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4. A Latin school in the Norman principality of Antioch?*

Edoardo D'Angelo

The Norman principality of Antioch

When the crusaders left western Europe for Jerusalem in 1096, among the numerous peoples involved in the expedition were individuals from Lorraine, Provence, Blois, Vermandois and Normandy. There were also Norman troops from Italy, led by Bohemond of Hauteville. When, in the summer 1098, the crusaders captured the important city of Antioch, Bohemond kept the town for himself and he, and the main part of his troops, remained in Antioch, while the other crusaders left for Jerusalem. At this moment the (Italian/Norman) principality of Antioch was born.¹ The first Latin patriarch appointed was Bernard of Valence.

This first crusader state was not to have a tranquil history. By 1104 it had many political problems and enemies: the Byzantines, the Turks, the Provençal county of Tripoli, so Bohemond departed for Europe, specifically for Italy and France, to ask for help in the form of money and men. At Antioch Bohemond's cousin Tancred was left as regent (1105–12). Bohemond himself never returned to Antioch. From Europe, with the money and the men he had raised in France, Bohemond went directly to Apulia to fight the war. His true priority was not against the Turks but against the Greeks, following on from the dreams of his father Robert Guiscard, who had aspired to become emperor of Constantinople. But Bohemond was defeated by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus and obliged to agree to a peace unfavourable to the Italian Normans and to himself, the treaty of Devol of 1108. As a result, he was obliged to accept to bequeath the principality of Antioch to the emperor upon his death.

* This chapter revisits the author's previous work in *Radulphus Cadomensis, Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), pp. lxxxii–xciv.

¹ R. Hiestand, 'Boemondo I e la prima Crociata', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate* (Centro Studi Normanno-Svevi, Bari, 2002), pp. 65–94; L. Russo, 'Oblio e memoria di Boemondo d'Altavilla nella storiografia normanna', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, cvi (2004), 137–65; L. Russo, 'Il viaggio di Boemondo d'Altavilla in Francia (1106): un riesame', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, clxiii (2005), 3–42.

What was the 'culture' in the principality of Antioch?

There are many studies of the ethnic and social structures of the principality of Antioch or, to be more precise, of the crusader or Latin settlement.² Can one speak of a Norman settlement in Antioch? We can say that there was a predominance of Normans from Normandy and from Southern Italy, but there were other Frenchmen in Antioch too. Moreover, there were surely other Italians, such as merchants from Genoa and Pisa.³ We know relatively little about Antiochian society in the first half of the twelfth century. Direct sources are very rare, both documentary and literary, and one needs to make a complex and difficult indirect reconstruction of the situation.⁴

The first source, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, was written early in the crusade before 1102, probably in Bohemond's entourage.⁵ This text has had a great influence on the literature concerning the first crusade. The second source was written between 1112 and 1130 after Tancred's rule in Antioch and his death, the *Tancredus* of Ralph of Caen.⁶ The two are very different in purpose, ideology and style. The *Gesta Francorum* is a war diary, written by an eyewitness in very simple Latin just after the events it describes, and was subsequently rewritten.⁷ Ralph of Caen's *Tancredus* is,

² E. Rey, 'Résumé chronologique de l'histoire des princes d'Antioche', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iv (1896), 321–76; B. Figliuolo, 'Ancora sui Normanni d'Italia alla prima crociata', *Archivio Storico delle Province Napolitane*, civ (1986), 1–16; G. A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 49–62; A. V. Murray, 'How Norman was the principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to the study of the origins of the nobility of a crusader state', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 349–59; T. S. Asbridge, 'The crusader community at Antioch: the impact of interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *TRHS*, 5th. ser., ix (1999), 305–25; A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000); T. S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, 2000); A. V. Murray, 'Norman settlement in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1131', in *Archivio Normanno-Svevo*, i (2008), 61–85.

³ F. Giunta, *Terra senza crociati* (Palermo, 1973), pp. 11–3; J. Hermans, 'The Byzantine view of the Normans: another Norman myth?', *ANS*, ii (1980), 78–92, 176–84, at pp. 177–79; V. Epp, 'Die Entstehung eines Nationalbewusstseins in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten', *Deutsches Archiv*, xlv (1989), 596–604, at p. 599; J. France, 'The Normans and crusading', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R. P. Abels and B. S. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 87–101, at pp. 90–3.

⁴ See, C. Morris, 'Policy and visions: the case of the Holy Lance at Antioch?', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33–45.

⁵ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (1962); *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924); *Anonimo. Le gesta dei Franchi e degli altri pellegrini gerosolimitani*, ed. L. Russo (Alessandria, 2003).

⁶ *Radulphus Cadomensis, Tancredus*, ed. D'Angelo.

⁷ See J. Flori, 'De l'Anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux Gesta Francorum. L'impact

on the contrary, the work of a refined intellectual, writing a biography of a Norman chief. He can evidently be seen as the official intellectual of the principality under Bohemond and Tancred.

Ralph of Caen studies

We know that Ralph of Caen studied in Normandy until 1106 in the school of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen under the master Arnulf of Chocques. The school of Saint-Etienne of Caen, the famous Abbaye aux Hommes founded by William the Conqueror, was one of the most important schools in the duchy of Normandy in the last part of the eleventh century.

Orderic Vitalis in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* tells us about cultural development in Normandy (and in England).⁸ After Dudo of Saint-Quentin's time, three Italian masters are known to have taught in Normandy: William of Volpiano, Suppo, and Lanfranc of Pavia. In the duchy there were many other important monastic schools, besides Saint-Etienne de Caen: Notre-Dame-du-Bec, Mont-Saint-Michel, Jumièges, Fécamp and the cathedral schools of Bayeux, Avranches and Rouen.⁹ The schools of the modern département of Calvados, Caen and Bayeux were involved in the education of important intellectuals, such as Roscelin of Compiègne, who was at Bayeux in 1092, and Serlo of Bayeux (d. c.1122). At the end of the eleventh century Caen provided important opportunities for education and its schools were frequented by secular men. The main religious centres were the Abbaye-aux-Dames – founded by Duke William and his wife Mathilda dedicated to the Holy Trinity – and the Abbaye-aux-Hommes – founded in c.1063 by William the Conqueror and dedicated to St. Stephen – of which Lanfranc of Pavia became the first abbot, moving there from Le Bec-Hellouin.

William the Conqueror entrusted the education of his daughter Cecilia (b. before 1066, d. in 1127 as abbess of La Trinité, Caen) to Arnoul of Chocques, who must have taught both at the Abbaye-aux-Hommes and at the Abbaye-aux-Dames. Arnoul had been a student first of Lanfranc of Pavia and then of William 'Bona Anima'. Among Arnoul of Chocques's students were Theobald of Etampes, *doctor Cadumensis*, who may have

de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la première croisade', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, cii (2007), 717–46.

⁸ OV, II, 248–53.

⁹ R. Foreville, 'L'école du Bec et le Studium de Canterbury au XIe et XIIe siècle', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* (1957), 357–74; C. W. Hollister, 'Anglo-Norman political culture and the twelfth-century renaissance', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Proceedings of the Borchard conference on Anglo-Norman History*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 1–16.

been involved in the development of schools at Oxford,¹⁰ and, as we have already noted, Ralph of Caen. In consequence, networks were created that linked the school at Caen with Christ Church, Canterbury, Oxford, Rouen (through William 'Bona Anima', and Jerusalem (through Arnoul de Chocques).¹¹

The school of Saint-Etienne of Caen

The school of the Abbaye-aux-Hommes was an 'external' school, that is one with external, lay, students (not only monks or clerks). The school was run by a group of teachers, without a precise curriculum but with a general orientation in the direction of theological studies. The most important teachers in Saint-Etienne of Caen at the end of the eleventh century were: Lanfranc of Pavia (1063–70), William 'Bona Anima' (1063–70), Gerard *scholasticus* (c.1084), Theobald of Etampes (before 1093), Arnoul of Chocques (until 1096), and Alfred *scholasticus* (between 1092 and 1101). Some of these teachers, such as Theobald of Etampes, opposed aspects of the Gregorian reform, for example regarding the subject of Nicolaism and the ordination of the children of priests. David Spear has written of an 'antigregorian' 'hotbed of carnality' at the school of Caen.¹² There was also disruption at Caen due to the weak government of the duchy in the time of Duke Robert Curthose, William the Conqueror's son. The history of the school of Caen ends shortly afterwards, in the 1120s or the 1130s.

The cultural position in the Holy Land

Writing at the end of the twelfth century, William of Tyre was severely critical of the European intellectuals of the Holy Land.¹³ Ralph of Caen arrived in Outremer in 1108 when he was twenty-eight years old. He was at the height of his personal and psychological maturity. The Latin culture of Outremer has been undervalued and little studied. Indeed, in the Holy Land in the twelfth century one can find an intellectual class made up of 'occasional' figures, always only 'passing' through those regions before

¹⁰ For Theobald of Étampes, see R. Foreville, 'L'École de Caen au XI^e siècle et les origines normandes de l'université d'Oxford', in *Études médiévales offertes à M. le doyen Augustin Fliche*, ed. A. DuPont (Paris, 1952), pp. 81–100, at pp. 90–100 (where the argument for the role of Theobald in the foundation of Oxford should be rejected) and E. Frauenknecht, 'Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit' (*MGH, Studien und Texte* xvi, Hanover, 1997), pp. 129–30.

¹¹ For Lanfranc's work, see most recently, H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003).

¹² D. S. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *HSJ*, iv (1992), 55–66, at p. 64.

¹³ Willelmus Tyrensis, *Cronica*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 699–700.

returning to Europe. Susan Edgington has recently commented that 'the use of different vernaculars ... suggests the fragmentation of intellectual life in Antioch'.¹⁴

From the point of view of concrete literary production, works in vernacular languages predominate, French in particular, and Laura Minervini speaks the Holy Land as a 'francocrazia culturale', which produced a 'letteratura autoreferenziale'.¹⁵ In Thomas Boase's opinion, there existed in the Holy Land before 1150, a literature with its own 'local colour'.¹⁶ The most common literary genres were historiography, to legitimize the political supremacy of the Franks in those lands, and translations into Latin of scientific works.

The most important intellectuals in the kingdom of Jerusalem were:¹⁷

1. Fulcher of Chartres (d. 1127?), arrived in the Holy Land as the chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne and wrote the important *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1106, three redactions).¹⁸
2. Gerard of Nazareth, bishop of Laodicea by 1140, author of two works of theological polemics, a sermon and a hagiography (*Vita Heliae*), texts which are known to us only through indirect textual traditions.¹⁹
3. The anonymous author of the *Historia Balduini III* (before 1123).²⁰
4. Achard of Arrouais (1118–1137), prior of the Temple of Jerusalem, author of the poem *De Templo Salomonis*.²¹

In Antioch the very disturbed political situation involving continuous dynastic crises and the urgent needs of war suggests that these were very

¹⁴ S. B. Edgington, 'Antioch: medieval city of culture', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, i. *Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the Crusader Principality*, ed. K. N. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (Leuven, 2006), pp. 247–59, at p. 256.

¹⁵ L. Minervini, 'Modelli culturali e attività letteraria nell'Oriente latino', *Studi Medievali*, xliii (2002), 337–48, at p. 339. See also L. Minervini, 'Outremer', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo. Il Medioevo volgare*, I. 2, *La produzione del testo*, ed. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi, and E. Menestò (Rome, 2001), pp. 611–48, at p. 617.

¹⁶ T. S. R. Boase, 'The arts in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii (1938), 1–21, at p. 20.

¹⁷ For relationships between Antioch and Jerusalem, see H. E. Mayer, 'Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1980), pp. 717–34.

¹⁸ *Fulcherii Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

¹⁹ B. Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth, a neglected twelfth-century writer in the Latin East: a contribution to intellectual and monastic history of the crusader states', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxvii (1983), 55–77.

²⁰ *Historia Nicena vel Antiochena = Balduini III Historia Nicena vel Antiochena*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (16 vols. in 17, Paris, 1841–1906), v. 141–85.

²¹ R. Hiestand, 'Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, lxxii (1993), 70–121, at pp. 82–4.

hostile surroundings for literature and culture in general.²² As a result, Antiochian culture during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been greatly neglected. But it is possible that a new and careful examination of the evidence will provide the basis for a less pessimistic assessment.

Rudolf Hiestand has already hypothesized that northern Syria was not such a poor cultural centre during the twelfth century as has been thought.²³ It was actually a significant centre for the production of manuscripts.²⁴ This article develops his theory further and asks whether we even talk of a 'School of Antioch' during the crusade period.

There must surely have been an important chancery in Antioch, and probably two of them: one belonging to the prince and the other to the bishop.²⁵ There were also monastic *scriptoria*, such as that of the abbey of St. Simeon the Younger on the Admirable Mountain, but unfortunately only a liturgical calendar survives as an example of literary production.²⁶

There was, however, an important tradition of vernacular literary production in Antioch.²⁷ The famous *Chanson d'Antioche*, a poem about the capture of Antioch in 1098, was produced there,²⁸ as was the *Chanson des Chétifs*, a poem telling of the fictional adventures of a group of Christian

²² C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), *passim*; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 88–97.

²³ Hiestand, 'Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich'.

²⁴ J. Folda, 'A crusader manuscript from Antioch', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xlii (1969/1970), 283–98; V. Saxer, 'Le calendrier de l'Eglise latine d'Antioche à l'usage du patriarche Opizzi Ier Fieschi (1254–55)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, xxvi (1972), 105–23; J. Folda, 'I manoscritti miniati negli stati crociati', in *Le Crociate. L'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a an Luigi (1096–1270)*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué (Milan, 1997), pp. 299–305.

²⁵ R. Hiestand, 'Ein unbekanntes Privileg des Fürstes Bohemunds II. von Antiochia für das Hospital vom März 1127 und die Frühgeschichte der antiochenischen Fürstenkanzlei', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, xliii (1997), 27–46.

²⁶ G. Fedalto, 'L'origine della gerarchia ecclesiastica latina nei patriarcati di Antiochia e di Gerusalemme, durante la Prima Crociata (1097–9)', *Studia Patavina*, xvii (1970), pp. 104–19, at 107–11; see also A. Frazee, 'The Christian church in Cilician Armenia: its relations with Rome and Constantinople to 1198', *Church History*, lv (1976), 166–84; R. Hiestand, 'Ein neuer Bericht über das Konzil von Antiochia 1140', *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, xix (1988), 314–350; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church* (1980), pp. 370–72; B. Hamilton, 'The growth of the Latin church of Antioch and the recruitment of its clergy', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 171–84, at p. 179.

²⁷ See also, K. Bartsch, 'Ein französischer Kinderreim des XI–XII Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vii (1883), pp. 93–5.

²⁸ *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. C. Sweetenham and S. B. Edgington (Farnham, 2013).

knights captured by the Turks.²⁹ These two texts are transmitted together in the same manuscripts along with the *Chanson de Jerusalem*, and may be a stylistic elaboration made by Graindor de Douai in around 1185 of the work of Richard the Pilgrim, who was an eyewitness to the events of the first crusade. Graindor states that Richard died in the Holy Land, and that the poem was sent to Europe by the patriarch of Antioch.

Amaury of Limoges (also known as Amaury of Antioch), first dean and then patriarch of Antioch during the period between 1140 and 1196, who, as has already been noted, was responsible for preserving the *Chanson de Chétifs*,³⁰ wrote the *Fazienda de Ultramar*, commissioned by Archbishop Raymond of Toledo (d. 1152). William of Tyre described Amaury as 'unlettered' (*hominem absque litteris*), but this is incorrect. Amaury was interested in theology, writing a Rule for the hermetical life of the Black Mountain, and had an important correspondence with Hugh Eterienus. Pope Eugenius III asked him to find a book of John Crisostomus' works; a book that the pope would subsequently give to Burgundio of Pisa to translate into Latin.

Antioch was also a centre for the production of Latin literary works,³¹ and a place where Latin translations were made.³² Examples of these are: Ibn Butlan's (d. 1066) *Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina*,³³ Simeon Seth's medical works (dedicated to Michael VIII Doukas);³⁴ and the famous Indian text *Khalila* and *Dimna* (a Latin translation of a Greek translation from Arabic!). Adelard of Bath was in Antioch in around 1114, and when he returned to the West, he took many manuscripts with him.³⁵ Stephen of Antioch (born in Pisa), translated the *Liber Reginus* into Latin in 1127, and also the *Kitab*

²⁹ Les Chétifs, in *The Old French Crusade Cycle, 5: Les Chétifs*, ed. G. M. Myers (Tuscaloosa and London, 1981).

³⁰ B. Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges, Latin patriarch of Antioch (c.1142–c.1196), and the unity of the Church', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I. Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, 2006), pp. 1–12, at p. 10.

³¹ C. Burnett, 'Antioch as a link between Arabic and Latin culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Thion, and B. Van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 1–78.

³² C. Burnett, 'The institutional context of Arabic-Latin translations of the middle ages: a reassessment of the School of Toledo', in *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research Between Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. O. Weijers, (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 215–35.

³³ *Ibn Butlan's Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina*, ed. J. Schott (Strasbourg, 1531).

³⁴ M. E. P. L. Brunet, *Siméon Seth, médecin de l'empereur Michel Doukas; sa vie, son oeuvre. Première traduction en français du traité 'Recueil des propriétés des aliments par ordre alphabétique'* (Bordeaux, 1939).

³⁵ C. Burnett, *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds* (Cambridge, 1998).

al-Maliki – an important medical treatise written by Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Majusi, to which Stephen added a small glossary, the *Medicaminum omnium breviarium*. He went on to write an original text, the *Liber Mamonis in astronomia a Stephano philosopho translata*. He was also an excellent scribe, copying a codex of Cicero's *Rethorica ad Herennium*.³⁶ Rorgo Fretel from near Saint-Georges d'Hesdin (dép. Somme) in Ponthieu – chancellor of the prince of Galilee (1119), canon of Nazareth (1121), then archdeacon in Antioch – was author of the *Descriptio*, which belongs to the genre of the *descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* and uses as its sources, Jerome and Eugesippe.³⁷ This text was written in further redactions in 1137–8; one of these is dedicated to the bishop of Olmütz; another to Earl R., who can probably be identified as Rodrigo Gonzales of Lara, earl of Toledo (c.1078–1143).

Walter the Chancellor, chancellor of the bishop of Antioch, wrote the *Bella Antiochena*,³⁸ chronicling the wars against the Turks in the years 1115 and 1119–22, led by the prince, Roger of Salerno, the successor of Tancred of Antioch in the period 1114–19. It represents the continuation of the work of Raoul of Caen. Another notable writer was Albert, bishop of Tarso (d. c.1204), chancellor of the principality, and perhaps subsequently archbishop of Nazareth, an important jurist who had probably studied in Bologna. The Prince of Antioch, Bohemond III, called him *in utriusque iuris apicibus sed et rebus ecclesiasticis sufficienter eruditum*. Albert arrived in Sicily between 1185 and 1190 and may have spent time in Germany. Rudolf Hiestand has attributed to him the composition of a crusade song (*Plange, Syon et Iudea*), datable after August 1187. According to Hiestand, this is the first poetic Latin text written in the Holy Land and the text is full of classical echoes.³⁹

There is other evidence of cultural production in Antioch. In the *Legend of Bahira*, the story of Mohammed's teachers, for example, the author states that he heard the tale he tells in Antioch from a Greek man.⁴⁰ One of the

³⁶ C. Burnett, 'The transmission of Arabic astronomy via Antioch and Pisa', in *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, ed. J. P. Hogendijk and A. I. Sabra (Chicago, 2003), pp. 23–51.

³⁷ Rorgo Fretellus, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. P. C. Boeren (Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York, 1980).

³⁸ Walter the Chancellor of Antioch, *Bella Antiochena*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, V 75–132; Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896) (Galth. Canc.); *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington (Aldershot, 1999).

³⁹ R. Hiestand, 'Plange, Syon et Iudea—Historische Aussage und Verfasserfrage', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, xxiii (1988), 126–42, at pp. 140–42; R. Hiestand, 'Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus', *Le Moyen Age*, c (1994), 7–36, at pp. 16–19.

⁴⁰ *The Legend of Sergius Bahira: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to*

most famous texts of the Latin middle ages, *Priest John's Letter*, seems to be been written in Antioch too.⁴¹ We should also consider Gerard of Nazareth and his works as coming from Antioch, because he was bishop of Laodicee in the principality. It may be that the Norman-Italian author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Ierosolimitanorum* lived for some time in Antioch, and it was here too that Raoul of Caen started to write his *Tancredus*.

The 'Second School of Antioch'

All these writers and works, this author would argue, are enough to indicate that twelfth-century Antioch can no longer be regarded as a 'cultural desert'. But the idea of a 'school' requires not only a catalogue of the items produced, but also a network of relationships between them. The hypothesis of the school is mainly strengthened by the relationships linking these intellectuals, something that has only very recently been highlighted by scholars.

Charles Burnett has demonstrated that the Spanish city of Toledo, a very important cultural centre at this time and a school of the translation into Latin Hebrew and Arabic works, is the *trait-d'union* between Amaury of Antioch and Rorgo Fretel: their works are dedicated to two authoritative *Toletani*, Bishop Raymond and Earl il Rodrigo.⁴² In addition, the works of these two intellectuals appear to be united by many similar features. Geographical works, for example, show a similar focus on Galilee, Antioch, northern Syria and the history of Israel. There is also a shared predilection for Ovid as a source.⁴³ Rorgo Fretel is linked, in a more literary way, both to Albert of Tarso (through the use of the common source Eugesippe) and to Ralph of Caen (both writers were born in France, moved to Galilee and remained at Antioch). Another common feature is the importance of the teaching of astrology as a link between Norman and Antiochian cultures, as seen in the writings of Stephen of Antioch and Ralph of Caen.

The data collected here certainly testifies to the strong level of Latin literary activity in Antioch during the twelfth century, and to the links between men, work and institutions. But it may also be possible to demonstrate the idea of a school by identifying the transmission of certain elements of technical and concrete knowledge. One way of doing this is to find links and *traits-d'union* in the teaching of rhetoric. Walter Berschin

Islam, ed. B. Roggema (Leiden, 2009).

⁴¹ *La Lettera del Prete Gianni*, ed. G. Zaganelli, (Parma, 1990).

⁴² Burnett, 'The institutional context', pp. 215–35.

⁴³ C. W. Grocock, 'Ovid the crusader', in *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to Twentieth Century*, ed. C. Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 55–69.

identified a particular rhetorical figure, the *gradatio* (o epiploke) as one of the typical characteristics of the Anglo-Norman style, referring especially to the works of Anselm and Eadmer of Canterbury.⁴⁴ But a closer analysis leads us once more back to Lanfranc of Pavia,⁴⁵ and also to Theobald of Etampes.⁴⁶ In these instances we can clearly see that the importance of this rhetorical figure passes from Lanfranc (Normandy and England) to Theobald of Etampes:

ep. 10 (to Toirrdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster, and effectively king of Ireland):

frater et coepiscopus noster Patricius narravit, ut, quamvis vos nunquam viderimus, tanquam visos tamen vos diligamus, et tanquam visis ac bene cognitis vobis salubriter consulere et sincerissime servire cupiamus.

ep. 18 (to Anselm):

litteras, quas per dominum Robertum transmisistis, laetus suscepi, laetior legi: cum quanto autem gaudio adhuc eas relegendo recolo, et recolendo relego, litteris explicare non possum.

ep. 3:

sic quoque liberalitas vestra bono suo odore latius redolente absentes aspergit, et aspergendo vobis allicere non desistit.

The same rhetorical figure is also a favourite of Ralph of Caen, the writer who was – as he tells us – the official historiographer of the principality of Antioch under Bohemond and Tancred. It may be very significant, then, that the same rhetorical device is strongly present in work that can be considered the continuation of the *Tancredus*, namely Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*; a point that becomes even more important when one considers that this work is not as stylistically sophisticated as the absolutely hyper-rhetorical *Tancredus*, despite the presence of a few verses within the narrative in prose. Thus:

Galth. Canc. 1.2.2 *dux igitur vicecomitem ad se vocari iubet, vicecomes praetorem, praetor praeconem, praeco iudicem*; 1.4 *recreare ac recreata*; 2.1.2 *parmisque ab*

⁴⁴ W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, IV, *Ottotonische Biographie. Das hohe Mittelalter. 920–1220 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 138–9. See also D. E. Luscombe, 'Bec, Christ Church and the correspondence of St Anselm', *ANS*, xviii (1996), 1–17.

⁴⁵ *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), nos. 10, 18.

⁴⁶ Theobaldus Stampensis, *Epistolae*, *PL*, clxiii, cols. 759–770, at col. 764.

humeris ad brachia, a brachiis ad pectora revocatis; 2.1.2 ibi enim minus damnum, maius maiori damno exstitit. Magis etenim pauperes ex minimo quam divites ex maximo laedi creduntur; 2.9.4 cives moenibus, et urbem civibus; 2.12.1 emittunt strepitum, cum strepitibus clamores, cum clamoribus latratus, cum latratibus audaciam; 2.14.1 sed ut hunc admirando illudere, illudendo cruciare, et cruciando membratim valeant discerpere; 2.14.1 praesentatum suscepit, susceptum inspicit, inspectum contemnit, contemptum ad exitium quo dignus fuerat evenisse decernit.

Another rhetorical device, the so called polyptoton, dear to Ralph of Caen, is also used extensively by the second historian of the principality of Antioch:

Galth. Canc. Prol crimina criminibus; 1.6.2 solis vibrante lumine, Parthorum lumina obtunduntur; 1.6.4 nec amicus amicum, nec frater fratrem intelligat; 2.1.1 forte fortuitu; 2.1.2 audendo non audenda, et praesumendo agere non agenda; 2.1.2 nocentia ac nocitura; 2.1.3 perpetrata, inquam, mala plangere, et plangenda non perpetrare; 2.6.1 Astuto itaque respondet astutior; 2.7.1; impii itaque laeto animo, scelerato domini sui parent imperio. Sequitur autem ex scelesti imperio effectus scelestior; 2.7.4 consilium sceleris scelerato placuit; 2.9.4 omni populo Christiano exspectatione magnus. adventu maior, protectione maximus; 2.10.3 astutia fallenti oppidanos fallere nititur.

It is possible to identify a number of *loci communes* between the two writers which could be a sign that Walter the Chancellor had read the *Tancredus*, or that he was somehow a pupil of Ralph of Caen:

RC 519 *praenuntia veri fama ... praecinuerat* ▶ Galth. Canc. 1.2.2 *ut fama praecinuit*;

RC 352h *ut perculit aures* ▶ Galth. Canc. 1.2.4 *aures perculit*;

RC 1008h *captosve cupidine falso* ▶ Galth. Canc. 1.6.2 *divitiarum cupidine capti*;

RC 912h *in spem vivendi currunt ad opes moriendi* ▶ Galth. Canc. 1.7.2 *quod nostris occidendi impedimentum, fugientibus exstitit evadendi subsidium*;

RC 908h *sed Deus Arnulfusque suus parere paratos* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.1.3 *parati eminus parent imperio*;

RC 287 *ne forte paucorum temeritas rei ordinem turbaret universum*, 460 *ne mea te offendat prolixitas*, 644 *quod scriptura posteritas prolixiori valeat stylo explicare* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.1.2 *ne prolixitate verborum videar rei ordinem praeteriisse*;

RC 67 *fugitur per abrupta, per avia (anche 800)* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.4.1 *per abrupta montium et devia vallium*;

RC 27 *quid victi saepius molituri erant, quidve suis de se dabant sperare victoribus?*, 282 *victi victores in castra sequuntur* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.5.4 *Divinae maiestati, cui non placuit nisi quod decet et expedit, ut victi, resumptis viribus, victores haberentur*;

RC 409 'Ecce', *dixeris 'quem natura in militem manu propria exsculpsit!*, 1511 *Haec quippe omnia natura ipsa - ut ita dicamus - in eo manu propria exsculperat* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.12.2 *apparuit quia in comite natura militiae nihil exaruit*;

RC 1382h-1383h *omnia sanguis erant, nihil extabat nisi sanguis: Namque pavementum penitus sub strage latebat, Ut nisi submersus non tangat marmora poples! Quippe cruor tantus, tanta inficit unda penates* ▶ Galth. Canc. 2.15.1 *totum porticus pavementum aulae regiae profluens aspergit unda sanguinis*.

Echoes from Lucan's *Pharsalia* also seem to link the two writers:

Galth. Canc. 1.3.3 *differre paratis*; 2.1.4 *pulsat humum*; 1.6.1 *orbis per climata*; 1.6.1 *sic fatus*.

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates how cultural influences derived from the duchy of Normandy were sustained within powerful local and regional literary traditions, as in England and southern Italy. In light of this evidence we can perhaps begin to speak of a Norman school of Antioch.