance would guarantee them a victory.<sup>26</sup> Then, with twelve other men, he dug in the church of St. Peter and himself found the relic.<sup>27</sup> The Anonymous says that Bishop Adhémar carried the Lance into battle against Kerbogha. Enlarging somewhat upon Raymond's account,

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25. Ibid., 100-103. Due to the injuries which he received from his admirers, Bartholomew died shortly after the ordeal. Ibid., 108.

26. Gesta Francorum (Bréhier), 132-135.

27. Ibid., 146, 147.

the Anonymous reports that a large army of soldiers on white horses, bearing white standards, came down from the mountains and reinforced the crusaders. This new army, he adds, was led by Saint George, Saint Mercurius, and Saint Demetrius. With the help of God, the Franks won the battle.<sup>28</sup> The Anonymous does not mention Peter Bartholomew's trial by ordeal and makes no further reference to the Holy Lance.

The three reports of the Holy Lance cited here agree in some respects, but differ in many details. Clearly, the story of the discovery of the Holy Lance was widely circulated among the crusaders. The Anonymous gives a simple and straightforward account of the discovery of this relic and its presence in the crusaders' defeat of Kerbogha. Since he does not discuss the Lance any further, the Anonymous was evidently not interested in the partisan disputes over the authenticity of the relic. However, Raymond and Ralph show strongly opposed partisan views concerning the authenticity of the Lance. Some of the political disagreements related to this controversy have already been discussed. Apparently the division between those who believed and those who did not believe that Bartholomew had found a true relic was similar to the division between those who preferred Count Raymond's leadership and those who regarded Bohemond as the man best suited to lead the army. So, at least, we are led to believe by these two

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28. Ibid., 152-157.

historians. In attributing Bartholomew's death to injuries suffered from a frenzied rush of admirers, Raymond may be disguising the more probable cause of Bartholomew's death, fire, in order to preserve the credibility of the Holy Lance. Raymond d'Aguilers was, by his own account, personally involved with the Lance from the moment of its discovery. Also, he served Count Raymond of Toulouse. Ralph, a Norman, began his crusading career under the leadership of Bohemond and later served Tancred, who was often at odds with Count Raymond. We may reasonably conclude that each historian adopted his respective commander's attitude of belief or disbelief in this controversial relic.

Whether or not the affair of the Holy Lance involved divine favor, another event occurred in which neither Ralph nor Raymond d'Aguilers disputes the evidence of a miraculous vision. The vision, which was a clear instance of divine favor toward an individual, appeared to the knight Anselm of Ribemont shortly before Peter Bartholomew's trial by ordeal. Let us first examine Ralph's account of this event. In January, 1099, Count Raymond of Toulouse led the main army of the crusade, impatient of delays, south toward Jerusalem. In February, as the army entered the territory of the emir of Tripoli, Count Raymond ordered a siege of the town of 'Arqah in the hope that the emir would pay the crusaders handsomely to grant his possessions immunity from attack.<sup>29</sup>

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29. Setton, History of the Crusades, I, 327, 328.

In the course of this siege, Anselm of Ribemont arose after a midday nap and announced that he had just been informed in a vision of his impending death. In his vision, Anselm saw himself at a banquet; looking up, he saw a magnificent palace built of marble, ivory, silver, gold, and gems. Among the crowd of noble lords in the palace, Anselm distinguished the form of a soldier, now dead, whom he had once known.<sup>30</sup> This soldier said: "Don't you recognize this crowd of blessed people, Anselm?" Anselm, replying that he could not recognize anyone else in the crowd, was then informed: "These are Jerusalem-farers, who started on the way of God, on which you also are striving; they departed from human concerns and they have earned eternal crowns. You also, while you may now envy us, very soon will come up to us. For you have fought a good fight, and you have finished your journey."<sup>31</sup> Startled out of sleep by this vision, Anselm asked Arnulf the significance of what he had just seen and heard.

Arnulf, with words of encouragement, advised Anselm to prepare for his death. Accordingly, Anselm confessed his sins,

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30. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 106, pp. 680, 681. Anselm's deceased acquaintance is identified by Raymond d'Aguilers as Lord Engelrand of Saint Paul. Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem (Hill and Hill), 89.

31. Ibid., Chapter 106, p. 681: ". . . ille mihi, inquam, sic ait: Hancine beatorum turbam cognescis, Anselme? Vix, inquam, neque enim alia ad cognoscendum signa remanserant. . . . Tunc ille: Hi sunt Hierosolimipetae, qui viam Dei, in quam adhuc et tu laboras, ab initio aggressi, rebus humanis excesserunt et meruerunt habere coronas perpetual: tu quoque in proximo, ne forte inideas, ad nos conscendes: bonum enim dertamen certavisti, et cursum consummasti."



took communion, and gave to his servants and comrades the money he owed them. Then, having settled his spiritual and earthly affairs, he rode with other knights around the walls of the city, as was customary. A stone fell unexpectedly from the towers and split his head open. Very shortly afterward, the accompanying soldiers picked up his body and brought it back to the camp. Ralph concludes this story by adding that Anselm's spirit ascended to promised happiness.<sup>32</sup> Ralph says that Arnulf told him this story of Anselm's vision.<sup>33</sup>

While other historians of the First Crusade mention that Anselm of Robemont died during the siege of 'Arqah, Raymond d'Aguilers is the only such historian, besides Ralph of Caen, who tells us of Anselm's vision. Raymond's version of the story is similar to Ralph's version in broad outline, but the two differ in some details. An examination of Raymond's account will be helpful in evaluating Ralph's story.

According to Raymond d'Aguilers, Anselm of Ribemont arose one morning, called for priests, made his confession, and told them of his impending death. Anselm explained to the priests that, in the preceding night, he had seen Lord Engelrand of Saint Paul, who had died at Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān. Anselm, surprised, asked: "What goes here? You were dead, and behold now you are alive." Lord Engelrand answered: "Those who die

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32. Ibid., Chapter 106, p. 681.

33. Ibid., Chapter 106, p. 680.

in Christ's service never die." Engelrand added that a beautiful home would be prepared for Anselm the next day. Engelrand then went up to heaven. On the following day, after making confession and describing his vision, Anselm went out to fight a sally party of Saracens. During the fighting, a rock from a catapult hit him on the head and killed him. And so Anselm went to live in the heavenly home which God had prepared for him.<sup>34</sup>

How do the two accounts compare? In the Gesta Tancredi, Anselm saw the vision during a midday nap, while in Raymond's book the vision occurred at night. Such a minor difference in time is of negligible significance in comparison of the two versions of the story. According to Ralph, Anselm saw a magnificent palace which he described in some detail. Raymond does mention a "beautiful home," although he gives no specific description of it. In both accounts, Anselm was told that he would presently die and go to heaven, and in both accounts he made spiritual preparation for his death. Ralph adds the detail of settling earthly affairs. Perhaps the most important item in the vision is the message given to Anselm in both versions, that all good crusaders will go to heaven when they die. Evidently both historians viewed the First Crusade as a holy war in which Christian soldiers could earn martyrdom. In studying Ralph's book, we see that this

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34. Raymond d'Aguilers, Historia Francorum (Hill and Hill), 88, 89.

event of a miraculous vision illustrates the knight's mission to fight for God on the crusade and thus earn martyrdom.

What can we learn about Ralph from his treatment of supernatural phenomena in the Gesta Tancredi? Of the four occurrences discussed here, the first two were omens in which no religious significance appears. Ralph evidently wrote the story of the candle omen sometime after the death of Bohemond the Younger in 1131.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps Ralph wrote this prophecy-by-hindsight as a philosophical commentary upon the often disappointing ends of pride and great ambitions. The account of the stars foretelling the crusaders' victory over Kerbogha is chiefly an ornamental device intended to enhance this story of the First Crusade as a holy war which the Christians were destined to win. It has been noted above that a story of this nature appears to have been current in the Holy Land shortly after the First Crusade. Probably Ralph encountered this story while in the Holy Land and modified it artfully in order to embellish his book.

Ralph's treatment of the Holy Lance and of the trial by ordeal which, according to him, demonstrated its fraudulent nature, is clearly a partisan account. He included the Holy Lance in his book apparently because of the political altercation which developed from it, the dispute between Bohemond

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35. Martene notes that this story is sewn into the manuscript right after the description of the capture of Antioch but that, since it interrupts the flow of the story, it may have been interpolated by Ralph or another writer after the Gesta Tancredi had been completed. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 71, p. 657, fn. c.

and Count Raymond for possession of Antioch and for supreme command of the army. The Holy Lance, as it is discussed in the Gesta Tancredi, was not truly a miraculous relic, but since other contemporary histories of the First Crusade describe it as such, Ralph's treatment of this controversial relic merits attention.

The last supernatural phenomenon in the Gesta Tancredi, the vision of Anselm of Ribemont, is reported by Ralph as a genuinely miraculous vision. Not only does it enhance the story of the First Crusade, but it also conveys effectively the message that the crusade was a holy war in which a soldier could hope to win the glory of martyrdom by fighting for God.

We may, therefore, conclude that Ralph used supernatural phenomena in his book as ornamental literary devices, and also to express political and religious opinions. As for his treatment of religious miracles, Ralph accepted them as long as they were not used conspicuously for material advantage by individuals but, as miracles, conferred only spiritual benefit. We can see, thus, that Ralph, while certainly a religious man, understood a great deal of human nature and was inclined to view religious miracles with a pragmatically critical eye.

## Chapter V

### Ralph's Biases and Human Values

Ralph wrote the Gesta Tancredi as a partisan book, not as an objective and impartial report. As a partisan, Ralph had his likes and dislikes, and did not hesitate to represent to the reader some persons and events as good and admirable or <sup>9</sup>dispicable and inimical, as the case may be. Some passages in the Gesta Tancredi indicate the author's interest and views concerning such subjects as warfare, government, religion, and different national groups of people. An investigation of Ralph's biases and human values will tell us a great deal about his personality, and can convey to us some idea of the biases and attitudes of other Norman knights in the Holy Land in the early twelfth century.

Ralph's most conspicuous bias is his strong sympathy for the Normans. According to Ralph, Normans were skillful and ever-courageous soldiers. This attitude is probably due to the author's Norman origin and feeling of group identification.<sup>1</sup> The Gesta Tancredi narrates chiefly the exploits of a Norman, Tancred, prince of Antioch. Ralph explains this clearly in the title and elsewhere in his book.<sup>2</sup> He describes

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1. Henri Glaesener, "Raoul de Caen--historien et écrivain," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XLVI (1951), 6. It has been noted that Ralph was the first crusading historian who identified himself as a Norman. Laetitia Boehm, "Die 'Gesta Tancredi' des Radulf von Caen," Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, LXXV (1956), 51.

2. Ibid., 63. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 53, p. 646.

the Normans as the conquerors of England and southern Italy, victorious everywhere and the glory of the world.<sup>3</sup> He singles out the Normans, among those who once planned to desert the crusader army during the Moslem siege of Antioch, and denounces them as a disgrace to all other Normans.<sup>4</sup>

Just as Ralph depicted the Normans favorably, he also portrayed some groups unfavorably. Among the various peoples which comprised the army of the First Crusade, the Provençals were particularly unattractive to Ralph. Four recent students of the Gesta Tancredi have noticed that Ralph wrote with a distinctly anti-Provençal bias.<sup>5</sup> Examples of this bias are plentiful in his book. The conflict between Bohemond, a Norman, and Count Raymond of Toulouse, which has been noted above in the discussion of the Holy Lance, may be regarded as a political quarrel. However, Ralph's description of the conflict contains elements of what would today be termed ethnic bias. He includes a full chapter which gives a detailed and very uncomplimentary account of the Provençal customs. Accord-

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3. Ibid., Chapter 79, p. 662: "Illud ubique genus, victoria, gloria mundi, Anglorum victor populus, victor Siculorum, victor Graecorum, Capuanorum, Apulicorum."

4. Ibid., Chapter 79, p. 662.

5. These modern writers sometimes indicate this anti-Provençal bias by referring to a conflict between northern-French and southern-French feeling. Heinrich von Sybel, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs, (Leipzig, 1881), 56. Glaesener, "Raoul de Caen," 12. Laetitia Boehm refers to Sybel in her suggestion that Ralph may have viewed the First Crusade differently from other contemporary crusading historians because of his Norman origin. "Radulf von Caen," 51, 52. Raoul Manselli simply refers to Ralph's evident anti-Provençal prejudice. "Raoul di Caen nella cultura del secolo XII," Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, X (1955), 465, 466.

ing to Ralph, the Provençals were quite different in culture and way of life from other Franks. The Provençals were frugal in their living, energetically active, accustomed to toil and hardship, but less warlike than other Franks. They showed more concern for the equipment of their horses and mules than for personal adornment. In times of famine, the Provençals could survive with roots and husks of seeds. Ralph quotes a nursery rhyme to illustrate the contemporary attitude of Frenchmen: "The Franks prefer wars, while the Provençals prefer food." As traders the Provençals were noted for sharp and sometimes dishonest dealings.<sup>6</sup>

While Ralph evinces dislike for the Provençals, this attitude appears almost amiable in comparison with the strong hostility which he shows toward the Greeks. This antipathy extends from the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I, to all Greek and Turcopole soldiers serving in the Byzantine army. In the first battle which Ralph reports, Turcopole soldiers guarding the Vardar river attacked a group of crusaders attempting to cross that river. Tancred led a small band of knights to the rescue and effectively dispersed these Byzantine

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6. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 61, p. 651. The nursery rhyme which Ralph cites here expresses tersely the popular attitude which Ralph describes at some length: "Franci ad bella, Provinciales ad victualia."

soldiers.<sup>7</sup> According to Ralph, these Turcoples fought zealously against unarmed persons but fled when confronted by armed opponents. He notes that the small, light Turkish shields with which the Turcoples were armed were useless against the Frankish lances.<sup>8</sup> The author presents virtually no background for this clash; it is the first scene of action in the Gesta Tancredi. The book is written specifically about Tancred, and this battle is evidently the first incident in the First Crusade in which Tancred distinguished himself.

After the fight at the Vardar river, when Alexius was informed of the approach of the crusaders, he sent Bohemond a letter inviting him to a conference in Constantinople. Ralph's report of this invitation leaves no question concerning his opinion of Alexius: "When the cunning emperor was shocked by these reports, he devised a new and deceitful scheme. He strives to entangle the lions with nets, but dares not provoke them with the spear. Therefore he loads envoys

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7. Ibid., Chapters 4-7, pp. 607-610. Ralph calls Tancred's opponents in this clash "Turcoples" and "Graeci." He calls the river "Bardal." The "Bardal" has been identified as the Vardar. Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, I, 156. Louis Brehier identifies "Turcoples" as Turkish mercenary soldiers in the Byzantine army. The account of this incident in the Gesta Francorum mentions Turcoples and Petchenegs ("Turcopolos et Pincinacos"). Gesta Francorum (Bréhier), 16, 17, 24, 25.
  8. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 4-6, pp. 608, 609.



with gifts to ensnare them, who, approaching Bohemond, run toward him with these sorts of flatteries."<sup>9</sup> In the letter, Alexius praises Bohemond greatly, saying at one point, "Hasten to me, my son," and elsewhere, "God, I see, has inspired the undertaking of the Franks by giving them such a leader."<sup>10</sup> Such a tone seems not quite consonant with the position and character of Alexius I. Alexius regarded the imperial office as noble, incorruptible, and eternal. Also, he had good cause to fear the Franks as potential invaders, if only because of the magnitude of the crusader army.<sup>11</sup>

Ralph adds, in a lamenting tone, when Bohemond received the emperor's invitation: "He was deceived by its honeyed appearance and did not perceive the poison concealed beneath its words." Bohemond, gratified by the emperor's gifts, pro-

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9. Ibid., Chapter 9, p. 611: "His versutus imperator percussus rumoribus, novos corde dolos nova pectore versat consilia. Retibus studet leones implicare, quos venabulo lacerare non audet. Igitur nuntios laqueis onerat, qui Boamundo venienti cum hujusmodi blanditiis occurrant."
10. Ibid., Chapter 9, p. 611: "As piravit, ut video, Deus coepit Francorum, quos tanto comito muniendos praevidit . . . . Euge igitur, accelera, fili . . . ."
11. Alexius viewed his office thus: "The purple, while it has been troubled in many ways, governs incorruptibly and stands throughout eternity." My own translation of:  
*"ἡ πορφύρεϊς δὲ πορφύρωθεῖσα τρέποις  
 ἀφθάρτα κοσμεῖ καὶ δι' αἰῶνος μένει."*  
 P. Maas, "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexius I," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXII(1913), p. 353, lines 161, 162. Manselli has noted, in his discussion of this letter, that in lines 334-339 of the Musings Alexius refers to the crusaders as a threat to the Byzantine empire. "Raoul di Caen," 461.

ceeded with a small escort to Constantinople to meet Alexius. Tancred, ordered to remain with the rest of the army, was satisfied with this arrangement for: "He feared the deceitful friendship of the Greeks as much as a hawk fears the snare or a fish the fishhook." Spurning the emperor's gifts, he resolved to avoid meeting the emperor.<sup>12</sup>

The contents of the Byzantine emperor's letter, as Ralph presents it, convey to us the impression the crusaders probably had of the emperor's motives. The crusaders apparently felt that, by giving presents to the leaders of the expedition, Alexius hoped to persuade these leaders of the First Crusade to aid him in his own objectives.<sup>13</sup>

The emperor's objectives were made manifest when he insisted that all leaders of the crusade should swear homage to him in Constantinople. Ralph denounces this oath. In return for Bohemond's oath, Alexius promised to give him a tract of land in Asia Minor measuring fifteen days' journey on horseback in length and eight days' journey by horse in

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12. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 10, p. 612: "Boamundus itaque mellita verborum superficiei debriatus, venenum latens inferius non sentit . . . . Quod Marchisidae auribus non displicuit illapsum: nam qua sedulitate accipiter laqueos, aut hamum piscis, ea is fraudulentam Graecorum familiaritatem horrebat."

13. Raoul Manselli, "Raoul di Caen," 461. Manselli has observed that, while the letter cannot be used for historical documentation, Alexius apparently did write a letter of invitation to Bohemond.

width.<sup>14</sup> The emperor required this oath of homage in order to ensure that the crusaders would respect Byzantine claims to the parts of Asia Minor currently occupied by the Turks.<sup>15</sup> However, Ralph plainly viewed the homage pledged by the Franks to the emperor as a disgraceful subjection to a dangerous foe,<sup>16</sup> for he describes favorably Tancred's evasion of the imperial demand. Ralph introduces Tancred's decision with this paraphrase from Horace: "Seeing the next wall go up in flames, he was sure that danger threatened." Tancred disguised himself as a foot soldier and thus crossed the Bosphorus without betraying his identity.<sup>17</sup>

Soon after the crusader chiefs pledged their homage to Alexius, the crusader army, with Byzantine support, besieged

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14. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 10, p. 612: "Illic Boamundus oblatu Alexio, ei iugo quod hominagium vulgo dicitur, subditur. Coactus quidem, sed tamen tanta Romaniae dimensione donatus, in qua equus dies quindecim per longum, octo autem expenderet per transversum." This offer is recorded in similar terms, save that the journeys of measurement were not to be made by horse, by the Anonymous. Gesta Francorum (Bréhier), 30, 31. A modern biographer of Bohemond asserts that Alexius never made such a promise to Bohemond, but that Bohemond might later have claimed that he did in order to justify his own possession of Antioch. Ralph B. Yewdale, Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch, (n.p., n.d.), 43.
15. Ibid., 41, 44.
16. All leaders in the crusade took an oath of homage to Alexius except Tancred and Richard of the Principate. Ibid., 45. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 11 and 12, pp. 612-614.
17. Ibid., Chapter 11, p. 612: "Quippe proximum videns parietem accensum, suo non dubitat imminere incendium." Quintus Horatius Flaccus, Epistles, I, xviii, 84. See above, Chapter 2, especially footnote 46 of this thesis for a fuller discussion of this classical reference.

and captured the city of Nicaea. Ralph takes this opportunity to observe, in words which he attributes to Tancred, that the Byzantine government was unfit to rule and unable to protect Asia Minor.<sup>18</sup> After the siege, Bohemond brought Tancred to meet the emperor at Pelecanum. There, the emperor offered Tancred whatever he wished as a reward for his military accomplishments and as inducement to swear homage. Tancred insulted the emperor by requesting his personal tent. Alexius rebuked him for this undue presumption. Tancred and Bohemond together hurried away from the emperor's presence. According to Ralph, Tancred told Alexius: "I would rather have you for an enemy than a friend." He did not, Ralph maintains, swear homage to the emperor.<sup>19</sup>

These statements indicate that Ralph viewed the Byzantine government and its emperor with profound hostility and distrust. Elsewhere he says that the Greeks customarily rebuff with punishment persons who had served them well.<sup>20</sup> Of course,

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18. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 17, p. 618: "Regni Graecorum non longitudinem immensitate sua Hierusolimitanus attingere; tanti spatii urbes a Turcis captas, Christiano cultui fore mancipandas; porro Graecis ereptas talibus non oportere reddi tutoribus; Francos esse qui hujusmodi tutelae soli sufficerent; alioquin urbes et oppida restitui Graecis, id est restitui Turcis; se simul duobus dominis, scilicet rei publicae et regi Graeciae, famulari non posse."
  19. Ibid., Chapters 17-19, pp. 618-620. Tancred's words were: "Hostem mihi te dignor, nec amicum." This incident is discussed in detail by Manselli, "Raoul di Caen," 456, 457. However, Anna Comnena says he did pledge fealty to Alexius. Anna Comnena, The Alexiad (tr. E. A. S. Dawes), (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966), XI, 3, pp. 275, 276.
  20. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 2, p. 606: "metuebantur enim Graecorum insidiae, qui familiare habent, quos etiam bene meritos invitaverunt ad munera, retrudere ad flagra."

Ralph began his own crusading career as a participant in Bohemond's last attack on the Byzantine empire. The feelings which he expresses toward the Greeks could well have been influenced by his own experiences in 1107-1108. However, a similarly strong anti-Byzantine sentiment is also prominent in the Gesta Francorum and the Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem of Raymond d'Aguilers. This antipathy evidently was common to many if not most of the crusaders.

Ralph was more interested in individuals than in ethnic groups of people. He discusses at some length many leaders of the First Crusade. The first and second chapters of the Gesta Tancredi are descriptive sketches and praises of Tancred and Bohemond, respectively. Encomiastic accounts of other crusader chiefs occur elsewhere in the book. An examination of these eulogies can show us what qualities Ralph admired and respected in men.

The author begins his book with an introduction of his subject, Tancred. This introductory sketch gives the parentage and some character description of the subject. Tancred's father is identified only as "the marquis," a man of noble family.<sup>21</sup> Tancred's mother was Emma, of the family of Robert

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21. Ibid., Chapter 5, p. 605: "Tancredus . . . parentes eximios Marchisum habuit et Emmam: a patre haud ignobilis filius." Ralph gives no more precise identification of Tancred's father. Often he refers to Tancred as "Marchisides." Modern authorities are still uncertain about the identity of Tancred's father. Robert L. Nicholson, Tancred, (Chicago, 1940), 1-12.

Guiscard. Tancred was a serious-minded youth, skilled in the use of arms and respectful toward his elders. Waxing rhetorical, Ralph says that Tancred preferred vigils to sleep, work to rest, and hunger to satisfaction. Tancred yearned to win glory. However, he was disturbed by the apparent contradiction between the knight's role of fighter and God's precept of brotherly love. When Pope Urban II offered a plenary remission of sins to all Christians who would go to conquer the Holy Land from unbelievers, Tancred's misgivings about the morality of a knight's career vanished and he enthusiastically joined the First Crusade.

The introduction of Tancred is followed by a laudatory description of Bohemond, eldest son of Robert Guiscard. Bohemond's renown as a warrior and his territorial domain in southern Italy are noted, and reference is made to his service in his father's Balkan campaign of 1081-1083. Bohemond, also, was aroused by Pope Urban's call for a crusade.<sup>22</sup>

Ralph introduces more biographical sketches into his book when he reports the siege of Nicaea. Since the description of Duke Godfrey of Bouillon is the most detailed sketch, an examination of it will be particularly helpful in our inquiry into Ralph's human values. Godfrey's father is identified as "the old count Eustace of Boulogne." Godfrey's territorial possession, Bouillon, is identified as a town in the kingdom of Lorraine which his mother's uncle, also named

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22. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 2, p. 606.

Godfrey, had left him. Duke Godfrey's character is described as mild, humble, and just, but he was skilled in warfare. He inherited his father's warlike bent and his mother's religious devotion.<sup>23</sup>

Ralph's character sketches are not uniformly laudatory, for the encomium of Duke Godfrey is followed by a less complimentary description of Count Robert of Normandy. As in the preceding accounts, here also Ralph begins by identifying his subject, as in this case, the son of William, the king and conqueror of England. The account of Count Robert's parentage is followed by a description of his character. Robert is noted as being superior to Duke Godfrey in birth, wealth, and eloquence of speech, his equal in worldly qualities, but inferior to the duke in spiritual qualities. Robert's piety and generosity were so great as to be marvellous; in fact, the count was a spendthrift and had to rob his own subjects in order to feed his household. Lack of moderation was his greatest weakness. As ruler of Normandy, Robert's compassion was so great as to seem unmerciful toward his subjects. For, since the count was too kindhearted to punish any malefactor, all of Normandy suffered murder, robbery, and other crimes without restraint.<sup>24</sup>

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23. Ibid., Chapter 14, p. 615.

24. Ibid., Chapter 15, p. 616.

Other character sketches occur elsewhere throughout the Gesta Tancredi, but the four noted above demonstrate that Ralph followed a pattern. He began by noting his subject's parentage and his territorial possessions, if any. Having told who his subject was, Ralph then described the man's personal qualities.<sup>25</sup> If the man had won a reputation as a soldier or ruler, Ralph mentioned it. Skill in arms, religious piety, and behavior toward other persons were presented in the account. The descriptions of Tancred and Godfrey indicate the personal qualities which Ralph esteemed most highly. These qualities include humility, moderation, even-tempered behavior, modesty and respect for one's elders, honesty, religious piety, and military prowess.

Ralph's human values have been illustrated to a certain extent in the preceding examination of character sketches in the Gesta Tancredi. But Ralph followed up the character sketches by relating the deeds of these men during the expedition to the Holy Land. He esteemed and praised individual achievements of a worthy nature. In fact, accounts of outstanding personal actions and achievements comprise a great part of the Gesta Tancredi.

The first such account, in which Tancred drove off Turcopole attackers while the crusaders crossed the Vardar

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25. Women are mentioned only rarely in the Gesta Tancredi, and then only briefly. A good example is Tancred's mother, Emma, whose name is introduced in order to show that Tancred was related to Robert Guiscard.



river, has been noted above. In this encounter Ralph describes Tancred as showing boldness, courage, skill in the use of arms, concern for the safety of others, and determination in the prosecution of his task.<sup>26</sup>

But the fight at the Vardar river was a skirmish. The first full scale battle which the crusaders fought on their own account was at Dorylaeum, shortly after they had restored Nicaea to Byzantine control. Ralph describes this battle enthusiastically and at considerable length.<sup>27</sup> The battle began with the attack by a large Turkish army upon the vanguard of the crusaders. Since the Frankish knights, as well as the Turks, excelled in open combat upon horseback, this battle was the first major test of strength between the two sides. For the crusaders, Dorylaeum was truly a battle for survival; they were rescued, and the Seljuq and Danishmendid Turks defeated and routed, by the timely arrival of the crusaders' rearguard led by Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse, and Count Hugh of Vermandois. Ralph narrated many deeds of heroism in his account of this battle.

The Frankish vanguard included Bohemond, Tancred, the counts of Normandy and Flanders, some Byzantine escort sol-

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26. Ibid., Chapters 4-8, pp. 607-610.

27. Ralph relates this battle in thirteen chapters, six of which are in verse. Runciman has placed the site of this battle near the town of Eskişehir. History of the Crusades, I, 183-187.

diers, and many noncombatants. In their initial clash with the Turks, the crusaders were dismayed and fell back. An organized defense was necessary for the safety of the non-combatants as well as the rest of the army. It was Count Robert of Normandy who rallied the knights by shouting: "Bohemond! Where are you running to? It's a long way back to Apulia!" As he often does, Ralph includes some lengthy rhetoric in this rallying cry. He ends Count Robert's exhortation with a quote from the Aeneid: "Let us die, men! Let's charge into the heart of the battle!"<sup>28</sup> Responding to Robert's words, the other knights stood their ground and, in time, drove back the Turkish onslaught. Count Robert, in thus rallying the knights who had been dismayed by the initial onrush of the Turks, contributed significantly to the crusaders' victory at Dorylaeum. Ralph commends the count's action.

Other knights are also noted and praised in the Gesta Tancredi for valorous deeds performed at Dorylaeum. When Tancred attempted an offensive, one of the few men who aided him was his brother, William. Ralph tells in admiring words how William fought vigorously and bravely until he was killed. He describes William's fighting and death in terms befitting a hero. William's death brought sorrow and dismay to some of the Franks, but very soon, seeing a dust cloud which indi-

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28. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 22, p. 622: "Eho! Boamunde, quorsum fuga? longe Apulia . . . . Ergo agite, o juvenes, moriamur, et in media arma ruamus." See Chapter 2 above for further discussion of this classical reference.

cated the arrival of the other half of the army, they shouted, "God wills it!" in their rejoicing.<sup>29</sup>

When the crusader reinforcements had come close to the battle, Count Hugh of Vermandois led three hundred knights in a sudden and headlong attack on the Turkish army. Ralph compares the efforts of Count Hugh's men to a cornered boar's fight against hunting dogs. Count Hugh's offensive drove back the Turks in his immediate area.<sup>30</sup> The Count of Vermandois was aided in his attack by Count Robert of Flanders, who led a large number of soldiers. Count Robert showed himself as worthy a fighter at Dorylaeum as Count Hugh, for Ralph says of these two men that, seeing them fight, one would think that Roland and Oliver were reborn.<sup>31</sup>

Besides the men noted above, other crusader leaders distinguished themselves at Dorylaeum. Duke Godfrey, "completely a man of God and war," shared joyfully in the Frankish attack. Ralph compares him to Hector in zeal, strength, and determination. Godfrey's men, the author says, earned glory for Lorraine.<sup>32</sup>

Although the arrival of reinforcements gave the advantage in battle to the crusaders, the Turks defended vigorously

29. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapters 25 and 26, pp. 623-625. Chapter 25, p. 623: "Oh! facto miser atque beatus eodem, qui in mortem ruit, ad vitam transi-turus!" Chapter 26, p. 625: "Exclamatur: Deus vult, hoc enim nostri interjiciebant laetantes."

30. Ibid., Chapter 27 and 28, pp. 625, 626.

31. Ralph is presumably referring to the characters of the Chanson de Roland. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 29, pp. 626, 627: "Rollandum dicas Oliverium-que renatos, si comitum spectes hunc hasta hunc ense, furentes."

32. Ibid., Chapters 30 and 31, pp. 627, 628.

their withdrawal from Dorylaeum. Count Hugh, Duke Godfrey, and Count Raymond of Toulouse led the rest of the Franks up onto a hill within the Turkish lines, and from there they scattered the enemy forces into a full rout.<sup>33</sup> Ralph evidently enjoyed describing the battle of Dorylaeum. These chapters resound of lances and swords, of helmets, shields, cuirasses, bows, and horses. He tells of the first charge of Count Hugh, and the rest of the battle up to the rout of the Turks, in verse. It appears that Ralph had a full appreciation of knightly warfare.<sup>34</sup>

While the crossing of the rest of Asia Minor was by no means a peaceful experience for the Franks, the next occasion for large scale knightly combat occurred when the westerners besieged, captured, and defended Antioch. In fact, the story of the crusaders' operations in and near Antioch comprises about one-third of the Gesta Tancredi.

Ralph tells of many noteworthy deeds by individuals during the siege of Antioch. Soon after the crusader army had encamped near Antioch, Tancred began to observe closely the activities of the enemy soldiers guarding the city. He noticed that regularly a party of guards came out of the city and returned shortly carrying grain. Tancred made appropriate arrangements and ambushed these guards. The ambush was successful. Tancred killed seven hundred enemy soldiers and

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33. Ibid., Chapter 32, pp. 628, 629.

34. This is reasonable. In his preface to the Gesta Tancredi, Ralph indicates that he had served as a knight. Ibid., Preface, p. 603.

sent the heads of seventy to Bishop Adhémar as a tithe.<sup>35</sup> The success of this ambush won Tancred great praise as a military commander.

Often Tancred patrolled the vicinity of Antioch accompanied only by one man who must have been a squire or weapons bearer.<sup>36</sup> One day as he rode around the city wall with only a sword, for he had left off his helmet and cuirass, Tancred was attacked by three well armed Turks. His squire carried his lance and shield. Ralph laments in mock pity the unfortunate decision of the Turks to attack Tancred, whom he says embodies the strength and skill of several heroes of classical mythology. Tancred killed all three of his assailants in short order, and Ralph praises him for his prowess and valor.<sup>37</sup> However, Tancred was not the only knight who performed noteworthy deeds at Antioch.

In his account of the Frankish siege and defense of Antioch, Ralph recognizes commendable actions of other leaders in the crusader army. He notes that Godfrey, with a stroke of his sword, could make one Turk into two. Often, he says,

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35. Ibid., Chapter 51, p. 644: "caesis circiter septingentis, caesorum capita Tancredus.LXX. Appodiensi transmittit episcopo, decimam de triumpho." Even if Tancred's men succeeded in killing all of those soldiers, seven hundred seems a rather excessive number for a foraging party. Ralph may have exaggerated.

36. Ibid., Chapter 52, p. 645. Ralph mentions this man as "uno comitatus Achate" and "puer." He may be the same man, Raiboldus Cremius, whom Ralph praises for his attempt (unsuccessful though it was) to climb over the wall of Jerusalem. Ibid., Chapter 119, pp. 688, 689.

37. Ibid., Chapter 52, p. 645.

Raymond alone stood off Turkish sorties. Count Robert of Flanders complained that his only secretary was his lance, for he fought so vigorously that he killed horses daily and used to go to taverns begging for a new horse. Count Stephen of Blois, with Godfrey and Bohemond, led an army of ill and hungry men, mounted chiefly on asses, against the Turks.<sup>38</sup>

Not long after the Franks had captured Antioch, they were besieged there by a new and very large army led by Kerbogha. For a time the crusaders rested their forces within the city. Their security was endangered once by an unusually strong Turkish assault at night upon a weak point in the city's fortifications. Although most of the Frankish defenders were then asleep, Count Robert of Flanders aroused them by setting fire to part of the city. While the alert count's action was drastic, it was also effective. For, when the crusaders had been thus forcefully awakened, they successfully repelled the Turkish attack.<sup>39</sup>

When the crusaders, in their southward march, had approached Jerusalem, Tancred rode away from them alone in order to look

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38. *Ibid.*, Chapter 53, p. 646. Here, as in many cases, Ralph writes in strikingly clear and vivid terms. For example, "de Godefridus . . . cujus ense trajectus Turcus duo factus est Turci."

39. *Ibid.*, Chapters 75-78, pp. 660-662, Especially Chapter 76, p. 660:  
 "Flandrigena huic operi Robertus adesse monetur:  
 Impiger ipse pigros celer excit et hac ope tardos,  
 Ne pereant magni, dum tractant otia parvi.  
 Fit quod decretum est: urbem Robertus et igne  
 Vastat, et, urbanos dum servat, moenia salvat."  
 However, the editors of the *Recueil* note that Tudebode, in his history of the First Crusade, says that Bohemond ordered part of the city to be burned.

at the city which was the common goal. When he had come close to the city walls, he was attacked by several enemy soldiers. Tancred killed three of them and the rest fled back into the city.<sup>40</sup> Mercy to the defeated opponent was evidently not one of Tancred's virtues. For, when the crusaders captured the city of Jerusalem, Tancred, when he had secured the Temple of Solomon, slaughtered a great number of apparently unarmed citizens who must have hoped to find safety within the Temple. Ralph describes these unfortunate people as unbelievers, and he praises Tancred's slaughter of them as just retribution for the many wrongs suffered by the Church at the hands of unbelievers.<sup>41</sup>

Not long after the Frankish capture of Jerusalem, Count Raymond began the siege of Tripoli, which he had chosen to make his own domain. Calling Raymond a very brave man, Ralph says that with about four hundred men, part of them foot soldiers, he besieged a vastly superior force. Under such circumstance, Raymond's "siege" must have begun as chiefly a guerrilla war of raids in the vicinity of Tripoli. Such a raiding warfare must have been extremely unstable. We may

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40. *Ibid.*, Chapter 114, pp. 685, 686.

41. *Ibid.*, Chapter 131, pp. 696, 697. Ralph's words show a strong desire for revenge, especially on p. 697:  
*"Mille modis et mille viis et mille ruinis  
 Mars fremit: ira furit, gladius vorat, occubat hostis.  
 Eia, sancte furor, sacer ensis, sancta vorago,  
 Spargite, spargimini, gens prava, viri scelerati,  
 Sanguinis insontis fusor, sons fundere sanguis:  
 Qui Christum totiens in membris dilacerasti,  
 Excipe membra vices tibi quas reddunt modo Christi."*

conjecture that the unstable conditions of Raymond's long-range war against Tripoli persuaded him to decide that a fixed and fortified base of operations would be very beneficial to his cause. Whatever the motive may have been, Ralph does say that Count Raymond built, in the hills near Tripoli, the fortress called Mount Pilgrim. It served not only as a base for raids upon Tripoli, but also as a refuge for Christian pilgrims passing through dangerous territory.<sup>42</sup>

Besides noting the worthy and often heroic deeds of leaders of the crusade, Ralph also mentioned commendable actions of other persons, not Frankish, whose efforts aided the crusaders. Tancred, during his march through Cilicia, welcomed the Armenians living there as comrades in arms. Ralph described the Armenians as fighting in the Taurus mountains to defend their liberty.<sup>43</sup> Oshin, the Armenian lord of Adana,

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42. Ralph's language here suggests that he used the word "miles" to mean a knight. Ibid., Chapter 145, p. 707: "Comes ille . . . Tripolim obsidebat, tot millia unus: circiter .CCCC., partim pedites, partim milites, habens Christianos." Ralph indicates that the construction of Mount Pilgrim was initiated after the accession of King Baldwin, but before Raymond joined the ill-fated Crusade of 1101. However, two modern biographers of Count Raymond feel that, while the count may have begun to raid the territory of Tripoli in 1099 or 1100, the construction of Mount Pilgrim probably was commenced around 1102. The fortress was completed in 1103. This modern biography also states that Raymond had a force of three hundred knights. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse (Syracuse, 1962), 145-155.

43. Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi, RHC Occ, III, Chapter 34, p. 630: "Tancredus Cylicia potitus, Tharsum obsidet; indignatio Turcis, exsultatio Graecis, exhortatio Armenis, stupor universis. Ea namque famulari, Armenis montium arduitate tueri libertatem."



fought with Tancred and drove the Turks out of the nearby town of Mamistra.<sup>44</sup> Since Ralph mentioned that Tancred employed Turcopole archers (Byzantine escort troops) in the capture of Tarsus, we may conclude that, however unwillingly, Ralph did accept the Turcoples as capable soldiers who, in the march across Asia Minor, were helpful to the crusaders.<sup>45</sup>

Although Ralph ordinarily describes the Greek government and people in hostile terms, he does report an instance in which the Greeks rendered important aid to the crusaders. When the Franks were besieging Antioch in the winter of 1097-1098, they were sadly lacking in meat and grain. Emperor Alexius I relieved the army's hunger by arranging the shipment of food to the crusaders from Syria, Cilicia, Rhodes, Cyprus, Chios, Samos, Crete, Mytilene, and many other islands.<sup>46</sup> Ralph's mention of this Byzantine assistance indicates that a certain degree of communication and cooperation between the crusaders and the Byzantine government continued during the Frankish siege of Antioch. It also shows that, while Ralph certainly distrusted the Greeks, this personal sentiment did not prevent him from reporting events with a degree of fair-mindedness.

As Ralph recorded commendable actions because he deemed them praiseworthy, so also did he report dishonorable and reprehensible deeds. While the former are informative because

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44. Ibid., Chapters 40 and 41, pp. 634-636.

45. Ibid., Chapter 34, p. 631.

46. Ibid., Chapter 54, p. 647.

they illustrate what he respected and admired, an examination of the latter will show us the opposite end of Ralph's value system, actions which he considered detestable or disgraceful.

One of the most outstanding reports of this nature concerns the irresponsible desertion of two crusader chiefs during the siege of Antioch. Count Stephen of Blois, answering a call for help from the people of Tarsus, went to that town in Cilicia. The crusaders, we may presume, felt that he was needed more urgently in Antioch. Likewise, Count Robert of Normandy responded to the invitation of Anglo-Saxon soldiers in Latakia, whom Alexius had sent to guard that seaport. These men, alarmed at the disordered state of affairs in northern Syria, invited Count Robert to become their leader. He readily accepted, and very soon in Latakia was enjoying ample food (readily available from Cyprus) and the freedom from anxiety which permitted leisure. He gave freely to the needy and replenished the stores of Latakia from Cyprus. However, he was still not far from Antioch, and his presence there was desired by the crusaders. Twice he refused requests to return. Then a third request, accompanied by a threat of excommunication, persuaded him to return to Antioch, although he was reluctant to relinquish his life of ease in Latakia.<sup>47</sup>

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47. Ibid., Chapter 58, p. 649.

Both leaders, although they answered calls for assistance which were doubtless very real, acted irresponsibly in thus precipitately deserting the siege of Antioch, and Ralph's account of this action was clearly intended to show disapproval. Such desertion also demonstrates that the lack of a unified and coordinated command structure was, at times, a serious problem for the crusaders.

During the Frankish capture of the city of Antioch, a murder occurred which Ralph depicts as a disloyal and traitorous act. The victim was Yaghi-Siyan, the commander of the Turkish garrison in Antioch. When it became evident that the crusaders had successfully entered the fortifications and could not be repelled, Yaghi-Siyan, already wounded, fled the city under cover of darkness. He attempted to reach a nearby mountain fortress, but the approach of daylight compelled him to take cover on a hillside. He was found there by a passing peasant who gave him the drink of water he requested. The peasant recognized Yaghi-Siyan, who asked him for further aid in escape. The peasant considered his own interests carefully. Which offered the more substantial benefit, the defeated commander's readily accessible horse and clothing and the likelihood of a reward from the Franks? Selecting the latter alternative, the peasant murdered Yaghi-Siyan. Ralph denounces this deed as basely di-

loyal.<sup>48</sup> Even today such an act would seem reprehensible to many persons. However, Ralph's opinion might have been influenced by an assumption of a bond of feudal loyalty between the peasant and the defeated military commander. Such an assumption would be quite reasonable in view of Ralph's Norman origin.

Having made this examination of Ralph's biases and human values, how can we summarize them conveniently? Since he was a Norman, it is not surprising to observe that in the Gesta Tancredi Normans are discussed with greater respect and sympathy than any other group of people. Ralph includes the Normans within that group which he calls the Franks.<sup>49</sup> Ralph's sympathies are with the Franks completely. The army of the First Crusade was made up of Franks and, in telling Tancred's story, Ralph is also telling the story of the Franks who went on this expedition. There is one group among the Franks, namely, the Provençals, whom Ralph detests but accepts. He is careful to recognize military virtues in Count Raymond

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48. Ibid., Chapters 68 and 69, pp. 655, 656, especially on p. 656: "Si hunc occiderit, praesto est merces, vestes regiae et equus, ad haec Francorum gratia: praeferenda tamen his fuerant amicus Christus, cujus inimicum interemisset, et de tanti nece principis laus immortalis, quae in mortem multos impulit mortales. Sed haec aliena a mente rustica, nobile nihil attendente: sic utilitatem considerat. Porro fessum, exsanguem, seminice, solum, inermem videt: facile arbitratur vitae quod restat extinguere. Quid plura? Immemor honesti, pietate neglecta, servus dominum clava sublata dilaniat, cerebrum spargit, spolia satis arcta ingentibus praeferens promissis."

49. Ralph uses the terms "Franci" and "Latini" apparently interchangeably.

of Toulouse, a Provençal. He accepts the Armenians as comrades in arms of the crusaders, and finally, Ralph distrusts completely the Byzantine Greeks and the Turcoples serving in the Byzantine army. However, despite his dislike and distrust for the Greeks and Turcoples, Ralph scrupulously acknowledges service rendered by them. The Turks and other Moslems appear in the Gesta Tancredi only as faceless foes. The only instance in which a Turk is depicted with any degree of personal sympathy is the story of the murder of Yaghi-Siyan.

Proceeding from Ralph's attitude toward ethnic groups, let us now summarize his views of worthy and unworthy deeds of individuals. He admired courage, skill in arms, boldness in battle. But he felt that a good man ought also to have certain qualities of personal character. These qualities included respect for others, honesty, moderation in behavior, an even temper, and religious piety. He recognized a man as lord of a piece of territory, but he respected the man if he governed his domain well. Similarly, while boldness in battle and skill with weapons were qualities which Ralph admired, he felt that a good commander ought also to plan ahead, organize effectively, and take precautions. Desertion from the army was, to Ralph, reprehensible and disgraceful. So also was disrespect toward one's commander. Ralph valued highly the bond of loyalty between commander and follower, which for him must have been similar to the feudal bond between lord and vassal. This attitude would explain the horror with which Ralph describes the murder of Yaghi-Siyan. It also agrees fully with the close relationship between Tancred and Bohemond through much of the First Crusade.

## Chapter VI

### Ralph's Significance as a Crusade Historian

We have, in the preceding chapters of this thesis, examined the Gesta Tancredi rather closely in order to learn what sort of person was Ralph of Caen. What have we learned about him from this investigation? Let us begin by summarizing the vital statistics of his life.

Ralph was born at Caen in Normandy, in or around the year 1080. Evidence suggests that he came from a wealthy and probably noble family. He was educated in the classics by Arnulf of Choques.<sup>1</sup> Arnulf evidently gave him a good classical education, for Ralph employs many classical references.<sup>2</sup> He also includes many biblical references in the Gesta Tancredi.<sup>3</sup> Ralph commenced his crusading career under Bohemond in 1107 and in the following year joined Tancred in northern Syria.<sup>4</sup> There is no information available upon the date of Ralph's death, but his account of the candle omen at Antioch indicates that he was alive in 1130.<sup>5</sup>

Ralph was, then, a Norman soldier who served in the Holy Land in and after 1108. Although he does not explicitly say that he was a knight, his use of the word "militare" sug-

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1. See Chapter 1 above.

2. See Chapter 2 above.

3. See Chapter 3 above.

4. See Chapter 1 above.

5. This omen is discussed in Chapter 4 above.

gests that such was his rank.<sup>6</sup> Since Ralph apparently was a knight, it is reasonable that his book should discuss the First Crusade and subsequent events in the Holy Land from a knight's point of view. This is, in fact, the impression received upon reading the Gesta Tancredi. A great part of Ralph's book consists of accounts of individual deeds of military prowess and valor.

But Ralph's vision extended beyond the simple description of combat. He recognized other elements which were essential to success in a military operation. Raising the morale of soldiers at a critical moment can make the difference between defeat and victory. Consequently, when the crusaders were daunted by the initial Turkish attack at Dorylaeum, Count Robert of Normandy gave a well timed rallying cry which inspired the Franks to hold their position. Again, when the soldiers were weary and discouraged during the siege of Jerusalem, the chaplains, ordinarily noncombatants, joined in the siege work while singing the "kyrie eleison." Careful planning is another military virtue which Ralph recognized. An example is Tancred's ambush of a foraging party at Antioch. Count Robert of Normandy, who roused the Franks to repel a surprise attack at night by setting fire to Antioch, is praised for his alertness. Foresight, planning, and concern for others are evident in the case of Count Raymond of Toulouse, who built

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6. See Chapter 1 and also Chapter 5, especially footnote 42.

the fortress of Mount Pilgrim near Tripoli. These are just examples of some of the personal qualities which Ralph recognized and praised because they were essential to a successful military campaign.<sup>7</sup> From this information we may conclude that Ralph, if not himself a commander, at least understood many of the problems faced by a military commander.

Man's life, even a knight's life, is not confined exclusively to fighting. There were certain broader human qualities which Ralph respected and praised. Such qualities included religious piety, personal humility, temperate behavior, honesty, and modesty. Ralph notes these virtues in the biographical sketches which occur near the beginning of his book.<sup>8</sup> They were essential to the character of a good man, whether fighter or noncombatant.

Two events related in the Gesta Tancredi illustrate strikingly the value system in which Ralph lived. The first was the oath by which Bohemond secured the consent of other crusade leaders to his possession of the city of Antioch.<sup>9</sup> Unless the question of possession were settled beforehand, it was certain that after the crusaders captured Antioch they would quarrel over the possession of it. Bohemond, a man of experience

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7. These examples are discussed further in Chapter 5 above.

8. See Chapter 5 above.

9. Bohemond's arrangement with Fīrūz to secure for the Franks entrance within the city wall, and the oath, are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 above.



in dealing with other men, would not accept promises. Instead, he required that, in exchange for the assistance promised him by Fīrūz, the other leaders of the army should swear by oath to award him possession of the city. Bohemond was aided by Bishop Adhémar in obtaining this agreement by oath. Evidently Bohemond felt that a knight might break a promise, but certainly not an oath. Ralph recognizes and echoes this attitude when he includes it in the Gesta Tancredi.

The other incident, referred to above, which illustrates a knightly value system was the murder of Yaghi-Siyan, the defeated commander of the Turkish garrison at Antioch. He was murdered by a peasant from whom he requested aid in his flight from the vicinity of Antioch.<sup>10</sup> Ralph denounced this deed as dishonorable. Why? It is true that the peasant wished to steal Yaghi-Siyan's horse and clothing. But Ralph's denunciation went beyond the peasant's desire for immediate gain, for the peasant also expected to be well rewarded by the Franks for killing the defeated commander. And Yaghi-Siyan may be regarded as the lord, as well as military commander, of the territory of Antioch. Murdering one's lord in order to win favor with the lord's foes would be an exceptionally strong affront to European feudal mores. Perhaps it is for this reason that Ralph described this deed with such horror and loathing.

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10. This murder is discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 5 above.

While Ralph viewed the First Crusade as a knight, and described it with a knight's opinions and feelings, this statement does not fully describe the author of the Gesta Tancredi. Ralph also had, as noted above, a good acquaintance with the Bible and with Roman classical literature. Religious and classical references abound throughout the Gesta Tancredi. Ralph used these references apparently for rhetorical effect. The author of the Gesta Tancredi had a better acquaintance with classical literature than any other contemporary crusading historian except Guibert of Nogent.<sup>11</sup> His use of religious references is not unique. For example, Raymond d'Aguilers, a chaplain, used many religious references in his Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem. Raymond used these references to illustrate and emphasize his viewpoint, judging events and persons in terms of faith, morality, and benefit to the Church. Similarly, Ralph used religious references to give weight to his own attitude toward the events and persons of the First Crusade.

How did Ralph view the events which he narrates in the Gesta Tancredi? This study of Ralph's book has brought forth some information on the author's attitudes. While worldly ambitions evidently motivated some men, such as Bohemond, most participants in the First Crusade appear to have been inspired by religious zeal and devotion. Ralph, himself

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11. Boehm, "Die 'Gesta Tancredi' des Radulf von Caen," 52.

a crusader at a later date, shows throughout his book only respect and enthusiasm for the objectives of this holy war. Such religious references as the crusaders thanking God for help in a victorious fight show vividly the religious devotion which inspired the First Crusade. Ralph recognized fully the importance of religious motivation in the crusade. He also admitted that spiritual leaders, by providing counsel and religious leadership, were important in this enterprise. However, the First Crusade was a joint effort, inspired by religion and made successful through a military campaign. Inasmuch as the crusade depended upon military success, Ralph felt that the requirements of this effort ought to take precedence over all other considerations. Ordinarily the crusade was characterized by cooperation between military and spiritual leaders. However, upon occasion religious and military interests did clash. In such conflicts Ralph favored the military interest. His unfavorable criticisms of persons and deeds in the crusade are often value judgments based upon tactical considerations.<sup>12</sup>

Who were the men whose story Ralph told? The army of the First Crusade was made up chiefly of Franks, or western Europeans, although some part was played by allied Byzantine and Armenian soldiers. According to the Gesta Tancredi, these allied forces ceased to figure significantly in the fighting after the army reached Antioch. Ralph's sympathies were with the Franks and, more particularly, with the Normans in that largely Frankish army. He disliked the Provençals, but accepted

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12. See Chapter 3 above.

them as a part of the Frankish army. Although Ralph loathed and distrusted the Byzantine Greeks, he was careful to acknowledge Byzantine aid. He accepted the Armenians as comrades in arms of the Frankish crusaders. Although Ralph described and recognized the contributions of all who participated in the crusade, he showed a special interest in and sympathy for the Norman crusaders. This is understandable in the light of the fact that Ralph was himself a Norman and that both men under whom he served were Normans.<sup>13</sup>

We may observe, in conclusion, that Ralph was a Norman knight with a good knowledge of classical Roman literature and of the Bible. In telling of Tancred's life and deeds, he also told the story of the First Crusade and subsequent events in the Holy Land. He is the only known contemporary author of a history of the First Crusade who tells that story from a knight's point of view. For this reason, the Gesta Tancredi, although incomplete in its extant form, is a book of unique significance for students of the First Crusade.

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13. See Chapter 5 above for a fuller discussion of Ralph's ethnic attitudes.

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