

## A NORMAN-ITALIAN ADVENTURER IN THE EAST: RICHARD OF SALERNO 1097-1112

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The adventures, hardships, and disappointments awaiting the Europeans who went on the crusades have long been well-known; indeed enough information has survived for modern authors to be able to write biographies of a very few of the most famous leaders. I would like to add to this list a smaller biographical notice of Richard of the Principate who is of interest, I would contend, not because he was a great and influential man but because the scope and variety of his experiences on the First Crusade was quite extraordinary. Richard rose to prominence in that expedition in which contemporary historians considered him one of the leading figures of second rank. But since their comments on him are widely scattered, and inconclusive when viewed in isolation, he has escaped the attention of modern historians. The purpose of this paper is to assemble the fragments and tell the story of his spectacular life and career in the East.

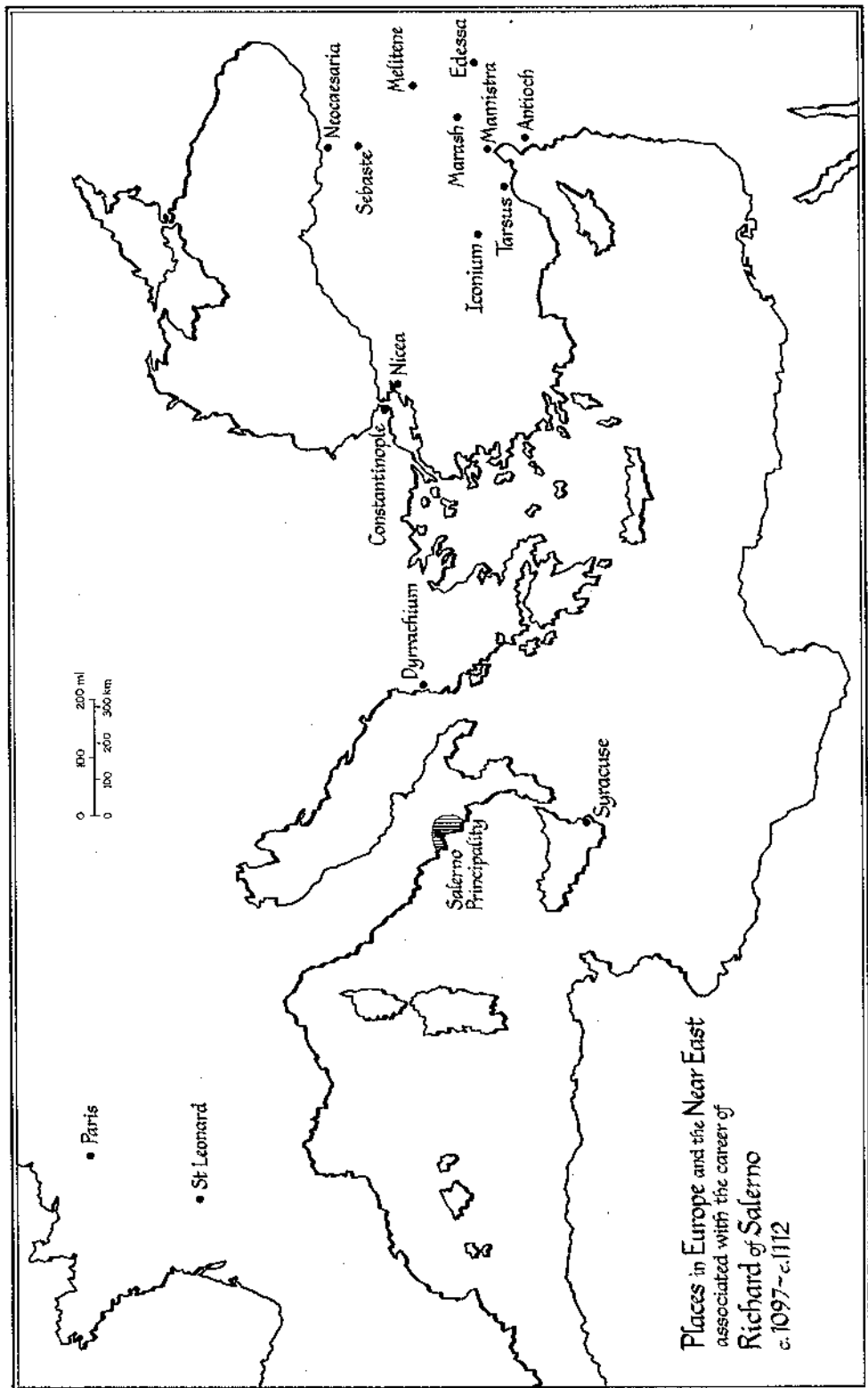
Richard of the Principate took his name from the principality of Salerno, a former Lombard state which had been created in 846 from a division of the former province of Benevento.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-eleventh century the Lombard prince of Salerno, Gisulf II, saw his rule threatened by the appearance of Norman adventurers who first entered his service, then became his allies, and finally overthrew and drove him into exile in 1077. The men to accomplish this were William, the tenth son of Tancred of Hauteville, who ruled as the first Norman count of the Principate from 1056-80, and his brother Robert Guiscard of Apulia.<sup>2</sup> With his wife, Maria, daughter of the neighboring Lombard prince Guy of Sorrente, whom he married c.1057, William fathered a daughter and four sons, the third of whom was Richard, the subject of the present essay. His eldest son, Robert, succeeded William of San Nicandro, as he was also known, (as well as Hauteville), as count from 1088-99, and Robert's son William followed his father from 1099-1128.

The third son and perhaps fourth child of a marriage dating from c.1057, Richard was presumably born in the 1060s and may thus have been in his late 30s at the beginning of the first crusade.<sup>3</sup> He would thus have been around fifty at the time of his death sometime between 1112-1114, an age which is consistent with

<sup>1</sup> F. Hirsch, M. Schipa, *La Longobardia Meridionale 570-1077. Il ducato de Benevento. Il Principato de Salerno*, ed. N. Acocella, Rome, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> A brief summary of the eleventh- and twelfth-century counts of the principate by L.-R. Menager is the only history to have been written on the Norman counts of Salerno. 'Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard duc de Pouille et de Calabre', *QF* 39 (1959), 1-116; Excursus G.-B. Prignano, 'Les comtes du principat et les "coutumes" d'Eboli 1128', 65-82.

<sup>3</sup> Menager, 'Fondations Monastiques', 71.



Places in Europe and the Near East associated with the career of Richard of Salerno c. 1097-c. 1112

his son Roger becoming temporary ruler of Antioch on the death of Tancred, second prince of that city, in 1112. To have had a son at the age of majority in 1112 Richard must have married by 1090 at the latest when living in Salerno. Through his mother he traced his ancestry to the Lombard rulers of Sorrente, a relationship which he and his wife commemorated by naming their only known daughter, Maria, after her paternal grandmother.<sup>4</sup> Through his father he was grandson of Tancred of Hauteville and claimed direct descent from the most distinguished family in Norman Italy. He was thus closely related to the most famous members of the second and third generations of that lineage. As nephew of Robert Guiscard he was a cousin of Bohemond of Taranto. Due to the difficulty in determining exactly the maternal ancestry of Tancred of Antioch, it is not clear just what was Richard's relationship to him. If Tancred's mother, Emma, was a sister of Robert Guiscard, the two were cousins; if she was a daughter, then they were first cousins once removed.<sup>5</sup>

The almost complete lack of references to him in contemporary south Italian charters and chronicles makes it very difficult to learn much about the first thirty five years of Richard's life in the Principate in Italy before the First Crusade. Yet some inferences are possible and the darkness surrounding that earlier part of his life can be pierced if only slightly. With two older brothers alive and active, one, Robert, as their father's successor as Count of the Principate, and the second, Tancred, as Count of Syracuse in Sicily after 1091, he would have grown up knowing that he would have no hope of succeeding to ancestral lands and offices at home but would have to seek these elsewhere. There are strong suggestions that for a number of years he cast his lot with his brother Tancred in participating in the Norman conquest of Sicily under the command of their uncle, Count Roger. When writing about Richard in his account of Tancred of Antioch's life and career, Ralph of Caen says that the former left his own brother Tancred of Syracuse in order to join Bohemond on the crusade.<sup>6</sup> This implies that Richard was living in Syracuse in some capacity in 1097. A charter of 1104 from the priory of St Lucia of Bagnara in Sicily would seem to confirm this for Richard had returned to Syracuse at that date to approve donations made by his brother Tancred and the latter's wife to that church.<sup>7</sup> He must have had some kind of landed interest there for his approval to have been necessary. The Norman campaign to conquer Syracuse came to a successful conclusion in 1085. Richard's brother, Tancred, acquired that county sometime around 1091 after the death of the first Norman count, Jordan, Count Roger's natural son, doubtless as a reward

<sup>4</sup> On the marriage of Maria to the Count of Edessa see R. L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences xxxv, no. 4, Urbana 1954, 62.

<sup>5</sup> F. de Saulcy, 'Tancrede', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* iv (1842), 301-15; E. Jamison, 'Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* with special reference to the Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade', *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to Professor Mildred E. Pope*, Manchester 1939, 196-99; R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine*, Chicago 1938, 3-9.

<sup>6</sup> 'Is (i.e. Richard) comitis Wilhelmi filius, Wiscardi nepos, relicta fratri Tancredo Syracusa, Boamundum scutus amitale suum . . .', *Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux (hereafter cited as RHC, OCC.) III, 638.

<sup>7</sup> 'Quae omnia concedit quoque et confirmat domina Muriel uxor mea et frater meus Richardus . . .', R. Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, Panormita, 1733 edn, I, 619.

for his earlier contributions to that campaign.<sup>8</sup> Richard could well have participated in that effort as a young man in his early twenties and probably was given lands there in compensation. But he obviously did not receive a county as did his elder brother. And his joining the First Crusade in 1097 shows that, whatever the reason may have been, he did not make Sicily a career.

It could have been in the Sicilian campaign against the Muslims of Syracuse that Richard learned Arabic. The anonymous Italian author of a history of the First Crusade identifies Richard and Tancred by name as two crusaders who knew Syriac (taken by modern scholars to mean Arabic) and who could thus negotiate directly with the enemy commander at the siege of Antioch in 1098.<sup>9</sup> No one knows how many of the early crusaders already knew Arabic – many must have learned it later – but the care taken by this author to name these two men probably means that such bi-linguists were exceptionally rare at the outset. The Sicilian campaign would not, however, have been the only or perhaps even the best opportunity for Richard to learn Arabic. Growing up in Salerno in the 1060s to 80s would of necessity have exposed him to the intellectual life then thriving in that town. Nothing in the surviving evidence suggests that Richard was educated and literate but even if he had no formal link with it, he could hardly have been unaware of the growing fame of the medical school of Salerno or of the learned reputation of the local Archbishop Alfano (1058–85) author of a number of works biographical and medical, and translator from Greek.<sup>10</sup> Constantine the African, a distinguished translator of Arabic medical texts into Latin, lived briefly in Salerno at this time and it is to be presumed that a knowledge of Arabic could have been acquired there then.

The author of the chronicle of Montecassino reports that Bohemond of Taranto first heard of plans for a crusade while besieging Amalfi near Salerno in the summer of 1096.<sup>11</sup> Filled with enthusiasm for the new cause, he immediately began organizing his own expedition and for this called upon the aid of a number of close supporters, his 'captains' or commanders, and the first three named were Tancred, son of the Marquis (later of Antioch), Richard of the Principate, and his brother Rainulf. This is the earliest reference to Richard's ties with these two prominent leaders of the first crusade, and it reveals that an association which would decisively reshape Richard's later life and would last until his death nearly twenty years later, had already been formed. How this nobleman of Salerno came to be linked with Bohemond can scarcely be a mystery even if no records survive to document it. As first cousins from the same part of southern Italy, they would have known one another since childhood though Bohemond was perhaps ten years Richard's senior.<sup>12</sup> And after Robert Guiscard's death in 1085 they shared a common dilemma; neither had prospects of inheriting paternal lands at home. It is

<sup>8</sup> Menager, 'Fondations Monastiques', 73; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Paris 1907, I, 339–40, 347.

<sup>9</sup> '... Riccardus autem de Principatu et Tancredus qui linguam Syriacam sciebant, consulabant quotidie ammirario ut domino Boamundo redderet castrum, et ille sibi daret honorem maximum', *RHC*, OCC., III, 198.

<sup>10</sup> P.O. Kristeller, 'The School of Salerno. Its Development and Contribution to Learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 17, 1945, 138–94. H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1895, I, 75–88.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH, SS 34, 1980, 476–77.

<sup>12</sup> R.P. Yewdale, *Bohemond I Prince of Antioch*, Princeton 1917, 5.

conceivable that Richard participated with Bohemond under Robert Guiscard in the unsuccessful invasion of Byzantine Macedonia from 1081–85 in addition to the Sicilian campaign with his brother Tancred. More likely, however, he joined Bohemond some time between 1085–95 during which years the latter disputed control of Apulia with his brother Duke Roger.<sup>13</sup> The attraction of a crusade for these men, with its promise of new lands and commands in the East hardly needs commentary.

Due to Anna Comnena's curiously detailed story in her *Alexiade*, the precise date of Richard's departure for the East can be fixed as St Nicholas' day, 6 December 1096. Even though writing over forty years later, Anna somehow found and repeated a story about Richard's crossing the Adriatic, which, although found nowhere else, is so detailed and unusual as to sound authentic.<sup>14</sup> After Bohemond had gone on ahead Richard brought his own men over in a three masted pirate ship which he rented for 6000 gold staters. A Byzantine fleet guarding the coast, taking it for a privateer, accosted and eventually boarded it though not until after some skirmishing in which Richard was wounded in the arm by an arrow. Quick action by the Greek commander avoided a major encounter and brought the ship and Richard and his men, captives, to shore.<sup>15</sup> It is doubtful that they were kept prisoner for long for the author of the *Gesta Francorum* reports that Richard and his men formed part of the third crusader army on the march through Hungary and Bulgaria on the way to Constantinople.<sup>16</sup>

Much of the crusaders' stay in Constantinople hinged upon the emperor's demand that their leaders swear oaths of fidelity to him and their efforts to resist so doing.<sup>17</sup> Richard and Tancred stood out in the confused negotiations which accompanied this issue by avoiding the oath, slipping away and secretly crossing the Bosphorus into Asia Minor.<sup>18</sup> Neither Orderic Vitalis nor the author of the *Gesta Francorum* explain the reluctance of the two men to take the oath but in the case of Richard it is conceivable that he resented what he considered rough treatment at imperial hands when apprehended crossing the Adriatic. It is also conceivable that Alexius remembered this slight when dealing with Richard six years later at the time of the latter's imprisonment, as will become apparent below.

In June 1097 the crusading armies began their long march across Asia Minor, and on the nineteenth of that month inflicted a serious defeat on the Turks with the capture of Nicea. They followed with another major victory at the battle of Dorylaeum on 30 June, an engagement in which Richard is listed as one of the

<sup>13</sup> Yewdale, *Bohemond*, 25–33.

<sup>14</sup> On Anna's knowledge of Normans from southern Italy and their affairs see Graham Loud, 'Anna Komnena and her sources for the Normans of Southern Italy', *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. G.A. Loud and I. Wood, London 1991, 41–57.

<sup>15</sup> *Anna Comnena: Alexiade. Regne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnene 1081–1118*, ed. B. Leib, Paris 3 vols 1966–89, II, 215–20.

<sup>16</sup> *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. R. Hill, London 1962, 5. From this point on I make no attempt to cite all the European sources for the campaigns, battles, etc. of the First Crusade but only those in which Richard is singled out by name by the author.

<sup>17</sup> J. Pryor, 'The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Hommage, Pistis, Douleia', *Parergon*, New Series 2, 1984, 111–142.

<sup>18</sup> *Deeds of the Franks*, 13; Orderic, V, 50–51.

crusader commanders.<sup>19</sup> Their march continued further south and east to Iconium and Heraclea during the months of July and August, meeting with relatively minor opposition. After it reached Heraclea in late August, the crusader army divided into two segments with the main branch continuing to Antioch via a northerly route which took it through Kayseri before descending into Marash in Armenian Cilicia. But two much smaller contingents led by Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred of Apulia chose a shorter but also more difficult route south across the dangerous pass of the Cilician Gates through the Anti-Taurus mountains into southern Cilicia. Both men were eager to conquer towns and lands in Cilicia over which they could then establish a claim to lordship. For reasons unknown Richard left Bohemond here and followed Tancred who led a group of several hundred men. The two leaders, Baldwin and Tancred, quarreled over the control, first of Tarsus and then of Mamistra, both of which the Italian commander initially took, and their disagreements finally led to violence and loss of life and prefigured the bitter hostilities which lay ahead in future campaigns. The two principle sources for these disputes, Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen, present differing accounts of the troubles at Mamistra but agree in picturing Richard as playing a central role in them. According to Albert it was Richard who incited Tancred into initiating a battle outside Mamistra which turned into a disaster for the latter. An earlier argument at Tarsus set the stage. After Tancred and his men had taken that town, Baldwin appeared with his much larger force and compelled the furious but helpless Italian general to surrender it to him. Later Baldwin turned up again outside Mamistra which Tancred had just occupied. Albert of Aachen pictures Richard as goading a hesitant Tancred into action with a speech in which he questions his relative's courage. 'Ah, Tancred, you are the vilest of men if you put up with the presence of Baldwin who caused you to lose Tarsus. If you had any sense of dignity you would already have roused up your men to avenge this wrong done to you.'<sup>20</sup> These taunts took effect; Tancred attacked, but being greatly outnumbered was pushed back, and in the retreat into Mamistra a number of his men, including Richard were taken prisoner. No such speech is recorded by Ralph of Caen and the hostilities began in a different fashion but with Richard again a key figure. Tancred had granted Baldwin's men the right to buy provisions in Mamistra but individual bargaining soon led to quarrelling and finally fighting. Richard, at the center of it, had his horse cut out from under him by a lance after which some of Baldwin's men pounced on him. Finding him helpless they took him prisoner and this precipitated full scale fighting.<sup>21</sup> In both versions Baldwin and Tancred made up their differences the next morning and exchanged their prisoners. This campaign will have given Richard his first acquaintance with the province of Cilicia in which he was later to acquire his lordship at Marash.

The two crusader armies rejoined forces in the fall for a march on the city of Antioch which they invested on 21 October 1097. It was in the epic siege of this stronghold, which lasted until its capitulation on 28 June 1098, that Bohemond used the Arabic speaking Richard and Tancred to try and persuade the Turkish commander of the inner citadel to surrender without further fighting.<sup>22</sup> Otherwise

<sup>19</sup> *Deeds of the Franks*, 20.

<sup>20</sup> *Albert of Aachen, Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC, OCC. IV, 349.

<sup>21</sup> *Gesta Tancredi*, RHC, OCC. III, 638.

<sup>22</sup> RHC, OCC. III, 198.

none of the crusader historians mentions Richard's role in the victory. In the succeeding months Bohemond bent all his efforts to consolidating his hold on Antioch which he established as one of the two great crusader principalities in northern Syria, and he bypassed the Jerusalem campaign of 1099. Whether Richard remained with him in Antioch or took part in the conquest of the Holy City is unknown.

The spectacular successes of the crusaders in the Holy Land in 1098 and 1099 must have led to an immediate scramble for lands and commands with too little of either to go around. In turn this must have created dilemmas for men of the second rank like Tancred and Richard who had to wonder how best to realize their own hopes for advancement. Richard's presence as Bohemond's second in command in their Cilician campaign in the early summer of 1100 shows that Richard had decided to rely on his cousin who had been his commander from the outset as the patron who would provide for him. The northern frontier of the principality of Antioch was particularly vulnerable to attacks from unreliable Armenians in Cilicia and enemy Turks further to the north. As part of his campaign to protect the Cilician frontier Bohemond, seconded by Richard, undertook in early 1100 the conquest of the town of Marash, a town vital to his interests because it lay at the intersection of several key routes leading from Anatolia in the west to one of the two manageable mountain passes across the Taurus mountains to Edessa to the east and Antioch to the south. It could well be that Bohemond had already decided to entrust this important northern outpost to his cousin and that their siege of the town in the summer of 1100 gave Richard his first exposure to it.<sup>23</sup>

This was not to happen, however, for all plans were brutally interrupted by their sudden and disastrous capture at the hands of Danishmend Turks at the time of the Marash siege in 1100.<sup>24</sup> During the course of that campaign Bohemond received an urgent appeal from Gabriel, the Armenian lord of Melitene northeast of Marash, promising to turn the town and its province over to him if he would rescue them from a Turkish army then invading from the northern Emirate of Sebaste. It was while marching to Melitene from Marash that Bohemond and Richard were caught in an ambush and their army virtually annihilated. Their captors took the two commanders in chains to Neocaesaria near the Black Sea and kept them there for the next three years.<sup>25</sup>

Because of the now almost legendary fame of Bohemond as a warrior among the Turks as well as among the Europeans, his falling into Turkish hands attracted a good deal of attention from historians at the time with the result that a fair bit is known not only about his capture but also his captivity and his release. But in addition to several historical accounts there also exists a substantial hagiographical literature in the form of stories of the miracles of St Leonard which attribute the liberation of Bohemond and Richard to the intervention of St Leonard de Noblat, a saint whose shrine was located near Limoges in central France, and who had begun to acquire renown as the patron saint of prisoners and captives in the course of the eleventh century. Bohemond himself was almost certainly the

<sup>23</sup> A.E. Dostourian, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa: translated from the Original Armenian with a Commentary and Introduction*, Rutgers University Ph.D. dissertation 1972, I, 316-17.

<sup>24</sup> Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, I, 318.

<sup>25</sup> *Matthew of Edessa*, 318.

source of the most detailed of the miracles which he recounted during a pilgrimage to St Leonard's shrine in 1106.<sup>26</sup>

This is not all. The contemporary Anglo-Norman historian Orderic Vitalis, who may have met or heard Bohemond during the latter's 1106 trip to France, but who in any case is exceptionally well informed about him, makes a quite different contribution to the captivity literature. In his *Ecclesiastical History* he tells a long and bizarre story about Melaz, the Muslim daughter of Bohemond's captor, Malik Ghazi, falling in love with her father's prisoner, playing an essential role in liberating him, and after converting to Christianity, finally marrying, not her beloved, but Roger future prince of Antioch and son of Richard of the Principate.<sup>27</sup> One literary historian who examined this tale saw it as the earliest known example of the penetration into the West of what later became a staple there, namely, the story of the beautiful Muslim princess who becomes enamoured of both Christianity and a crusader prince.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, memories of Bohemond's captivity may have worked their way into the European vernacular epics on the Crusades. It has been suggested that the author of *Les Chetifs*, a *chanson de geste* from the epic Cycle of the Crusades, based several of the episodes in that poem on stories circulating in Syria in the twelfth century of the captivity of Bohemond and Richard.<sup>29</sup> Taken together, these various historical, hagiographical, and literary accounts make Bohemond's one of the best documented captivities of the Middle Ages though the historian is faced with substantial problems when trying to filter out the legendary and devotional elements in them.

Bohemond's captivity is of interest to my subject because the authors of these different versions of the story give a considerable amount of space to his fellow prisoner and relative, Richard of the Principate. Three episodes from the entire complex of stories cast an interesting light on these years of Richard's life and warrant mention here. In the first, for which Orderic is the source of information, Bohemond has temporarily turned the tables on his Turkish captors and made them his captives even though still surrounded in their stronghold in Neocaesaria. Negotiating a settlement with him, the Turks insist that certain of their countrymen still held prisoner by the crusaders in Antioch after the fall of the city in 1098, be released as counterparts for his own release. It is his fellow prisoner, Richard, along with an otherwise unidentified Sarcis of Mesopotamia, whom Bohemond designates as envoys to go to Antioch to arrange the exchange with Tancred, now temporarily his replacement as prince of that city. Richard and Sarcis carry out their mission and return fifteen days later bringing with them the released Turks, including the daughter of the former Turkish Emir of Antioch.<sup>30</sup> The Arab historian Ibn al-Athir independently reports the same exchange of the daughter thus suggesting that there may be an historical basis to this part at least

<sup>26</sup> A. Poncelet, 'Bohemond et S. Leonard', *Analecta Bollandiana* 31, 1912, 24-44, at 30-31.

<sup>27</sup> Orderic, V, 359-79.

<sup>28</sup> F.M. Warren, 'The enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vitalis and the French Epic', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* xxix, 1914, 341-58.

<sup>29</sup> U.T. Holmes Jr and W.M. McLeod, 'Source Problems of the *Chetifs*', *Romanic Review* 28, 1937, 102, 104-5.

<sup>30</sup> Orderic, V, 372-75.



of Orderic's story.<sup>31</sup> In any case Bohemond's reliance in this instance on Richard as his personal ambassador is consistent with the latter having served as a translator-negotiator at the siege of Antioch, and with his later service to his cousin in France.

The story of Richard's own captivity and release is another important element in the entire collection. According to Matthew of Edessa, Richard's Turkish captors sold him to the Emperor Alexius of Constantinople for a great sum of money.<sup>32</sup> On the surface of it this story sounds improbable; why would the Byzantine emperor have been willing to spend a large sum for a man who could not be ranked as one of the great crusader leaders like Bohemond? Yet Matthew's testimony on this point must be taken seriously for, as an Armenian monk living and writing in Edessa prior to 1136, he would have been well informed about and perhaps have known Richard who governed that city for sometime between 1104 and 1108. Moreover the first story in the St. Leonard miracle collection, a story written between 1106 and 1111, thus contemporary to the event, confirms Matthew's account and adds new details which cannot be dismissed out of hand as pious legend.<sup>33</sup> The author of this story tells of the emperor learning of the capture of Richard and then immediately sending legates to the pagans offering gifts, food, and money in return for their prisoner. For this man, namely Richard, was one of those Normans who, under the guise of going to fight the pagans, really aspired to take over the rule of the Greek Empire and had done great evil to it in the past.<sup>34</sup> The pagans accepted his offer and he then imprisoned Richard in the highest and safest tower in Constantinople. Richard, never losing faith, prayed for aid to St Leonard, the guardian of prisoners, and his prayers were answered when the saint began to appear in the emperor's dreams pleading for the captive's safety and warning against harming him. Terrified when the visions did not stop the emperor summoned Richard to his presence and denounced him for his crimes but then informed him that he would rather release him than face God's wrath. Richard then cast off his prisoner's uniform, put on clothes of imperial

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Attevarykh*, RHC, OCC, I, 212.

<sup>32</sup> A. Poncelet, 'Bohemond', 28, note 3, points out that the meaning of the passage where Matthew reports this incident may be obscure as shown by the fact that Ed. Dulaurier changed his mind in his two successive translations of it in 1858 and 1869. In the second Dulaurier rendered it with 'Danischmend le relacha par consideration pour Alexis' whereas in the earlier he had written 'Danischmend en fit don a l'empereur Alexis en retour de sommes considerables que celui-ci lui donna'. The recent translation by the American, A. Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 345-6, returns to the notion that the Turkish ruler sold Richard to the emperor and the Armenian historian, Claude Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, Paris, 2 vols, 1988, very kindly checked this passage for me and tells me that he has no doubt that this is the correct version. Thus I have followed it here.

<sup>33</sup> AS, Nov. III, 159-60. On the date of this story, Poncelet, 'Bohemond', 35, note 5; on the identity of the author, his sources of information, and the manuscript tradition see below p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> The author calls his subject Richard the Norman not Richard of the Principate, which might lead to doubts that he is writing about the Richard from Salerno. However, as Poncelet notes ('Bohemond', 35, note 5), the circumstances are so unusual and this agrees so closely with Matthew of Edessa's account, that it is almost inconceivable that there could have been a second Richard the Norman in such a dilemma. Since, as argued below, the author of this miracle may well have taken down almost verbatim what Richard reported to him in person, this may indicate that Richard referred to himself in this way.

magnificence, and the emperor, giving him horses, mules, weapons and money, led him peacefully back to his own people.

A good case can be made for the accuracy of the nucleus of this story, namely that Richard was transferred from Turkish to Byzantine captivity before being released in 1103. Alexius would certainly have known of him – his daughter Anna Comnena's exceptionally detailed story of Richard's capture when crossing the Adriatic in 1097 makes this quite clear – and would have had special reasons for disliking and perhaps fearing him. The unpleasant encounter on the Adriatic was one, but even more important, the emperor would have known that Richard was one crusader commander who managed to slip away across the Bosphorus and avoid taking the oath of fidelity to him early in 1097. An opportunity to punish such insubordination must not be missed, especially in the case of a man who was an Hauteville, the deadly enemies of Alexius from their attempt to overthrow his government in their Macedonian campaign of 1081–85, and whom he may have taken for a man of considerable importance in the crusader chain of command. So he availed himself of the occasion to buy him from the Danischmend Turks in 1100. Why he would have released him in 1103 will remain more puzzling until the final chapter in the story of the relations between Alexius and Richard of the Principate becomes known. For the story is not yet finished and the most surprising phase is yet to come.

Another argument in favour of the historical accuracy of this episode at least in its broad outlines comes from a consideration of its authorship. Paris BN Latin MS 5347 which is the unique source of the six miracle stories about St Leonard of which this is the first, comes from St Martial of Limoges very close to St Leonard in the Limousin and dates from the twelfth century. The stories themselves contain no clue as to the identity of their author(s) but A. Poncelet, in a careful study of the second one, by far the longest and most detailed on the captivity, concluded that Bohemond himself had been the source.<sup>35</sup> In the course of his pilgrimage to St Leonard's shrine in 1106, made in thanksgiving for his release from captivity, Bohemond recounted the story of his troubles and an anonymous monk of St Martial converted that into the Latin story found today in MS 5347. Both internal and external evidence prove that it was written down between 1106 and 1111 and Poncelet comments that the same dates apply for the time of the composition of the first miracle story, the one under discussion here, dealing with Richard's imprisonment.

Just as Poncelet's analysis of the contents of the second miracle convinced him that Bohemond himself had been its source so it seems highly likely to me that Richard is the source of the first one about his own captivity. No other written account is known which could have been the source of this striking story about a crusader's imprisonment in Constantinople and its exclusive focus on Richard and his troubles with the emperor would suggest that it came either from some one who knew him well, or, more likely, from the Norman prince himself. From Orderic we know that Bohemond sent Richard to the shrine of St Leonard after their release from captivity in 1103 with a set of silver chains, an elegant souvenir of their captivity, to be dedicated to the saint in gratitude for bringing about their

<sup>35</sup> Poncelet, 'Bohemond', 30–31.

release.<sup>36</sup> Richard's visit then would have provided him with the chance to give thanksgiving for his own release and tell the story of his own harrowing imprisonment in Constantinople after the earlier one in Neocaesaria. The highly laudatory picture the author paints of Richard as the ideally brave, peerless, and faultless knight sounds indeed like the kind of self-image a powerful and self-confident nobleman of this period might have wanted to project to others. Its exclusive concentration on Richard, and complete neglect of Bohemond whom the author never even mentions, could also reflect the views of an ambitious man who for once desired to shine on his own after always previously basking in the reflected glory of his great and more famous lord. If this proposal, that Richard himself is the ultimate source of the first miracle story, is correct, then this latter affords an unexpected opportunity to hear this man speak about one dangerous episode in his life. And it strengthens the belief that he actually was held captive in Constantinople.

After long months of seclusion, fear, and inactivity, the next four years after his release in 1103 must have come as a stunning contrast to Richard and certainly they were the highlight of his career. During this time we find him travelling constantly between Europe and the Near East, performing prestigious diplomatic missions, assuming new commands, and extending the range of his contacts. He presumably delivered the aforementioned silver chains of Bohemond to St Leonard's shrine in the Limousin in late 1103 or early 1104 at which time he also made his own pilgrimage and told the story of his captivity contained in the first miracle story. During this European trip he also visited in his native Italy and called upon his brother Tancred in Syracuse where, sometime in 1104, he confirmed landed donations to the Sicilian abbey of St Lucia of Bagnara.<sup>37</sup> But he cannot have lingered either in France or Sicily for he was back in the East before the end of 1104, by which time he had become temporary ruler of the great crusader county of Edessa in northern Syria.

In May of that year Turkish forces from Aleppo defeated a crusader army led by Bohemond, now once again prince of Antioch, at Harran south of Edessa and captured Baldwin, count of that county, who remained in captivity until 1108. Bohemond first named his relative Tancred the interim ruler of Edessa but then, after deciding to return to Italy and France late in 1104, he appointed him as his replacement as prince of Antioch. Once he had taken over in Antioch, Tancred chose Richard to administer Edessa for him and the latter could now congratulate himself on having received his first important command in the crusader East six years after having arrived there.<sup>38</sup>

Richard held this office for four years until Baldwin's release in 1108 but it cannot have been an entirely satisfying one for him. During that time he incurred the undying hatred of the Edessan population for the 'evils' his administration inflicted on them. Several contemporary eastern sources stress this point, especially the anonymous Syriac chronicler who bitterly denounces him for his cruelty in the form of torture and imprisonment of local people and for his

<sup>36</sup> Orderic, V, 377.

<sup>37</sup> See above page 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-99)*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1905, I, 195.

cupidity in amassing a personal fortune during his tenure there.<sup>39</sup> Coins bearing his name have survived from his administration in Edessa.<sup>40</sup> He left such an evil reputation, writes Matthew of Edessa, that later on in 1109 when news arrived in Edessa of the death of Count Baldwin (this news proved to be false) at Turbessel, wild fears arose among the population that Richard would once again be named governor and reintroduce the abuses which had made him notorious earlier.<sup>41</sup> Matthew also criticizes Richard on another score. During a Turkish siege of Edessa in 1105-6, Richard, commanding the Edessan army, unwisely, says Matthew, ventured outside the city walls to attempt a frontal assault on the superior forces of the enemy and lost 450 foot soldiers to the despair of the local population.<sup>42</sup> But Richard cannot have viewed Edessa as the answer to his wishes since, as the Syriac chronicler puts it, 'he knew he was only a temporary guest and not the true master and heir of the county'. So, and this is a later quotation from the same writer, 'when Baldwin and Joscelin were freed, Richard gathered up everything he had accumulated and went to his own country, Marash'.<sup>43</sup>

To judge from the condemnations of these local historians, the population of Edessa must have been relieved when Richard left in 1105 or 1106 to return to Europe and rejoin his cousin Bohemond. Hard pressed in Antioch by both Turks and Byzantium, Bohemond had decided to try and raise new forces in Italy and France to defend his principality. In addition he was under the personal obligation of a vow made in prison to make a pilgrimage to St Leonard's in the Limousin and he arrived there in the spring of 1106.<sup>44</sup> It was during a triumphal tour of France at this time that he married the princess Constance, daughter of King Philippe I. In his history of the crusades, Guibert of Nogent reveals that Richard had arranged the marriage as Bohemond's envoy to the French king.<sup>45</sup> Shortly after speaking in favor of a crusade at a council in Poitiers in June 1106, Bohemond returned to Italy, quite likely accompanied by Richard, to spend the following year building a fleet and preparing for the new undertaking.

From 1107 to 1108 Richard participated in Bohemond's ambitious campaign, no longer veiled as a crusade to relieve Antioch, but now an openly avowed attempt to overthrow the emperor Alexius in Macedonia. After a promising beginning in which the Italian forces invaded and besieged Durazzo on the coast, the imperial tactics of avoiding direct military confrontation and cutting off Bohemond's sources of supply succeeded splendidly and Bohemond's great career came to a painful and humiliating end. The threat of starvation for his men forced him to accede to all major imperial demands in a peace treaty of September 1108 after which he went back to Italy. Richard's role in this campaign appears to have been an ambiguous one. Anna Comnena reports in considerable detail a curious episode in which the emperor attempted to discourage Bohemond by

<sup>39</sup> *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad A. D. 1234 Pertinens II*, translated by Albert Abouna, introduction J.-M. Fiey (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vol. 354. Scriptorum Syrii. T. 154, Louvain 1974), 53.

<sup>40</sup> J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', *History of the Crusades*, ed. H. Hazard, Madison 1989, VI, 354-420, at 356, 364, and 410.

<sup>41</sup> Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, I, 363-64.

<sup>42</sup> Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 354.

<sup>43</sup> *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon*, 53-54.

<sup>44</sup> Yewdale, *Bohemond*, 108-9.

<sup>45</sup> *Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC, OCC. IV, 152.

planting the suspicion that several of his chief advisors, including Richard, had secretly abandoned him and were conspiring with the imperial court against him.<sup>46</sup> Alexius sought to do this by sending ostensibly secret letters to the treacherous advisors thanking them for aiding his cause and then alerting Bohemond in advance of their arrival so that the latter could intercept them. Bohemond was initially frightened and baffled by the letters but after several days of uncertainty decided to ignore them, never confronted the suspects, and the affair passed.<sup>47</sup> However, Albert of Aachen and Orderic Vitalis report that several of Bohemond's Norman advisors had been corrupted by the emperor's blandishments and bribes and sought to persuade him to abandon the campaign.<sup>48</sup> The suspicion that some kind of movement of protest in fact had come to divide the Norman ranks during the campaign would seem to be confirmed by the ceremony for the formal signing of the treaty in September 1108. For among the various witnesses who signed the agreement was a small group of Normans whom Anna Comnena describes as coming from, that is representing, the imperial court. Among these figured Richard of the Principate.<sup>49</sup> What this means, and Anna is silent on the subject, is not immediately clear. As surprising as it seems, the description that these men came from the imperial court most likely means that they had been clandestinely negotiating with the emperor and now emerged openly as his advisors. If so the Norman ranks would have been in complete disarray at this moment. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation for the curious stories surrounding this expedition is that some of Bohemond's leading advisors, including Richard, had grave doubts about the wisdom of prolonging what had become a disastrous venture and, unable to convert their leader to this view, had gone behind his back and treated directly with the enemy.<sup>50</sup>

In Richard's case, however, other considerations may have entered into his decision to join the imperial camp in this war. From the earlier discussion it will be recalled that the emperor Alexius's release of Richard from prison in 1103 seemed inexplicable. Why would the emperor so drastically change his mind and free a hated Norman enemy after going to such pains and expense to buy him from the Turks? It should not be thought irreverent to suggest that other calculations than the fear of God and St Leonard, the explanation offered by the author of the First Miracle, entered into Alexius's decision. A solemn promise by Richard that in the future he would do his utmost to promote the interests of the Byzantine Emperor while still in the service of the Prince of Antioch might have tempted Alexius. As a close relative, subordinate, and confidant of Bohemond, Richard was, after all, ideally placed to influence the latter's policies. His presence in the imperial court at the September 1108 treaty suggests that Richard did collaborate with the emperor in the 1107-8 campaign. This does not necessar-

<sup>46</sup> See note 14 above.

<sup>47</sup> *Alexiade*, III, 101-4.

<sup>48</sup> Albert, *Hierosolymitana*, 651-52. Orderic, VI, 100-105.

<sup>49</sup> *Alexiade*, III, 138-39. Marquis de la Force, 'Les conseillers latins du basileus Alexis Comnène', *Byzantion* 11, 1936, 153-65.

<sup>50</sup> In his treatment of this campaign Yewdale, while acknowledging the testimony of western writers that some of the Normans were betraying their commander, rejects the possibility mainly on the grounds that Anna Comnena makes no reference to it. Yewdale, *Bohemond*, 120-21. But he did not notice or take into account the presence of the Norman leaders in the imperial party at the signing of the treaty.

ily prove that he did so because of an earlier secret agreement with the emperor since he could honestly have believe that Bohemond's tactics were disastrous and had to be stopped. But it does leave open the possibility that Richard betrayed his cousin and lord out of base, personal motives which had nothing to do with the Macedonian campaign. If so Bohemond's reaction upon learning of it can only be imagined.

After the peace treaty of September 1108 Bohemond sailed back to Italy a broken man and never returned to resume his rule in Antioch, dying in his homeland in 1111. Richard, on the other hand, must have gone back without delay for before the end of the year Count Baldwin, freed from his own captivity, came to reclaim his county of Edessa. It was on this occasion that the anonymous Syriac chronicler reported bitterly that Richard, having gathered together everything he had accumulated during his rule there, went to his own country, Marash. This is the first surviving indication that Richard was lord of Marash and although it dates from 1108, the wording makes clear his lordship there had already been established. Nothing in contemporary sources gives the slightest hint as to when and how he acquired Marash, but Richard's close ties to Bohemond make it most plausible that he received that lordship from his cousin in return for his loyalty and service in the earlier years of the crusade. Richard's acquisition of Marash ushers in the last phase of his career, a phase which lasted only four to six years and about which the surviving sources give very little information. Yet their very silence probably means that the exciting and adventurous times of the preceding years had now come to an end and that Richard had settled down to the more routine tasks of administering and defending his frontier lordship in Armenian Cilicia. Bohemond's departure from the scene after 1108 deprived him of the internationally famous patron in whose service he had gained entry into royal and imperial courts of both friend and foe. Not that governing Marash would have been dull and monotonous. Its geographical location as the most northerly of all the crusader lordships in the East left Marash exposed and highly vulnerable to three different Turkish emirates in the west, north, and east, and life was dangerous in that town.<sup>51</sup> The date and manner of Richard's death are unknown though it is quite possible that he was the unnamed lord of Marash killed by a great earthquake of 1114 which destroyed the town and wiped out its population.<sup>52</sup> The fact that no contemporary writer mentions his death or place of burial certainly shows that as the lord of a single crusader state in the far away north he no longer commanded the attention he had as Bohemond's personal envoy and second-in-command.<sup>53</sup> Still in his last years Richard must have been able to look back with satisfaction on his life and accomplishments in the East. He

<sup>51</sup> For a more detailed treatment of Marash and Richard's rule there see G. Beech, 'The Crusader Lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia 1103-49', *New Directions in Crusade Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, forthcoming.

<sup>52</sup> *Galterii Cancellarii Antiocheni. Bella Antiochena*, RHC, OCC., III, 83-4.

<sup>53</sup> Many of the members of the Hauteville family were buried in the south Italian abbey, La Trinità di Venosa. The otherwise unidentified *Riccardus comes* listed as a benefactor at the end of the abbey's martyrology may have been Richard of the Principate. *Il 'libro del capitolo' del monastero della SS Trinità di Venosa* (Cod. Cass. 334). *Una testimonianza del Mezzogiorno normanno*, ed. H. Houben, (Università degli Studi di Lecce. Dipartimento de Scienze Storiche e Sociale. Materiali e Documenti, I, Lecce 1984), 111-12, 139.

had acquired a substantial lordship of his own, though our ignorance of the family origins of the next lord of Marash makes it impossible to learn whether he had established an hereditary claim to it and passed it to his heirs. Moreover two of his children advanced to high positions in the crusader world at the time of or after his death. His son Roger, named by Tancred, became a celebrated regent of Antioch from 1112–1119 and his daughter Maria married Count Joscelin I of Edessa as the latter's second wife.<sup>54</sup> In these respects Richard could rest secure that part at least of his family had made the transition from the Italian Principate of Salerno to the Crusader northeast.

His contemporaries who wrote about him give only a few hints about the kind of person Richard was. Guibert of Nogent, who apparently observed him at the French royal court, says he was a handsome man; otherwise we know nothing about his appearance.<sup>55</sup> The descriptions of him as a brave and noble warrior may be discounted as stereotypes but his position at the head of the crusaders troops in the skirmish in Mamistra in 1097 shows that he had no reluctance to fight.<sup>56</sup> He seems to have been impetuous and given to brash moves which he could later have regretted. This is certainly the spirit of his taunting remarks provoking Tancred to an unwise and disastrous attack against a numerically superior foe at Mamistra.<sup>57</sup> Matthew of Edessa criticizes him for exactly the same kind of hot-headed bravery in leading an attack against besieging Turks when he was count and commander of the Edessan army in 1105–6.<sup>58</sup> This trait would seem to be at variance with his having been a successful diplomat. As a ruler we know only that Syriac and Armenian writers are unanimous in condemning him as a ruthless and cruel count of Edessa who had no scruples about extorting money from the local population for personal gain.<sup>59</sup> His poignant plea to St Leonard for help against his captors, both Turks and Greeks, brings out quite conventional Christian beliefs.<sup>60</sup>

On the other hand his knowledge of Arabic leaves open the possibility that his interest extended beyond a purely practical ability to speak the language, as one sometimes sees in military people, to a broader curiosity about the Islamic world, its people and culture. Their reliance on Richard as soldier, commander, governor, and ambassador throughout the entire First Crusade shows that Tancred and above all Bohemond had the highest confidence in him as an able, loyal, and reliable relative and servant. Yet the possibility that he betrayed the latter in 1107–8 calls for caution in confirming this judgement. But of course the same reservations also apply to any attempt to come to any coherent picture of the man as a whole: too much is unknown.

The career of Richard of the Principate in the East offers a good illustration of the ways in which the crusades could transform the life of a nobleman in late eleventh-century Europe. Of those who chose to leave the security of their homelands and expose themselves to the adventures, perils, and uncertainties of those

<sup>54</sup> Nicholson, *Tancred*, 225; Nicholson, *Joscelin I of Edessa*, 62.

<sup>55</sup> *Gesta Dei*, 152.

<sup>56</sup> See above notes 19 and 20.

<sup>57</sup> See above notes 19 and 20.

<sup>58</sup> See above note 42.

<sup>59</sup> See above notes 39 and 41.

<sup>60</sup> See above page 33.

expeditions, many died and lost everything save the salvation of their souls. Richard was one of those who succeeded and, I suspect, far beyond his fondest hopes when setting out. His is a classic example of the way in which the crusade offered the possibility of a new career to a nobleman whose elder brothers obstructed his rise to power on the family lands. In his case it came relatively late in life when, after perhaps fifteen years as a mature man, he had failed to acquire distinction on his own in Italy and might well already have begun to lose hope. Not that he had to rise through merit alone. Far from that, he had the good fortune to be a Hauteville and to start out as a close relative and trusted advisor of the man who became the most celebrated leader of the crusade and thereby carried Richard with him to the highest seats of power in the crusader political hierarchy. But he would not have maintained and improved that position had he not been an able and persevering man. Then, given this advantage and his own talents, what a life Richard led when he was in his forties! As a second in command he fought in most if not all campaigns in the First Crusade, was wounded at least once, and survived four separate imprisonments following capture in battle at the hands of three different foes, Greeks (twice), Turks, and his own fellow crusaders. In the meantime his cousin Bohemond employed him on a series of missions which took Richard back and forth between Europe and the East into royal courts of both friend and foe not to mention religious shrines. Then Richard began to put down roots in northern Syria, serving as a temporary count of Edessa before finally acquiring a lordship of his own in Cilicia where he ended his career. By definition crusading meant adventure but few men who took part in those expeditions can have had the range of experiences of Richard of Salerno.