Zorana Cvijanović

Exemplary Pagans: Hector of Troy as a Christian Knight in Twelfth-Century Latin Literature

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Vienna

May 2024

EXEMPLARY PAGANS: HECTOR OF TROY AS A CHRISTIAN KNIGHT IN TWELFTH-CENTURY LATIN LITERATURE

by

Zorana Cvijanović

(Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Thesis Supervisor

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External Reader

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I, the undersigned, **Zorana Cvijanović**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

The revival of Trojan heroes as representatives of Christian values culminated during the Late Middle Ages. Among them, Hector of Troy was especially admired as a 'virtuous pagan' from the time of the Crusades as his traits shaped a model of an ideal medieval knight. This thesis will explore the recurring motif of Hector as a protector of Christian values in twelfth-century Latin literature. Was Hector a martyred or a chivalrous figure in these writings? How was the widespread interest in classical literature manipulated for use in political and cultural propaganda? This thesis will allow a new way of reading Hector's character in twelfth-century narratives, because existing literature on this topic has primarily focused on Hector's chivalrous traits without recognizing the Christianization of his character and the potential literary abuse of Hector as crusading propaganda. The primary sources used in this research include twelfth-century reinterpretations of the Trojan War, which I intend to approach primarily philologically by observing the language, style, and literary tropes of the authors' depictions of Hector.

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Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Cristian Gaşpar and Prof. Emeritus Gábor Klaniczay, whose expertise and constant encouragement made this thesis possible. I would also like to express gratitude to the people at CEU's Department of Medieval Studies for giving me the opportunity to study with them.

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1. Introduction

"*Alas, the only hope of Troy, brave Hector, dies;*
He dies!...
...As great in daring, matching Hector's wrath, had grown
Our third great Henry: Britain smiled with him as king,
And Normandy to have him as its duke, and France
As son."[1]

It was with these words that not Homer, but Joseph of Exeter, a poet who recounted the fall of Troy in the late twelfth century, described the death of Hector. Seemingly, Joseph of Exeter's retelling of the *Iliad* belongs to the literary movement of his day, where courtly poets would revive the great, heroic pasts of the families they served. Although turning Homeric heroes into exemplary figures was not an invention of Joseph of Exeter and poets like him, drawing elaborate comparisons between medieval monarchs and warrior-like figures of the ancient past culminated in the twelfth century. The association of Hector's violent death to the tragic loss of Henry the Young King in 1183 might, at first glance, come off as an artistic flare, but I believe the comparison between the deaths of the two princes was anything but coincidental.

In this thesis, I intend to examine how Hector of Troy was represented as a model of virtue for Christian monarchs and knights that participated in the Crusades. To do so, I will analyze the twelfth-century literary reinterpretations of the Trojan War and the portrayal of Hector as an exemplary warrior in the corpus of texts that be connected to the crusading movement. Allusions to and depictions of Hector were common throughout different European, medieval textual traditions, but I believe it was the military campaigns to the Holy Land, organized by the Christian western powers of the time, that significantly influenced the late medieval Latin perception of the Trojan War. In a world that did not read about the

[1] *Daretis Phrygii Ilias De bello Troiano*, 525-6; 533-36. Translation by Arthur George Rigg, here and through, with occasional modifications, in Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, trans. A.G. Rigg (Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2005), 103. All other translations of ancient and medieval texts are mine unless specified otherwise.

legendary conflict between Troy and Mycenaean Greece directly from Homer, such as the Latin West, it was easy to refashion the ancient myth so it represented contemporary events. According to my interpretation, by the time Joseph of Exeter took on the challenge to produce a fresh account on the fall of the ill-fated city, the Trojan myth was already deeply ingrained in the crusading propaganda.

This thesis will center around two core arguments. The first one is related to, what I believe to be, the Christianization of Hector's character in the Latin reimaginations of the Trojan War. From the introduction of Latin versions of the Trojan myth in Late Antiquity, until the twelfth century, I identify two stages in the development of Hector's character and role in the myth. The first, when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in their Ancient Greek form, were still part of the elite Roman education and served as guidance to proper behavior.[2] The early Christian elite,[3] which engaged with Homer as part of their educational and social curricula, perceived Hector, potentially, as a martyr-like figure due to his selflessness and violent death that mirrored that of the early Christian martyrs.[4] The second stage saw Hector evolve into the image of an exemplary Christian warrior, once the First Crusade was initiated in 1096. The society that celebrated military knighthood accessed the matter of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* through their Latin retellings found in *Ilias Latina* and two other versions by Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete. I believe that these three Latin retellings of the Trojan myth contributed to the militarization of Hector in the image and likeness of a *miles Christianus*. In my view, for the twelfth-century poets in the Latin West, this callous, but nevertheless dutiful

[2] Joseph Farrell, "Roman Homer," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 269.

[3] The notion that early Christianity was religion of slaves and the poor is constantly being challenged. A recent study on this topic conducted by Alexander Weiß in *Soziale Elite und Christentum: Studien zu ordo-Angehörigen unter den frühen Christen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015) explores the presence of Christians among the senatorial and local officials' class. Just like their non-Christian peers, these would have made up a potential audience for the Homeric poems.

[4] The resemblance between Hector and Saint Perpetua was proposed by Celsiana Warwick in "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," *The Classical Journal* 114, no. 1 (2018): 86–109.

and loyal Hector would become a symbolic figure in the crusaders' political and cultural propaganda.

My second core argument concerns a broader image of the Crusading movement. I argue that the reinterpretations of the Trojan War and its heroes constructed in the Latin West were, additionally, inspired by the failure of the Second Crusade, for which the Greeks were blamed. In this context, Hector's reinterpreted character could become allegorical; because of the Romans' mythical ancestry through Aeneas, the Trojans could be construed to represent the Latin Crusaders, while the Byzantines would have been compared to the Achaeans of Homer's Iliad. The Trojan War was, once again, placed in a narrative of the conflict between the East and West.

My thesis aims to complement, rather than to contradict, the well established thesis of Hector as a chivalrous knight in Late Medieval vernacular and Latin literature in the West. William H. Weiss notes that ideals of loyalty, prowess, generosity, forbearance, and humility, typically related to the knightly culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were attributed to Hector in Late Medieval romances.[5] However, as I will demonstrate in my thesis, before the emergence of the *chansons de geste* and tragic romances, such as Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde,* which presented Hector as an incarnation of the ideal medieval knight, Hector's character underwent thorough ethical scrutiny in the twelfth century.

Furthermore, my thesis intends to demonstrate that the portrayal of Hector in twelfth-century literature played a significant role in shaping discussions about his moral qualities. It prompted a reevaluation of his character, essential for his recognition as an exemplary figure embodying 'pagan' virtue. My analysis will trace the development of Hector's character from

[5] William H. Weiss, "'Ther Nys a Bettre Knight:' Hector as a Medieval Knightly Ideal," *DISCENTES*, Penn's Classical Studies Publication, April 19, 2019, https://web.sas.upenn.edu/discentes/2019/04/19/ther-nys-a-bettre-knight-hector-as-a-medieval-knightly-ideal; Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "'The Metaphorical Hector': The Literary Portrayal of Murchad Mac Briain," in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. Ralph o' Connor (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 140–62; L. Staley Johnson, "The Medieval Hector," *Mediaevalia* 5 (1979):165-182.

a faithful prince in the *Iliad*, across his more pious and flawed behavior in the Latin retellings of the Trojan War, to his final development as a chivalrous knight in Middle English and French romances. One of the key elements of this analysis will be the frequent comparisons the authors make between Hector and contemporary monarchs and knights, such as in Joseph of Exeter's parallel lament over Hector and young Henry's deaths quoted above. These side-by-side representations of Hector and prominent crusading leaders allow me to compare the sources in terms of their ideas on masculinity, knighthood, piety, and virtue at a time of conflict and emerging religious propaganda. Placing the twelfth-century readings of Hector in the context of changing ideas on virtue from classical antiquity to the Late Medieval period will illustrate the evolution of societal perceptions regarding heroic ideals, ethical conduct, and religious influences. By examining how Hector's character underwent transformations across various literary works, this analysis aims to shed light on broader shifts in the understanding of classical tradition and its ideological manipulation during the time of the Crusades.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of how the Trojan War was depicted in medieval Latin literature, it is necessary to delve into the Homeric tradition and its role in a world that did not have access to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in its original, Greek version. Twelfth-century Latin authors did not rely on Homer as their authoritative source when crafting their own Trojan War narratives, or when interpreting the Trojan and Achaean heroes. Instead, they consulted the three most important reinterpretations of Homer: the accounts of the destruction of Troy ascribed to Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete, preserved in their Latin translations from alleged Greek originals, and *Ilias Latina*, an abbreviated Latin retelling of the Iliad.[6] All three narratives lack various elements from

[6] For this thesis, I will consult the three texts in their Latin and English versions published in Dictys of Crete and Dares Phrygius, *The Trojan War; the Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, trans. R. M. Frazer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); Publius Baebius Italicus, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina*, ed. and trans. Marco Scaffai (Bologna: Pàtron editore, 1982); Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani libri*,

Homer's *Iliad*, most commonly related to the very cause of the war. Due to this distorted perception of the myth, the late medieval insight into Homer's poetry was concealed by what were, allegedly, eye-witnessing accounts of Troy's doom. Therefore, Dares the Phrygian, who was the leading authority in Late Medieval perception on the Trojan War, would bear the reputation of the "first pagan historiographer" due to his alleged participation in the war as Hephaestus' priest.[7]

Over time, Dares the Phrygian, along with Dictys of Crete and *Ilias Latina*, came to be not simple narrations of the epic conflict, but proof of medieval royal connection to the Trojan royal house. Monarchs in the West fabricated their ancient lineage from gods and mythological heroes, while simultaneously aiming to maintain the integrity of their Christian faith. Although the narrative of the Romans' descent from the Trojans began at end of the 5th century BC with Hellanicus of Lesbos, who claimed that the Trojan exiles settled on different shores, from Italy to Britain, this narrative seemed to reach its highest expressions, both ideological and poetic, in medieval literature. Relying on Dares as their authority,[8] medieval Latin historians sought to trace the origins of great rulers to their mythical ancestors, primarily Aeneas or other, less famous, participants in the Trojan War.[9]

In these complex times emerged Joseph of Exeter's *De bello Troiano* that concerned itself more directly with the story of Troy's fall. His poem in six books, based on Dares' eye-witness account, depicted the Trojan War as perceived by a studious clergyman, and dedicated to yet another. Baldwin of Forde (ca. 1125–1190), archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Joseph devoted *De bello Troiano*, would inspire Joseph beyond the literary sphere

ed. Werner Eisenhut (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1958), and Daretis Phrygii, *De excidio Troiae historia*, ed. F. Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1878).

[7] *Orig*. I.41.1, in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originvm, libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), 93.

[8] Frederick N. Clark, "Reading the 'First Pagan Historiographer:' Dares Phrygius and Medieval Genealogy," *Viator* 41 (2010), 203-226.

[9] I will address the sources on the medieval interpretation of the Trojan War as a foundation myth in the 3.1. section of this thesis.

when he persuaded the poet to accompany him on the Third Crusade to the Holy Land.[10] Joseph's appreciation of the epic form and of classical authors can be observed in more than *De bello Troiano*,[11] and due to his comparison of Hector and Henry the Young King, I will disagree in my thesis with the claim that *De bello Troiano* was, in its essence, nothing but a learned poem filled with dull language and speeches.[12] I believe that Joseph's narration did not lack liveliness but was instead allegorical as his portrayal of Hector shows.

In addition to Joseph of Exeter's depictions of Hector, and the subsequent comparison to Henry the Young King, I will also use other literary works that portrayed Hector as model of martial virtue. Gervase of Tilbury (ca. 1150–1220), most notably known as a canon lawyer, and Joseph's contemporary, lamented the death of the Young King by comparing him to Hector in Joseph's manner.[13] Admiration for Hector is additionally displayed in the *Poem of Almería*, and works of Ralph of Caen, Walter of Châtillon, and Gallus Anonymus, which praise Hector's virtue through comparisons with crusading leaders. The only negative representation of Hector, that my research into the topic has discovered, appears in Honorius of Autun's *Gemma Animae,*[14] an allegorical explanation of the Mass, which explicitly mentions Hector's name in its wish to judge those who find amusement in classical works.

Although the authors of the sources I plan to examine originate from different geographical areas, and seem to share nothing more than Latin as the language of their works and Hector as a term of comparison for knightly virtue, they are tied together by their connection to the Crusading movement. Spanning throughout most of the High Middle Ages, the Crusades, for some, became not only a war against the 'infidels' but a lifestyle just the

[10] Joseph of Exeter, *The Trojan War, I-III*, ed. A. K. Bate (Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1986), 5, 32-35.

[11] On other alleged works of Joseph, including *Antiocheis*, preserved today in fragments, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 132-37.

[12] As blaimed by Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 134.

[13] *Otia Imperalia* II.21, in Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed and trans S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 486-487.

[14] The only modern Latin edition of the text, followed by an English translation, exists in Honorius Augustodunensis, *Jewel of the Soul*, eds. and trans. Zachary Thomas and Gerhard Eger (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2023).

same. Participating in the Crusade was a part of social and cultural identity for Christians in the West, particularly when the crusading armies began to establish military orders in Europe and engage in conflicts on territory away from the Holy Land.[15]

Limited to only a few dukes and counts, monarchs' presences were not required during the First Crusade.[16] Motivated by Pope Urban's speech which called for the crusades and promised the remission of sins to all those who took part in the battle against the 'pagans',[17] the Christian army of the First Crusade appeared in the sources as an unruly bunch of outlaws after blood and quick forgiveness for their misdeeds. The Second Crusade was different in a sense that the Latin monarchs, including the kings of France and Germany, participated in the military actions. The Second Crusade eventually failed with the Latin leaders, resulting in the defeat of the Western Christian forces. The great part of this defeat was, according to twelfth-century accounts, blamed on the Byzantines and their alleged conspiracy with the Muslim forces. Based on these sensational claims in the twelfth-century chronicles, I will examine the relations between the Latin West and Byzantine East and their perception on heroism and masculinity in times of war, primarily through the contrast between a cowardly and perfidious Byzantine warrior and his brave Western counterpart. For this kind of analysis, especially relevant are writings that prescribe the ideals and principles of military orders. I find Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae* to be the most important, predominately for his distinction between Templars and contemporary secular knights.

[15] More on the role of the military orders in shaping identity of their knights see in Tomasz Borowski and Christopher Gerrard, "Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, Religiosity, and the Military Orders," *Speculum* 92, no. 4 (2017): 1056–1100.

[16] Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 111.

[17] Robert the Monk, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, eds. M. Bull and D. G. Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013). 6-7; other versions of the speech are illustrated in Fulcher of Chartres, "Chronicle," trans. M. E. McGinty, in *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other source materials*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 26-46.

This thesis is divided into three parts. In the first chapter, I will provide an overview of the Homeric tradition in the world that did not read Homer in Greek. The focus of this chapter will be on the Dictys, Dares, and the *Ilias Latina* retellings of the Trojan War, with Hector's character being the basis of my literary analysis. I aim to reconstruct Hector's character as depicted in these retellings, while also addressing their absent narrative elements when contrasted with Homer's *Iliad*.

The second chapter will concentrate on the twelfth century and the ideal figure of the *miles Christi*. I will start by discussing how the Trojan War was embraced as a foundation myth in the Latin West, especially during the Carolingian period, and became a common strategy when tracing descent from Trojan origins across European ruling houses. The second chapter will also serve as a general overview of the early military orders' stations in Europe and the way this new kind of monasticism, that combined piety and warfare, might have influenced the image of a warrior in literary texts. Since the new-founded monasticism will shape a new masculinity in the twelfth century, I will contrast the latter with the effeminate portrayal of Byzantine Greeks by Western authors during the Crusades.

Chapter three will open with the specific case of Henry II and his son, Henry the Young King, who will serve as illustrative examples of the arguments presented in Chapter Two. What part of the Young King's life made him worthy of a poetic comparison to Hector in not one, but two poems of the time? The chapter will also discuss the context in which Joseph's work was produced, including the scholarly and political environment of the time. Finally, I will analyze the broader admiration for Hector as a model for Christian knights in the twelfth century Latin West, and examine how other contemporary works praise Hector's virtues and enduring fame.

The preoccupation of the scholarship with the post-Homeric tradition relates either to the presence of anti-Christian elements, such as the role of the old gods in the Trojan

retellings, or to the influence of the Trojan story on the literary movements of the time. For a long time, Hector was seen as nothing but an ideal chivalric figure by scholars who work on the Latin and vernacular reinterpretations of Homer.[18] However, alternative interpretations of Hector have been conducted, including those of other characters that are closely related to the Trojan royal family. One such research was conducted by Francine Mora, who wrote two short studies on how Hector's character in Joseph of Exeter's poem reflects contemporary behavioral ideals. Abstaining from the typical, chivalric reading of Hector, Mora rather perceives Hector and his wife Andromache as heroic ideals.[19] Mora suggests that Hector's comparison to Henry the Young King, in addition to Andromache's unconventional portrayal as the prophet of Troy's fall, derive from the presence of *iuvenes*, a rebellious cohort of young nobles in the twelfth century. In Joseph of Exeter's writings, Hector and Andromache are interpreted as symbols of heroism, representing the author's reaction to the tumultuous political climate in England at the time. While I agree with the latter statement, I intend to develop Mora's interpretation by proposing a reading that focuses on Henry the Young King's reputation among ecclesiastical authorities, mainly contrasting the one of his father, Henry II, following the Becket controversy. While the Young King was notorious for his rebellion against his father, I believe that the last years of his life and his taking the Crusader's vow earned him the heroic comparison to Hector, primarily because of Hector's idealization as a martial figure in Latin sources.

In the context of its Christianization, Hector's character is being revaluated by modern scholarship, but these analyses concern Homer's interpretation of Hector rather than the one we meet in the Latin retellings of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, I find this scholarly

[18] See Władysław Witalisz, *The Trojan Mirror: Middle English Narratives of Troy as Books of Princely Advice* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011); David C. Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature: Guido delle Colonnes Historia Destructionis Troiae in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1980), 67-97.

[19] Francine Mora, "Couple modèle ou couple maudit? Hector et Andromaque dans l'Iliade de Joseph d'Exeter," *Anabases* 6 (2007): 101-112.

approach to be valuable for my research insofar as it reveals key patterns in Hector's behavior observable in the Latin renditions. More notably, it highlights their absence from the Dictys, Dares, and the *Ilias Latina* traditions. I find Celsiana Warwick's interpretation the most valuable, as she proposed the idea of Hector as a martyr when comparing his story in the *Iliad* to Saint Perpetua's martyrdom.[20] Furthermore, the contrasting manners in which Homer treated Hector compared to other heroes were described by S. Farron in an older study.[21] According to Farron, Homer does not leave room for Hector's vice as his character is constructed as an opposition to cowardice and boisterousness. Thomas Van Nortwick proposed a reading of Homer that concerns Hector's masculinity, pointing out Hector's mannerism and the verb ὀαρίζειν ("to chat or gossip" or "talk like a wife.") that Homer uses to describe Hector's speech. According to Nortwick's interpretation, a great part of Hector's character is determined through his interaction with women.[22]

In relation to Homer's language used to represent the Achaean and Greek heroes, Seth Benardete's exploration of Homeric epithets is also highly relevant for the interpretation proposed in this thesis. Examining Homer's style, Benardete distinguishes heroes according to their epithets, which are also the key to the flow of the narrative. To him, Hector's and Achilles' qualities can only be perceived properly once they are placed against one another, "whereas the Achaeans and Trojans are rock and sea by Homer's fiat, their identity to be changed as the scene itself changes."[23] I find Benardete's conclusion to be interesting as it illustrates one of the main differences between Homer's Troy and that of the Latin Trojan texts. In the Latin tradition, Hector's portrait as a virtuous warrior does not necessarily derive from his comparison to Achilles as the Latin Hector and Homer's Achilles, in my opinion, do

[20] Warwick, "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," 86–109.
[21] S. Farron, "The Character of Hector in the 'Iliad,'" *Acta Classica* 21 (1978): 39–57.
[22] Thomas Van Nortwick, "Like a Woman: Hector and the Boundaries of Masculinity," *Arethusa* 34, no. 2 (2001): 221–35.
[23] Seth Bernardete, *Achilles and Hector: The Homeric Hero*, ed. Ronna Burger (South Bend: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 52.

not differ greatly from one another. However, this was nothing but the consequence of the contemporary, medieval circumstances that did not find fault with Hector's martial viciousness, a trait somewhat desired at the time of the Crusades.

The main component of my approach to the Homeric, Latin, and the twelfth-century literary depictions of Hector in this thesis is a philological one. A close reading of the sources will allow me to compare the texts in terms of the way they describe Hector and how they differ but agree with one another as well. I intend to highlight the importance of motifs, literary tropes, and lexical emphasis used to portray Hector, but also other characters closely related to Hector, such as Paris, Priam, Andromache, and Achilles. However, solely employing close reading to engage with the text will not suffice; while close reading will assist me with pointing out the differences in the literary portrayal of Hector within the Latin Trojan accounts, it is necessary to situate the texts in their contemporary contexts, both cultural and political. Therefore, my approach will be more focused on the language of the texts and particularly attentive to the potential differences between describing Hector in a Christian and a non-Christian setting. Should contrasts arise, I intend to address them according to their functions, i.e., how does a certain set of attributes assigned to Hector differ or align to his portrayal in other contemporary representations? Does the author's experience contribute to a particular depiction of the Trojan War? If yes, were those depictions influenced by the author's political agenda, educational background, or spiritual aspirations?

In my opinion, this research will benefit greatly from a philological approach. As I demonstrated in the literature overview, the scholarship currently engaged with the topic of the Trojan War and representation of Hector in the Late Medieval Latin sources, does not find much use in studying the language used in such representations. Quite often, the author, the language, and the contemporary circumstances are researched as three separate categories. While I intend to focus on the language when discussing Hector's image in the

Latin texts of Late Antiquity and contrasting it to twelfth-century Trojan reinventions, I believe that the reason for any visible change in the language used to depict him as a hero lies in the authors' accommodation to contemporary dramatic events such as the Crusades and the formation of the Military Orders.

2. Homer between Two Worlds

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the presence of Homeric texts in the late-antique Roman Empire and Early Medieval West, with a focus on the audience of these texts and their reception in the Christian space. I will start by providing an overview of the translation of Homeric texts in the Latin literary tradition, but I will also briefly dwell on the two types of reuse of Homer in the Greek tradition – the Homeric centos and the 'Homer oracle' from the fifth century – that exemplify two, somewhat conflicting, attempts to preserve the ancient traditions in an ideologically shifting world. I will then illustrate the three traditions through which the Trojan myth was transmitted in the Latin Medieval West and examine the main differences between Homer's *Iliad* and the three Latin texts on the fall of Troy. Hector's character will be kept in special focus throughout this literary analysis, as his depiction in Dictys, Dares, and the *Ilias Latina* is, in my view, key to understanding the comparisons between Hector and notable Crusaders in the twelfth century.

2.1. Shifting Perceptions: Homer in Late Antique and Early Christian Contexts

It is difficult to determine when exactly the West Roman Empire replaced Homer with the Latin retellings of the Trojan myth. The conflicting course in the Homeric tradition in the West provides an additional difficulty in such dating process, as Homer remained a literary authority through Virgil centuries after the decline of the knowledge of Greek outside the East Roman Empire.[24] However, Greek did not completely disappear from the literary milieu in the medieval West as one might imagine, with all the scholarly and administrative advantages handed to *lingua Latina*. The Greek education in the West preserved a selected

[24] Marilynn Desmond, "Homer and the Latin West in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Guide to Homer*, ed. Corinne Ondine Pache (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 436.

corpus of texts that coincided more with the contemporary occurences. Therefore, rather than Homer, Greek philosophy and theology became the preferred texts the Latin-speaking audience engaged with. The question whether the decline in understanding Homeric poetry was due to poor education in Greek or the Christian shift away from classical 'pagan' thought in the Late Antiquity arises next.

Motivations for learning Greek in Late Antique Rome varied, but it has been argued that by the fourth century more people learned Greek to read the Scriptures than the classics.[25] Famously, in his *Confessiones,* Augustine writes about his personal difficulties to master Greek on the level that will help him immerse himself in the Homeric verses.[26] Augustine's complaints are only one example of Greek's status in the West at the time, as Greek literacy, for Augustine, was reduced to elemental knowledge that would assist him in comprehending the Christian texts after his conversion.[27] Furthermore, in 395 AD, Symmachus, a Roman senator in favor of the continuity of old Roman religious practices, wrote about the start of his son's Greek studies, adding that he would join his son "as though his peer" (*velud aequalis,* Ep. 4.20.2).[28] Alan Cameron, writing on the Greek education in Late Roman Empire, notes that Symmachus' comment should not be taken literally, but as admission that his Greek was rusty considering it was a language taught at school and at a young age, contradicting a wide-spread claim that all educated Roman aristocrats continued to engage with Greek classics in adulthood.[29] Eventually, such incomprehension of classical literature, transformed Homer from the "educator of Greece" in ethics and heroism to a case

[25] Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 534.

[26] "Why, then, did I hate Greek literature, which is also full of such stories? For Homer too was adept at weaving such fictions, and there is great sweetness in his vanity, but to me as a boy he was bitter… It must be the difficulty, the very great difficulty, of learning a foreign language that sprinkled gall over all the sweetness of marvelous tales told in Greek." *Conf*. 1.14. in Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Thomas Williams (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2019), 13-14.

[27] Desmond, "Homer and the Latin West in the Middle Ages," 435.

[28] For more on Symmachus' letter and knowledge of Greek see Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rom*e, 535-6.

[29] Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rom*e, 535-6.

of a linguist's struggle before his Latin audience in Late Antiquity.[30] Greek proficiency was reduced to an elemental knowledge of philosophical and rhetorical terms, but, as Scott R. Smith argues, knowing Greek did not equal being familiar with Greek literature, and offering a Homeric allusion, even if flawed, was enough to demonstrate one's scholarly knowledge.[31]

According to Smith's interpretation of an extensive Late Antique commentary on Statius' *Thebaid* and the Homeric citations included within the commentary, there were three possible sources from which the Latin commentator could have drawn his knowledge on Homer: 1) memory from school days for more general episodes, 2) ancillary texts such as commentaries and mythographic texts, and 3) Virgilian scholarship.[32] The latter would also remain the primary source of Homeric knowledge in the Medieval West before the first fourteenth-century translations of Homer from Greek into Latin in by Leontius Pilatus.[33]

Although the narrative and the main events in the Trojan War, perceived as an actual historical event due to the three Latin retellings, were remarkably altered from what we read in Homer's *Iliad*, it seemed that rarely one dared to question Homer's ancient, pre-Christian literary authority.[34] Invoked by late medieval vernacular authors such as Dante and Chaucer, Homer's enthronement as an authoritative voice from the past came primarily through Virgil's *Aeneid*. The extent to which the Latin authors knew Homer, other than to simply cite him and recognize him as *auctor* of the absent Homeric epics, remains ubiquitous, therefore sustaining the image of Troy "as ever present yet always already destroyed."[35]

[30] Henri Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 29-34.

[31] Scott R. Smith, "Homer in the Late Antique Commentary on Statius's Thebaid," *Illinois Classical Studies*, no. 35–36 (2011): 178.

[32] Smith, "Homer in the Late Antique Commentary on Statius's Thebaid," 181-92.

[33] On Pilatus' translations of Homer see James Bruce Ross, "On the Early History of Leontius' Translation of Homer," *Classical Philology* 22, no. 4 (1927): 341–55.

[34] Desmond, "Homer and the Latin West in the Middle Ages," 435.

[35] Marilynn Desmond, "Trojan Itineraries and the Matter of Troy," in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 1: 800–1558*, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 251.

It is difficult to claim that the spread of Christianity in Late Antiquity could have impacted the perception the learned readers had on Homer and the way in which the Poet was studied in school. I would argue that the decline of Homer in the West did not come as a consequence of religion, but rather the language in which his works had been written down. The Christian reworkings of Homer occurred quite early, by the fifth century, in a poetic form known as *cento*. Patched out of verses and passages from other authors, centos most commonly derived their motifs from Homer and Virgil. The majority of centos date to Late Antiquity, and among the sixteen surviving Latin centos, four focus on Christian themes, while the remaining twelve encompass diverse subjects, spanning from Greco-Roman mythology to everyday mundane tasks.[36] The number of the Greek centos is even smaller than that of the Latin ones.[37] Regardless of their uncommonness, centos became one of potential sources of basic proficiency in Homer during Late Antiquity. Pierre Courcelle explains that Jerome, as a particular case, did not necessarily have a direct knowledge of Homer, but instead he stumbled upon Homer in works of Cicero, through Lucretius' translation of Homer, or in centos, of which he speaks disdainfully (*Epist. ad Paulinum* 53.7).[38]

Then, once an author of a cento was faced with the task of translating a Biblical narrative into a Homeric hexameter, which episodes from the two epic tales would they select? There seems to be no rule to such a task since most of relevant Homeric lines were drawn from prominent passages that would have been familiar to their readers that shared the

[36] On the late-antique cento tradition, see Martin Bažil, *"Centones Christiani": Métamorphoses d'une forme intertextuelle dans la poésie latine chrétienne de l'antiquité tardive* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2009).

[37] Brian P. Sowers, *In Her Own Words: The Life and Poetry of Aelia Eudocia* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2020), unpaginated, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_SowersBP.In_Her_Own_Words.2021.

[38] Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 61.

same elite *paideia*, and studied Homer based on the matching curriculum.[39] One of the most famous Homeric centos belongs to the Greek literary tradition, composed by Empress Aelia Eudocia in mid-fifth century.[40] The Empress' poem includes common themes like Hector and Patroclus' deaths and funerals, found not just in Eudocia's work but in other centos too, where intertextuality between Homer and the Bible is particularly strong.[41] Within her work, Eudocia used the scene of Priam's sorrow following Hector's death to evoke the sorrow of Virgin Mary after the death of Christ, as they both lose their sons to a violent death. The allusions that connected Hector and Christ permeated the Greek centos. The heroic implications of Christ's death, as Anna Lefteratou notices, can be justified as an important Christian message: "when dying on the cross, Jesus was not only elevated in glory but through his body he also metaphorically "lifted" the weight of human sin. For this reason, his body was heavy just as his cross, again a different kind of heroism."[42]

Notably, not only Hector, but the other members of the Trojan court were worthy of Christian analysis that placed them along the New Testament figures. Therefore, we find Andromache's weaving in Book 6 of the *Iliad* reused for scenes of Biblical female domesticity,[43] and Priam's monologue on the Trojan walls as he watches Achilles' brutally murder Hector contrast Judas as a mountain lion that viciously preys on the Lamb of God.[44] Therefore, Judas' description in centos relied heavily on Achilles' brutish and impulsive character, enhancing Hector's more pliant nature that befits that of Christ.

Could we then, based on these centos, speak of an early Christian reading of Homer? The early Church Fathers exhibited a lack of enthusiasm when expressing positive sentiments

[39] Anna Lefteratou, *The Homeric Centos: Homer and the Bible Interwoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 17.

[40] The Empress, actually, expanded the cento pre-composed by a Christian cleric named Patricius in the fourth century AD, for more in M. D. Usher, *Homeric Stitchings: The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 3.

[41] Usher, *Homeric Stitchings: The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia*, 138.

[42] Lefteratou, *The Homeric Centos: Homer and the Bible Interwoven*, 171.

[43] I HC 1042.

[44] I HC 1475 ~ *Il*. 24.207.

regarding centos. I mentioned Jerome's displeasure when writing of centos, and that by Tertullian who saw centos as heretical interpretations of the Scriptures.[45] Undoubtedly, Homeric centos were known to both Christian and non-Christian audiences, although not everyone could have been skilled enough to discern the intentions of the poet that "stitched" the text and, subsequently, judge the quality of the lines that have been scrambled together as to construct a meaning.[46] Those who study the history and structure of centos today are hesitant to claim the poems' origins. I find Robert L.Wilken's explanation the most plausible, arguing that "this strange art" was practiced by Christians who saw centos as another method for them to express their beliefs in the language of the ancient poets.[47] As an example of such practice, Wilken names "On the Incarnation" (*Carmen de Incarnatione*),[48]a cento composed of lines from the *Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, and *Georgics* of Virgil that tells about the union of divinity with humanity in Christ.[49]

Owning to his Fourth Eclogue that tells of a miraculous child that would become divine and eventually rule the world, and its subsequent interpretations by Christian authors, Virgil enjoyed the reputation of a poet that prophesized the coming of Christ.[50] Can the same be claimed about Homer?

According to my knowledge, none of the works assigned to Homer were understood as prophetic in Late Antiquity, apart from the so-called *homeromanteion*. Known also as the 'Homer oracle,' the *homeromanteion* was a method of divination found in the magical papyri

[45] "You can see today a completely different story put together out of Virgil, the matter being adapted to the lines and the lines to the matter. Hosidius Geta, for example, sucked a whole tragedy of Medea out of Virgil. A relative of mine, among other pastimes of his pen, extracted the Table of Cebes from the same poet. We give the name "Homerocentons" to those who make their centos, like patchwork, out of the poems of Homer, stitching together into one piece scraps picked up here, there, and everywhere. And the Bible is indubitably richer in its resources for every conceivable subject (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 39)," in Tertullian, "The Prescriptions Against the Heretics," trans. S.L.Greenslade in *Early Latin Theology: Selections from Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose and Jerome* (Louisville: The Westminister Press, 1956), 59-60.

[46] Robert L. Wilken, "The Homeric Cento in Irenaeus, 'Adversus Haereses' I, 9,4," *Vigiliae Christianae* 21, no. 1 (1967): 29.

[47] Wilken, "The Homeric Cento in Irenaeus, 'Adversus Haereses' I, 9,4," 28.

[48] *PL* 19, 773-780.

[49] Wilken, "The Homeric Cento in Irenaeus, 'Adversus Haereses' I, 9,4," 28.

[50] For Virgil as a pre-Christian prophet see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F.M. Benecke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 99-100.

in the fourth and fifth centuries.[51] The oracle was a list of around 216 verses from Homer, meant to give instructions to those who inquired about their future. Using Homer as a way to provide oracular answers was not an innovation of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages since we read of this practice in the fifth century BC in Aristophanes.[52] What remains peculiar in this divination practice is that Homer prevailed as a source of foretelling at the same time Augustine and Jerome are writing about the Bible being used for divination purposes.[53] Nevertheless, it is my opinion that in Late Antiquity Homer the Poet would never be "Christianized." Such conversion was reserved for his texts, most commonly the Trojan princes, heroes, and heroines. The two traditions of reading Homer, the Christian and the classical one, did not clash, but they united in a unique presentation of the Homeric heritage, manifested through the celebration of the Trojan heroes' virtuous lives.

Here is where I would like to focus on Hector exclusively as a model of Christian virtue. In the history of writing about Homer and reinterpreting his verses, when it comes to Hector, I distinguish two phases. One occurred during the time I just discussed, in Late Antiquity, when the educated Latin elite engaged with the Greek Homer. Even though the early Church Fathers and the learned 'pagan' elite in the West did not have access to the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or lacked proficiency in Homer's metrically fixed language, the passages that were available to them would have included Hector as the driving force of Troy's fall.[54] These notable scenes, such as Andromache beseeching Hector not to go into

[51] On the complex relation between orality and literacy of the *homeromanteion* see Andromache Karanika, "Homer The Prophet: Homeric Verses And Divination In The Homeromanteion," in *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy and Religion* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2011).

[52] Aristophanes mentions Homer as a prophetic authority in his comedy *Peace*, writing: Hierocles: Say, what oracle authorized you to burn thighs for the gods? Trygeas: The very fine one that Homer composed, of course. (Aristophanes *Peace* 1089-1094), in Aristophanes, *Peace*, trans. A. H. Sommerstein (London: Aris & Phillips, 1985), also Raquel Martín Hernández "Using Homer for Divination: Homeromanteia in Context." *CHS Research Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (2013), unpaginated, https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu/2014/03/28/using-homer-for-divination-homeromanteia-in-context/.

[53] August. *Ep.* 55.20.37; Jer. *Ep.* 53.

[54] For more on Hector as a symbol of Troy's fall see Barbara Graziosi, *Homer: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 66-73.

battle, Hector's duel with Achilles, and Priam's recovery of Hector's body, feature in Homeric centos as comparative devices, but also as structural parts of Hector's fated tragedy.

The resemblance between Hector's violent death and early Christian martyrdom was noticed by Celsiana Warwick, who argues that St. Perpetua's *Passio*, a third century account of the death of two Roman women at Carthage, Perpetua and Felicity, contains allusions to scenes in the *Iliad* where Hector's family pleads with the Trojan prince to flee the battlefield.[55] The striking similarities occur mostly in the scenes where Perpetua's father pleads with his daughter to renounce her Christian faith and think of the consequence her death will have for her family and offspring. Likewise, Priam urges Hector to consider his family, reminding him that misfortune will befall their family if Hector dies. Considering these scenes, Warwick rightfully notes: "It is important to remember that the *Passio* does not necessarily present conversations between Perpetua and her father exactly as they occurred in life. Just as the Perpetua of the text should not be assumed to be identical to the historical martyr, the literary representation of Perpetua's father may have been altered or embellished."[56] Warwick concludes that the dialogue between Perpetua and her father was purposefully rewritten to resemble the *Iliad*; Perpetua's approach to responding to her relatives' requests mirrors Hector's strategy, and both Perpetua and Hector perceive their deaths not as choices, but rather as the natural consequence of their characters' essences. While the debate on the editor of Perpetua's *Passio* is ongoing,[57] whether Perpetua would have known the *Iliad* and Hector's tragic tale to draw allusions to his martyr-like death, represents less of a doubt. Even if she did not interact with Homer or *Ilias Latina*, which by the third century was known to the learned audience, theatrical culture flourished in the

[55] Warwick, "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," 86–109.
[56] Warwick, "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," 92.
[57] L. Stephanie Cobb and Andrew S. Jacobs, eds., *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas in Late Antiquity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2021), 1-19. Thomas J. Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 60-100.

Roman Carthage where tragedies with Hector as the main protagonist were performed.[58] It is probable that Perpetua might have been familiar with the story of Hector in some form.[59]

The question of why Perpetua aligned her suffering with those of a 'pagan' Hector follows, and Warwick argues that Perpetua opted for Hector because she lacked satisfactory Christian examples for her situation, particularly among female saints.[60] Perpetua's sacrifice for her faith does not belong to heroic Roman women who would follow their husbands to their death by committing suicide, since she does not prioritize her family over her personal goal being a witness of her belief. In addition to Warwick's interpretation, I would argue that apart from Perpetua's martyrdom not being essentially "feminine," Hector's virtues, as a contrast to Achilles', aligned thoroughly with the Christian ordeal. More so, the value that came with Hector's noble sacrifice, the pain he felt upon leaving his family, and the eternal glory he achieved through death, suggest a model for Christian martyrs who struggled with the requirement to detach themselves from their family ties.

It seemed that Hector's tragic fate aligned with early Christian narratives, regardless of Hector's 'pagan' origins. Early Christian authors were perhaps conflicted and torn between Homer "the idolater" and Homer as a promoter of Hellenic culture,[61] however, I did not encounter such doubts when analyzing Late Antique allusions of Hector. Admittedly, with the exception of Homeric centos, what we have on Hector are simply those, allusions, gathered via intertextuality as shown in Perpetua's *Passio*. The shift in the reception of Trojan's heroes, Hector in particular, will happen with Latin renditions of the *Iliad*, once the importance of the Greek *Iliad* faded in the West. What I believe is the second phase in the

[58] Warwick (p. 92) names several theatrical pieces, such as Ennius' *Ransom of Hector* (as well as an *Andromache*, a *Hecuba* and an *Achilles*), and *Departure of Hector* by Naevius. These pieces would have been performed not only in Carthage, but Alexandria too where the theatre culture undisturbedly flourished.

[59] Warwick, "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," 92.

[60] Warwick, "Christian Martyr as Homeric Hero: A Literary Allusion in Perpetua's Passio," 90, 104-6.

[61] See on Isocrates' expound on the connection between cultural identity and education on the example of Homer in Karl Olav Sandnes, *The Challenge of Homer: School, Pagan Poets and Early Christianity* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 47-49.

reinterpretation of Hector occurs in the Latin reimaginations of the Trojan War, where Hector's now martial yet devoted figure will be, once again, repeated in the Christian literary narrative, but this time with a more aggressive political and ecclesiastical ideology present in the text. In order to understand how Hector became a warrior model for princes and military commanders in the Crusaders' propaganda, it is necessary to understand the Latin abridgements of Homer that subsequently generated Hector as an ideal knight in the twelfth century.

2.2. Hector in the *Iliad*

A literary analysis of Hector's character in the Latin retellings of the Trojan War represents a major part of my thesis. To understand the diverging paths in Hector's presentation from Homer to the Latin retellings, the reader of these texts must be well familiar with Homer's portrait of Hector as, among else, "the moral hero of the poem."[62] Therefore, for the sake of my arguments, I will only briefly dwell here on the image of Hector as seen by Homer in the Books 6 and 22 of the *Iliad*, since I believe the scenes within those two books are the key to understanding the use and the abuse of Hector in the Crusading literature.

Book 6 contains the most domestic episodes in the *Iliad*. The focus on the Book rests on the battle and the bond of hospitality between Glaukos and Diomedes, followed by Hector's entrance to Troy where he is encountered by different members of his family: Hecuba, Paris, Helen, and finally Andromache with their son, Astyanax. Three different scenes in which Hector converses with his mother, then Paris and Helena, before coming to his wife and son serve the humanization of Hector's character. More than any other Trojan or Achaean hero, Hector embodies "the clash between private and public life," both central to

[62] John A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1921), 216.

Hector's character.[63] The most significant out of Hector's three relations is that with Andromache, for whom Hector is seen to be fighting.[64] Hector's martial and Andromache's domestic roles are irrevocably intertwined,[65] and with his death, Andromache's role decreases as well. Furthermore, Andromache is shown weeping at Hector's side, pleading with him not to go into battle, but Hector's duty towards Troy is greater than that to his family. However, at this point in the war, the Trojans have gained the upper hand on the battlefield due to Achilles' refusal to fight, so Hector's willingness to go into battle does not come out of self-sacrifice, but genuine thought of a triumph.[66]

The poem reaches its peak with Book 22 and the death of Hector, ultimately marking the fall of Troy. Enraged by Patroclus' murder at the hand of Hector, Achilles rejoins the battle and storms after him, before he kills the Trojan prince with a spear to his throat. However, simply murdering Hector does not do enough justice; Achilles mutilates Hector's corpse by tying the body to his chariot and dragging it around the Trojan walls. Laments break out through the city, with little knowledge that by killing Hector, Achilles also ensured his own doom as the two heroes' fates are interweaved.[67] Book 22 additionally contains an important scene of Hector's parents, Priam and Hecuba, failing to dissuade their son from facing Achilles as they "could not move the spirit in Hector."[68] Only for one fleeting moment does Hector consider fleeing his match with Achilles, thinking about his parents' grief, and the shame he would bring upon his people, until he makes the final decision, saying:

[63] Erika Nicole Valdivieso, *Hector and Iliad VI: Characterization through Conversations with Women* (B.A. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2011), 8-9.

[64] *Il.* VI. 450-454.

[65] "Andromache's weaving, simultaneous with Hector's defense of Troy, expresses her hope that if she takes care of *her* duties, Hector's political and military success will also continue." in Maria C. Pantelia, "Spinning and Weaving: Ideas of Domestic Order in Homer," *The American Journal of Philology* 114, no. 4 (1993): 496.

[66] As final words of comfort, Hector tells Andromache: "No man is going to hurl me to Hades, unless it is fated, / but as for fate, I think that no man yet has escaped it / once it has taken its first form, neither brave man nor coward." English translation of *Il.* VI. 490-493 in Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 166.

[67] Anthony T. Edwards, "'Aristos Achaiōn:' Heroic Death and Dramatic Structure in the 'Iliad.'" *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica* 17, no. 2 (1984): 73.

[68] *Il.* XXII. 78.

"Better to bring on the fight with him as soon as it may be.
We shall see to which one the Olympian grants the glory."[69]

2.3. The *Ilias Latina*

For a medieval intellectual reader in the West who wished to engage with the Trojan myth, there were two levels in the Trojan cycle one had to overcome in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of Troy's destruction: the course of the war and its aftermath. Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses,* and Virgil's *Aeneid,* which provided their readers with first-person accounts of the destruction of Troy and the fate of the war's survivors, were a mandatory part of the medieval Latin school curricula.[70] In addition to these, the course of the ten-year long war would also reach the medieval reader in a crude reduction of Homer into 1070 lines, titled *Ilias Latina*. The numerous medieval manuscripts of the *Ilias Latina* name 'Homer' as the author, seemingly unaware of the acrostic signature at the beginning and the ending of the text that spell out ITALIC*S SCRIPSIT, "Italicus wrote it."[71] It turned out that in the first century AD did live a Roman named Baebius Italicus, who began his *cursus honorum* as a quaestor in Cyprus until he reached consulship in Rome around 90 AD. There is a general consensus among scholars working on the *Ilias Latina* that the poem was a produced in a rhetoric school,[72] composed during the reign of Nero (54-68 AD), and that Baebius Italicus most likely wrote the Latin epitome of the *Iliad* as a student exercise. Additionally, other elements of the poem confirm the work to be the product of the Neronian age, such as the celebration of *gens Iulia*, the combination of the Graeco-Roman literary

[69] *Il.* XXII. 129-130.
[70] Desmond, "Trojan Itineraries and the Matter of Troy," 252.
[71] The debate on the authorship of *Ilias Latina* is overly detailed for this thesis as it has been a matter of century-long discussion. For the summary of the research on the poem see Maria Jennifer Falcone, and Christoph Schubert, "Introduction," In *Ilias Latina,* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021), 1-6.
[72] Scaffai, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina*, 57-59; George A. Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (Fort Collins: G.A. Kennedy, 1998), 10.

material with mythological narratives in service of political propaganda, and the portrayal of the golden age following the death of the tyrannical emperor Claudius.

It should be made clear in the initial stage of this analysis that Italicus never intended to produce a Latin translation of the *Iliad*. According to the Roman tradition, the translations from Greek into Latin, especially the literary ones, demonstrate considerable freedom in this practice that, in most cases, was rather a creative imitation of the original than a verbatim translation.[73] Italicus worked similarly with his adaptation of the *Iliad* according to the political agenda of the Neronian regime. What originally was an epic poem in 24 books that weaved myth with reality, and which resonated with the timeless topics of honor, love, and divine, was rearranged and abbreviated to ca. 1000 lines. The selection of topics that Italicus chose for his version of the *Iliad* reveal the author's own taste, but also the interests of his audience, and the rhetorical demands of the Neronian age. It is possible that Italicus did not follow Homer's text considering the differences between the *Iliad* and *Ilias Latina*. Instead, Italicus would have been influenced by Latin poetry on the Trojan War he knew and that was available to him, namely Naevius' and Gnaeus Matius' translations of the *Iliad*,[74] but also of other poets of the Augustan age that interacted with the Trojan material, such as Virgil, and the contemporary interest in Homer.

The Homeric scenes Italicus omits differ. Here, I will name only those that I find to be the key in the later, medieval understanding of the Trojan War, with particular attention to Hector.

The *Iliad* was a poem of violence, but it also contained domestic scenes from the world outside the battlefield that allowed its reader to acknowledge two different sides of a conflict. George A. Kennedy noticed that Baebius Italicus, for the most part, banishes any

[73] Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, 11.; Massimo Cè, "The Ilias Latina in the Context of Ancient Epitome Translation," in *Ilias Latina*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021, 51-9.

[74] Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, 12.

sense of tranquility in favor of chaos, duels, and slaughter. The poem focuses on the battle scenes and gives their lengthy accounts, presumably aligning with the interests of the author himself, a young Roman awaiting his military career, as many of the martial depictions resemble Roman procedures. We see examples of Roman military tactics for the most part in Book 5, in lines 540-41 that describe a Roman triumph, and 763-68 that mention the usage of ladders and *testudo*, both belonging to Roman warfare tactics; these, however, could also be ascribed to the poet's limited vocabulary and artistic abilities, that compelled him to exchange the speeches and similes of the *Iliad* with battle scenes.[75]

Just like the *Iliad*, the *Ilias Latina* opens with a description of Achilles' rage and concludes its account on the tenth year of Troy's siege with Hector's pyre. However, Italicus mostly neglects crucial character-forming scenes. He does not shy away from expressing his one-sidedness and constructing his poem as an encomium to the Trojan heroes. We do not read of the exchange between Achilles and Agamemnon in Book 1, there is no scene on the Trojan walls with Helen and Priam, and the divine intervention plays a minor role in the conflict. Instead, lust is the main driving force for men like Agamemnon and Achilles. Agamemnon's anger for having to give up Chryseis is a result of sexual passion, not a test of his honor, and Achilles' rage comes out from the loss of his love companion, Briseis, not wounded pride.[76]

Achilles' character suffers the most throughout *Ilias Latina*, resulting from the lack of heroic ethos. Instead, Hector is made into the poem's main character along with Aeneas, the great mythical founder of the Roman race. Hector's portrayal emphasizes his role as a warrior while his compassionate demeanor and duty towards family are reduced to a few lines. One

[75] Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, 12.

[76] Agamemnon being motivated by lust and Achilles' wounded heart are not an innovation of Baebius Italicus, but can be found in earlier Roman tradition on Homer (Horace, *Epistles* 1.2. 13, Ovid, *Heroides* 3; Propertius 2.8.35), in Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*, 13.

of the most impactful scenes in Book 6 of the Iliad,[77] in which Hector discovers Paris in Helena's chambers, away from the battlefield, and rebukes Paris for his irresponsibility, does not exist in *Ilias Latina*. We still read of the meeting between Hector and Andromache but described in just a few lines. As depicted in the *Iliad*, Andromache meets Hector while holding their son, Astyanax, having the boy cower in fear when he spots Hector, intimidating, in his armor and helmet. Setting aside the bronze helmet, Hector bids farewell to Astyanax, saying:

> "I pray, Greatest Father,
> That this child of mine for whom I honor your divinity,
> Will imitate his father's courage from his earliest years."[78]

The meeting between Hector and his family as seen by the Roman author does not do poetic justice to Homer's version of the same scene, where Andromache pleads with Hector not to go into battle and instead choose his family over his heroic pride, a central theme in the *Iliad*. Italicus' Andromache is silent, voicing her anguish only once she tries to throw herself onto the funeral pyre of her husband.[79]

In accordance with *Ilias Latina*'s storyline which focuses on warfare and the prominent position of Hector in it, the Trojan prince becomes the epitome of the *Iliad*'s battle fray. Hector's martial nature is highlighted in a line of epithets attached to his name, such as: outstanding in war (*bello maximus*),[80] bravest (*fortissimus*),[81] Mars-like (*Mauortius*),[82] mad (*turbidus*),[83] and fervid (*feruidus*).[84] Interestingly, in the proem of *Ilias Latina*,[85] Achilles is known as "famed in war" (*bello clarus*) the same appellation later assigned to Hector

[77] *Il.* 6.312-8.
[78] *IL* 572-74.
[79] Among the lamentations, Hectors wife Andromache / leads the cries and tears her breast and seeks to throw herself / amidst the flames while holding to Astyanax, but the crowd / of countrymen under orders holds her back (*IL*, 1057-60).
[80] *IL* 620, 832.
[81] *IL* 486.
[82] *IL* 529, 543, 797.
[83] *IL* 677
[84] *IL* 815
[85] *IL* 8.

(*insignem bello... Hectora*).[86] We meet the same translation with Achilles' title as "cause of fear for the Trojans" (*Troum terror*),[87] subsequently used for Hector as the "cause of fear for the Greeks" (*Danaum metus*).[88] The last inversion of adjectives occurs in the fight between Hector and Patroclus, where Hector, thinking he is facing Achilles, calls Patroclus *fortissimus*,[89] but just a moment later uses the same adjective for himself.[90] After the death of Hector, the honorific *fortissimus* makes the full circle by getting attached to Achilles' name once again,[91] having Achilles recognized as the "bravest" warrior on the Trojan battlefield following the death of the Trojan prince.[92]

2.4. Dictys Cretensis

Dictys of Crete's "Journal of the Trojan war" (*Ephemeris belli Troiani*), traditionally dated to the fourth century AD, is a Latin retelling of the Trojan War in six books. The preface to the first book claims to be a translation from Greek into Latin by a certain Lucius Septimius, eventually confirmed by the discovery in 1900 of a papyrus fragment from a Greek version of Dictys' *Ephemeris belli Troiani*.[93] The Greek version of Dictys' text is furthermore acknowledged in the second century by Aelian, a third-century Roman author and rhetorician, who claimed that Dares the Phrygian predates Homer (Var. hist. 11.2).[94] The original author of the *Ephemeris* remains unidentified today. Evidently, the *Ephemeris* was composed after 66 CE, the date indicated in the preface, claiming the text was discovered in Dictys' tomb.[95]

[86] *IL* 603.
[87] *IL* 585.
[88] *IL* 794; Cè, "The Ilias Latina in the Context of Ancient Epitome Translation," 59.
[89] *IL* 818.
[90] *IL* 820.
[91] "bravest of the Greek people" (*Graiae gentis fortissime Achilles*, IL 1028).
[92] Cè, "The Ilias Latina in the Context of Ancient Epitome Translation," 59.
[93] Nathaniel E. Griffin, "The Greek Dictys," *The American Journal of Philology* 29, no. 3 (1908): 329–335.
[94] Desmond, "Homer and the Latin West in the Middle Ages," 440.
[95] Peter Gainsford, "Diktys of Crete," *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 58 (2012): 59.

Together with Dares Phrygius, Dictys was part of the Medieval Latin curriculum on Homer and the Trojan War tradition. The most significant aspect of both Dictys and Dares' fall of Troy is that they represented "eye-witnessing" accounts of Troy's doom. Dictys fought on the Greek side along with Idomeneus, the king of Crete, and because the narrative is a mythical, first-person account of the War, the *Ephemeris* is commonly referred to as pseudo-documentary historical romance.[96] Nevertheless, both Dictys and Dares had a reputation as historians, standing out from all the other pseudo-historical accounts for their impact on the post-classical circulation of the Homeric tradition.

What aspects of *Ephemeris* suggest Dictys as a historian? Firstly, Dictys employs the same historiographical rhetoric that is typical of classical Greek historiography, acting as a witness to the event and referring his readers to other relevant sources.[97] For instance, Dictys claims:

> "I followed along with these. As to what happened earlier at Troy, I have tried to make my report as accurate as possible, Ulysses being my source. The account that follows, based as it is on my own observations, will meet, I hope, the highest critical standards."[98]

Furthermore, Dictys is quick to completely remove the gods from the narrative, thus making the most important change from Homer's account on the Trojan War. To my mind, by not having the gods meddle into the affairs of heroes, the myths become rationalized and more akin to an actual historical event. For Dictys, Venus (Aphrodite) does not play a role in the abduction of Helen. Instead, we read of Alexander's (Paris) visit to Sparta where he falls in love with Helen and travels back to Troy with her, provoking the rage of Menelaus.[99] However, it will not be the Achaeans to initiate the war, but the Trojans after Greek forces

[96] Gainsford, "Diktys of Crete," 60. The most thorough study was done in Stefan Merkle, *Die Ephemeris belli Troiani des Diktys von Kreta*, (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1989), 293–305.

[97] Valentina Prosperi, "The Trojan War Between History and Myth," in *Splendide Mendax: Rethinking Fakes and Forgeries in Classical, Late Antique, and Early Christian Literature*, eds. Edmund P. Cueva, and Javier Martínez (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2016), 98.

[98] Dictys 1.13.

[99] Dictys 1.1-3.

attack Mysia by mistaking it for Troy.[100] Other notable divergences include the unheroic death of Achilles, who is ambushed by Paris and slayed after he was drawn in by his love for Polyxena,[101] and the ransom of Hector's body done by Priam in company of Andromache, Astyanax, and Polyxena.[102]

Although Dictys as a narrator favors the Achaean side in the conflict, dubbing the Trojan princes as "being barbarians in language and morals"[103] and referring to the abduction of Helen as "this barbarous crime,"[104] he does not express any unpleasant sentiments towards Hector. The first interaction with Hector occurs once the "the best of the princes in counsel as well as in courage"[105] breaks down in tears, feeling guilt because of Paris' crime. He suggests that one of their sisters should be given in marriage to Menelaus, in exchange for Helen, hence leaving the impression of a wise diplomat prince more than a warrior. Hector attempts to negotiate once more, this time with Achilles, offering the latter Polyxena's hand in marriage if he betrays Agamemnon:

> "Accordingly, Achilles promised that he would bring the whole war to an end if Polyxena were given to him. Then Hector said that Achilles must either swear an oath to this betrayal or kill the sons of Plisthenes and Ajax; and that otherwise he was going to hear of no agreement. Achilles, on hearing this, became terribly angry and shouted that, in the first battle, as soon as fighting was resumed, he was going to kill Hector."[106]

The battlefield becomes the setting for the most conspicuous alteration in Hector's characterization. Unlike his portrayal in the *Iliad* or *Ilias Latina*, where Hector is depicted as a formidable warrior, there are no notable instances of him slaying Greek combatants. Rather, Hector's character undergoes a dramatic shift as he is shown fleeing the battlefield in fear of

[100] Dictys 2.1.
[101] Dictys 4.11.
[102] Dictys 3.20-27.
[103] Dictys 1.7.
[104] Dictys 1.6.
[105] Dictys 2.25.
[106] Dictys 3.3.

Achilles.[107] Furthermore, the anticipated duel between Achilles and Hector is absent from the narrative. Instead, Hector meets his demise in an ambush orchestrated by Achilles while on his way to encounter Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons.[108] Achilles demonstrates a degree of mercy by sparing Hector's son, who is discovered among the envoy group, only to inflict a brutal punishment by severing the young man's hands before dispatching him back to Troy. This savagery is attributed to Achilles' drive to "bestial acts, first by the slaughter of his most hated enemy, and then by his lasting grief of Patroclus."[109]

2.5. Dares Phrygius

In the same way as Dictys, Dares Phrygius' "History of the Fall of Troy" (*De excidio Troiae historia*) carried the same reputation in the Medieval West as an "eye-witness" account of the Trojan War. In the prologue of the *De excidio*, it is said that the "history of Dares Phrygius'" (*historicam Daretis Phrygii*) was uncovered and translated from Greek into Latin by Cornelius Nepos, first century BC Roman biographer, and then dedicated to Sallust. However, in addition to the language in *De excidio* resembling post-classical Latin rather than the one of Cornelius Nepos' time, it is more plausible that the actual Latin translator hid behind Cornelius Nepos' literary authority and the paratextual letter to Sallust in the prologue, because he was aware of Dares' fictitious character.[110] This, nevertheless, would not prevent Isidore of Seville, and subsequently the medieval western tradition, to enthrone Dares as the first pagan historian.[111]

Regarded as a verbatim translation of the original Greek text, *De excidio* is a brief recollection of some of the crucial events in the Trojan War, as seen by Dares Phrygius, a

[107] Dictys 3.6.
[108] Dictys 3.15.
[109] Dictys 3.15.
[110] Prosperi, "The Trojan War between History and Myth," 104; Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, "The Tale of Troy: An Early Romantic Approach," *The Classical Journal* 42, no. 5 (1947): 265.
[111] On Isidore and his characterization of Dares see Frederic Clark, *The First Pagan Historian: The Fortunes of a Fraud from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 43-76.

Trojan priest of Hephaestus.[112] Dares' account opens with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece and Heracles' first siege of Troy,[113] two mythological traditions that originated in the Roman world.[114] While the *Iliad* only depicted four days of war, Dares describes the cause of the war and its course without an intervention of heroes and gods. He makes several notable changes from the Homeric tradition of Troy's fall, such as the death of Patroclus, which occurs at the beginning of the war,[115] before the wrath of Achilles. The wrath then originates from his love towards Polyxena, [116] and his jealousy of Palamedes who became the commander-in-chief after Agamemnon yielded for sedition.[117] Just like Dictys, Dares tells us that Achilles died at the hands of Paris, after Hecuba, the queen of Troy, lured Achilles in with promises of granting him Polyxena's hand in marriage.[118] Probably the most interesting change from the Homeric tradition is the Greek's devise to enter the city; there is no wooden horse, but a horse head over the Scaean gate through which Aeneas and Altenor let the Greeks in.[119]

Out of the three portrayals of Hector I analyzed in this chapter, I find that of Dares' to be the most intriguing. While Dares does not hesitate to celebrate Hector's warrior side, as we mostly see the Trojan prince in scenes depicting bloody warfare, he is the first to provide his audience with Hector's physical description:

> "Hector spoke with a slight lisp (*blaesum*). His complexion was fair, his hair curly. His eyes would blink attractively (*strabonem*). [120] His movements were swift. His face, with its beard, was noble. He was handsome, fierce, and high-spirited, merciful to the citizens, and deserving of love."[121]

[112] *Il.* 5.9, 5.27.
[113] Dares, 1-4.
[114] Desmond, "Trojan Itineraries and the Matter of Troy," 253.
[115] Dares, 19.
[116] Dares, 27.
[117] Dares, 25.
[118] Dares, 34.
[119] This version also exists in the accounts of late grammarians; see Servius, *Aeneid* 2.15.
[120] Here is where I disagree with Frazer's translation. It is clear from Dares' choice of words that Hector did not "blink attractively," but quite the opposite - his eyes were slanted, or rather he was squint-eyed. I will dwell more on this physical feature of Hector in chapter 4.
[121] Dares, 12.

This physical description of Hector seems to originate in Dares, as I could not find any mentions of Hector's bodily imperfections (lisp and strabismus) in other written sources on the Trojan War that preceded *De excidio*. However, Hector's imperfect looks will survive in the late medieval retellings of the *Iliad*, specifically in Joseph of Exeter's *De bello Troiano* Hector's visual representation is based on the one in Dares.[122] Somewhat interestingly, Dares provides a physical description of other notable Trojan and Greek characters, and neither of them possess any anomalies that could have caught a reader's eye but are rather seen as perfect and with striking face features. The only exception is Neoptolemus, Achilles' son, who is also said to have "lisped slightly" (*blaesum*).[123]

The intention of this chapter was to provide answers to several questions. The first ones concern the presence of Homer and Homeric poetry in the Latin West during Late Antiquity: Did the educated elite have access to *Iliad* and *Odyssey* after the decline of Greek literacy in the West? If yes, can we talk about the "Christianization" of Homer within these learned circles that interacted with Homeric verses? The first question has a clear affirmative answer. Although Homer was familiar to its Western audience through a selection of verses in school texts, commentaries, and Virgilian scholarship, no one denied Homer's literary *auctoritas*. The rise of Christianity also did not have a grave impact on the way in which Homer was studied and interpreted in the West, primarily due to the Latin reinventions of the Trojan War that soon replaced the Homer's *Iliad* within the scholarly milieus. The three Latin versions of the *Iliad* I analyzed in this chapter rationalized the Trojan War by purging the myth of any relations to the old gods, divine interventions, and other non-Christian elements. Instead, the narrative focus rested on the battle scenes and diplomatic turmoil the reader can encounter on both the Trojan and Achaean side. Therefore, in my view, it is possible to discuss the "Christianization" of Homer's characters rather than Christian conversion of

[122] Unlike Hector's physical imperfection in *De excidio*, I believe the one in *De bello Troiano* carries a deeper meaning that I will address in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[123] Dares, 13.

Homer "the poet." The later stems from two reasons: one being the general absence of Homer as an author (not *auctoritas*), while the second reason rests in the allocation of once divine traits to, now, mortal heroes. Without the divine interventions to navigate the course of the war, the Trojan and Achaean characters now embodied the characteristics once assigned to the gods, becoming fully responsible for all their actions. Hector of Troy proved to be one of the heroes whose both the Latin and Homeric portrayal appealed to the Christian audience. His character underwent a transformation from a tragic hero of Ancient Greek literature to a symbol of Christian virtue and sacrifice.

In both Latin and Ancient Greek traditions, Hector is portrayed as a skilled warrior who willingly faces Achilles in battle despite being aware that he will meet his demise there. He casts away his earthly ties, such as that to his family, and steps into his death. For Hector, dying in his youth is a fair exchange for the eternal glory he earns with his heroic death, a trait commonly attributed to early Christian martyrs if the notion of eternal glory was exchanged with salvation. As a result, his poetic immortality can be compared to the eternal life that a Christian gains by ones' martyrdom. Hector's death was not only untimely, but it occurred as he was defending his homeland from the Achaeans, who are seen as allegorical interpretations of vices, most commonly lust. His warrior side remained accentuated, but his physical prowess did not serve Hector's pride, but Troy instead. With his death, Troy is sentenced to fall.

The main distinction between Hector in the *Iliad* and the one in the Latin retellings concerns his imperfect physical appearance and the diplomatic tendencies Hector exhibits while trying to woo Achilles to the Trojan side. However, these additions to Hector's character achieved through the Latin retellings should not be considered a devaluation of Homer's *Iliad*. To the contrary, I believe that Hector, as an exemplary warrior and a prudent heir, imperfect in his outer appearance, presented a model image for the twelfth-century

crusading knights. In the next chapter, I will provide an overview of the main cultural and ecclesiastical influences that led to the creation of the *miles Christi* as seen in the light of the Crusading movements from the eleventh century onwards.

3. Warriors of Faith: The Birth of Military Orders and the Transformation of Masculine Identity in the Crusades

The present chapter will provide an overview of key events and cultural shifts from Late Antiquity to the twelfth century in the Latin West, which I believe are the reason for the renewed interest in the Trojan War by Latin authors who used Hector as a model of warrior virtue and, subsequently, incorporated the Trojan prince into the crusading propaganda against the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire. First, I will focus on the reinvention of the Trojan War in the Latin West as a foundation myth for western cities and noble families before shifting my attention to the impact of the Crusades on the creation of new knighthood and the cult of a warrior king, for which I believe Hector was an ideal poetic model. Lastly, I will look into the representations of Byzantine Greeks in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Crusading narratives which have, in my opinion, aligned with the negative portrayal of the Achaeans in the twelfth century Latin reinterpretations of the Trojan War.

3.1. The Trojan War between Myth and History

The three Latin medieval retellings of the *Iliad* placed the Trojan War between myth and history. The presence of divine forces, preserved in *Ilias Latina*, is one of the fantastic elements we encounter in the epic narrative of Homer's *Iliad* which, consequently, situated the Trojan War beyond the mortal realms. On the other hand, Dictys' and Dares', allegedly, eye-witness accounts became more popular in the Latin West during the Middle Ages, as their historicity enabled the authors of Latin chronicles to appropriate their texts and press them into serving their political ideological agendas. To justify their right to rule, medieval Western monarchs traced their lineage to the Trojan kings and heroes, much like the Julio-Claudian dynasty claimed their mythical ancestry to Aeneas and, hence, Romulus, the

founder of the city of Rome. Vergil's *Aeneid* came to be interpreted as the leading political commentary of the Augustan period,[124] but the desire to relate to a mythical predecessor was not an innovation of the Romans and the West but is also perceivable in the Ancient Greek city-states with the rise of hero cults.[125]

As part of my preliminary research, I was not able to find any meaningful mentions of Hector or other Trojan nobles in Latin literary texts produced between the sixth and the twelfth centuries apart from Latin grammatical treaties where verses from the various Latin 'Homers' were used to explain syntax or morphology (i.e., Bede's *De orthographia*, Alcuinus' *Grammatica*). One Late Antique reinterpretation of the Trojan War, which did not enjoy the same popularity in the medieval Latin West as the *Ilias Latina*, Dictys, and Dares, was Blossius Aemilius Dracontius' *Romulea*.[126] Dracontius, a Christian poet from Vandal Carthage, was not a stranger to classical myths as he, probably, was also an author of *Orestes*, a tale on the downfall of Agamemnon's family composed in hexameter. While Dracontius' poetry and synthesis between the 'pagan' culture and a Christian worldview is intriguing,[127] especially his marginalization of Hector in favor of Paris,[128] it seems unlikely that it had any significant impact on the Homeric retellings of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, I find it

[124] For more on the political connotations in Virgil's *Aeneid*, see Kimberly K. Bell, "'Translatio' and the Constructs of a Roman Nation in Virgil's 'Aeneid,'" *Rocky Mountain Review* 62, no. 1 (2008): 11–24; and William J. Dominik, "Vergil's Geopolitics" in *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome*, eds. W. J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite and P. Roche (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 111–132; and Sabine Grebe, "Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's 'Aeneid.'" *Vergilius* (1959-) 50 (2004): 35–62.

[125] On Greek mythical ancestry as a way of establishing autochthony and empowering a city-state, especially Athens, see Vincent J. Rosivach, "Autochthony and the Athenians," *The Classical Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1987): 294–306; Lowell Edmunds, "Athenian Autochthonous Kings and their Families: The Shared Patterns of their Myths," *Arethusa* 56, no. 1 (2023): 1-25; Josine H. Blok "Gentrifying Genealogy: On the Genesis of the Athenian Autochthony Myth," in *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen, und Konstruktionen*, eds. Ueli Dill and Christine Walde (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 251–75; Sara L. Forsdyke, "'Born from the Earth': The Political Uses of an Athenian Myth*," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 12, 1 (2012): 119-141.

[126] The most recent edition of the *Romulea* can be found in Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, *Carmina profana*, ed. Otto Zwierlein (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 1-69.

[127] On the interaction between the Christian and the 'pagan' elements in *Romulea* and Dracontius' other works see Roswitha Simons, *Dracontius und der Mythos: Christliche Weltsicht und pagane Kultur in der ausgehenden Spätantike* (Berlin, Boston: B. G. Teubner, 2005).

[128] Lynton A. Boshoff argues that Dracontius' silencing of Hector and Priam's excessive reaction to Paris' absence, even though Hector was the heir-apparent, mirrors Hilderic's controversial accession to the throne. For more, see L. A. Boshoff, *The Mythological Epics of Dracontius in Their Socio-Political Context*, PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2017), 108-109.

notable to see Hector and other Trojan heroes being poetically manipulated to reference contemporary socio-political commentary at the time that is commonly (and unfairly) thought to be the decline of secular Latin literature.

I already mentioned that in the Latin West, particularly during the Carolingian period, the story of the Trojan War was acknowledged by authors connected with the ruler's court as a foundation myth. For the Franks, Dares' account was extended and circulated as *Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum*, tracing the Franks back to a certain Trojan Francio.[129] Furthermore, a similar narrative exists in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*,[130] an eighth-century Merovingian chronicle that follows the path of a group of Trojan refugees who travel from the Black Sea to the Rhineland. This was followed by a later, eleventh century *Gesta Francorum*, which claimed the Franks to have originated from Priam and Antenor.[131]

Declaring descendance from the Trojans meant sharing a bloodline with the Romans, a paradigm that would not only impact the Franks who saw the Frankish Kingdom as an heir of the Roman glory in Western Europe, but other European ruling houses as well. Composed in the ninth century, and later the main source for Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, the *Historia Brittonum* famously claimed that Britons were the descendants of Brutus, Aeneas' great-grandson, after whom Britain was named.[132] Furthermore, according to the *Gesta Normanorrum*, composed in the early eleventh century by Dudo of St. Quentin, the Normans derived from Antenor, the wisest among the Trojan elders and King Priam's

[129] The key treatment of Dictys and Dares as accounts for Trojan ethnogenesis in Frederic N. Clark, "Reading the 'First Pagan Historiographer': Dares Phrygius and Medieval Genealogy," *Viator* 41 (2010), 203–26.

[130] In Bruno Krusch, ed., "Historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum," in *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), 194–200.

[131] In Bruno Krusch, ed. "Liber historiae Francorum," *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888) 241–244.

[132] *HRB* I.6-22, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, eds. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007) 6–31; Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, ed. David N. Dumville (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 62–67.

counselor.[133] The Trojan myth continued to travel up north, to the Norse lands, where Snorri Sturluson, the alleged author and compiler of the *Prose Edda*, wrote that the Nordic deities came from Troy and that their great predecessor was King Priam.[134] The last in Western Europe to follow the Trojan trend were the Dutch, among whom the title page of the influential *Divisiekroniek* of Cornelius Aurelius in 1517 claimed that the Dutch were descended from the Trojans.[135]

These medieval identity narratives tend to speak about the Trojan War in very general and concise terms, without recalling the details of the actual myth but simply mentioning the names of the Trojan heroes without any additional notes; therefore, I suspect that the authors expected their audience to be familiar with at least the most well-known actors of the Trojan myth, such as Priam, Hector, and Antenor, the three most commonly mentioned in the above listed sagas and chronicles. The first notable mention of Hector I could find is in the *Passio* of the Theban Legion composed by Sigebert of Gembloux in eleventh century Belgium.[136] Sigebert compares Saint Victor, one of the martyred Theban soldiers, to Hector in the following terms:

> Like Nestor's son or like the Trojan Hector,
> With a pious heart, wise, and strong in body,
> He gathers strength in his senses and aging limbs.[137]

Where Sigebert of Gembloux could have drawn his inspiration for this characterization is not easy to say. This one single moment in which he chose to use Hector

[133] Dudo of St Quentin, *Dudo of St Quentin: History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 17. For the political background and the reasons for Dudo's genealogical and dynastic connection to Troy see Adam J. Goldwyn, "Trojan Pasts, Medieval Presents: Epic Continuation in Eleventh to Thirteenth Century Genealogical Histories," in *Brill's Companion to Prequels, Sequels, and Retellings of Classical Epic* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 154-174.

[134] In Heimir Pálsson, ed., *The Uppsala Edda: DG 11 4to*, trans. Anthony Faulkes (London: The Viking Society for Northern Research, 2012), 9 and 119.

[135] Michael Clarke, "The Legend of Trojan Origins in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Tapestries," in *Origin Legends in Early Medieval Western Europe*, ed. Lindy Brady and Patrick Wadden (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 188.

[136] The most recent publications on Sigebert's life and works can be found in the various contributions collected in in J.-P. Straus, ed; *Sigebert de Gembloux. Actes des Journées "Sigebert de Gembloux" Bruxelles-Gembloux – 5 et 6 octobre 2012* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015).

[137] *Sigebert's Von Gembloux Passio Sanctae Luciae Virginis und Passio Sanctorum Thebeorum*, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1893), 111.

as a model for his *corde pio callens et forti corpore* seems to me like a poetic epiphany of sorts that aligned with the author's lyrical preferences. What is worth noting, however, is the comparison between Hector and a group of martyrs being, remarkably, military men. I would not dwell on this example since I do not see it as an isolated case, although it might appear as one given the relative absence of Hector in texts of the previous four centuries. While Sigebert was an outspoken supporter of the pro-imperial faction during the investiture controversy,[138] the poem on the martyrdom of the Theban Legion was not, in my opinion, connected to a specific polemical context. The relics of Saint Exuperius, who was a standard-bearer of the Theban Legion, were translated in the tenth century to Gembloux Abbey where Sigebert of Gembloux was a monk. Therefore, it only made sense for Sigebert to dedicate a poem to the martyred soldiers due to their veneration at the abbey. I believe that Sigebert's Hector is only an accidental interlude in the story of the subsequent resurrection of Trojan heroes as models of virtue in a more politicized and ideologized context.

To gain a more profound comprehension of the alterations discernible in the depictions of Hector during the twelfth century, it is necessary to investigate the circumstances that preceded such literary transformations. According to my analysis of the twelfth-century appearances of Hector in Latin literature, the following should be considered: the rise of the warrior king cults at the time of the Crusades, the emergence of military orders in the Holy Land, and the hostile disposition against the Byzantine Empire as part of the Crusading narrative in the West. I will use the rest of the present chapter in order to provide a discussion of these impactful developments before I situate them within their twelfth-century literary context.

[138] Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 46-47.

3.2. The Crusades as a Lifestyle

By the end of the eleventh century, the Holy Land – a land sacred not just to Christians, but also to Jews and Muslims – became a pinpoint of conflict for Christians in Western Europe. After Pope Urban's rousing speech that called for arms, a great number of people responded, tempted by the idea of riches and plunder more than faith. The "popular crusades" differed greatly from the "official crusades" authorized by the Papacy.[139] The Holy Land, made into a passage between the East and the West, tempted merchants, nobles, bands of peasants, pilgrims, and armed men, both professional and those inexperienced in battle. Not only men, but women, too, joined in this conquest, participating in the mobilization by encouraging their husbands to take part in the campaign. Women also played diplomatic roles and prayed for the crusaders, an act just as valuable as actual fighting.[140] The Crusades became a lifestyle, permeating every layer of in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as they were an expression of religious devotion. However, despite the pious character of the Crusades, I will focus in this chapter on the Crusades as primarily a military conquest.

It seemed that by the end of the First Crusade in 1099 and the capture of Jerusalem by the Christian forces, a crusader had to be equally skilled in battle and expressing his love for Christ. Therefore, he was treated as a *miles Christi*, a soldier of Christ, who had taken the cross as a response to Christ's statement: "And whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after Me cannot be My disciple (Luke 14:27)."[141] The term *miles Christi* was not exclusively reserved for knights who ventured on a crusade, nor did it originate during the Crusades; Conor Kostick, for one, argues that the term is ambiguous, especially when perceived through the *Gesta Francorum*. He notes that in the *Gesta*, Bishop Adhémar was included in a

[139] On the demography of the popular Crusades and their characteristics, see Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 95-130.

[140] Helen Nicholson, "Women's involvement in the Crusades," in *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian Boas Abingdon: Routledge 2015), 62-64.

[141] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65, no. 214 (1980): 178.

grouping with Count Raymond, Godfrey of Lotharingia, and Hugh the Great, all referred to as 'the soldier of Christ' despite their different societal status.[142]

The highest ranking *miles Christi* at the time of the Crusades was undoubtedly the ruler. Although no king can be found in the group of people of various social origins that ventured on the First Crusade, medieval Western monarchs were named as "the soldiers of Christ" before their attempts to recapture the Holy Land. The first to do so was Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* when he wrote of King Oswald that "From that time, not only in this monastery but in many other places, the heavenly birthday of this king [Oswald] and soldier of Christ began to be observed yearly by the celebration of masses."[143] According to Bede's account of Oswald's life, the holy king who had suffered a violent death in battle was the perfect image of Christian virtue. Bede never uses the word 'martyr' for Oswald, opting instead for title *miles Christi* that was meant to enhance Oswald's ruler's qualities as a warlord and sovereign in addition to his saintly character.[144]

In the whole, Bede provides two prototypes of royal sainthood in connection with the Merovingian cult of holy kings: the first concerns those kings who died pilgrims or a monks after they had renounced their throne, while the others came to be venerated after dying a violent death.[145] Despite *bellum iustum* ("just war") being a controversial topic among the early Church Father, and throughout the early medieval period, numerous hagiographical narratives of *milites Christi* draw a clear distinction between secular military duty and serving in the metaphorical army of God.[146] The Anglo-Saxon world repeated the narrative on the allegorical comprehension of *miles Christi* in different hagiographical accounts, until the

[142] Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*, 20.

[143] *HE* 4.14 in Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 381.

[144] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83.

[145] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 79.

[146] Among many, there is Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*, then in the Anglo-Saxon tradition *Vita Cuthberti*, Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, Willibald's *Vita Bonifacii*, and Byrhtferth's *Vita Oswaldi*; for more see G. Cahilly-Bretzin, *Soldiering for Christ: The Role of the Miles Christi in Four Old English Saints' Lives*, PhD thesis (University of Oxford, 2020) 20-38.

twelfth century, when the celebration of kings as warriors, that being their Christian virtue, ascended to prominence.

During the twelfth century, in the addition to the Crusades setting up a new warrior *habitus* that embraced devotion and violence evenly, radical changes also occurred in the *Passions* of less martial rulers. Gábor Klaniczay presented the changes in the cults of St. Edmund and St. Wenceslas as examples of Christian rulers whose literary portrayals were refashioned in the image of a knight, presented as equipped with armor and ferociously slaying his enemies in battle.[147] The portrayal of King Oswald will undergo similar changes in his hagiographies, for instance in the *Life* written by Reginald of Coldingham c. 1165 where Oswald, a typically benevolent king, is described as a celebrated warrior who does not shy away from battle as an "*athleta Christi invictissimus*."[148] Other royal cults experienced similar transformations, such as that of St. Olaf, who was said to have received "the glorious crown of martyrdom" as "Christi athlete" in a saga celebrating his military skills among other virtues.[149]

The eleventh- and the twelfth- century' traditions that transformed the images of holy warrior rulers from martyrs to knights did not only celebrate the kings of the recent Christian times, but those of the antiquity as well. The twelfth-century popularity of King Arthur and Alexander the Great had an immense influence on the cults of royal saints; both of them were later included in the Nine Worthies that also included Hector alongside Alexander and Julius Caesar in the 'pagan' triad.[150] Probably the most impactful event in the creation of the cult of royal saints was the canonization of Charlemagne by the antipope Paschal III in 1165; his

[147] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 161-166.
[148] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 168.
[149] Frederick Metcalfe, ed., *Passio et miracula beati Olaui: edited from a twelfth-century manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), 88. Klaniczay gives examples of other kings that were transformed into chivalrous saintly types, such as Emperor Henry II and Edward the Confessor, whose reputations as models of chastity were "touched up with the tinge of the new ideal (p. 171)."
[150] Jean Wauquelin, "Jacques de Longuyon's excursus on the Nine Worthies [from Les Voeux du Paon ('The Vows of the Peacock'), c.1310]," in *The Medieval Romance of Alexander: The Deeds and Conquests of Alexander the Great*, trans. N. Bryant (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 305-306.

relics provided the notion of the "Holy Empire" (*sacrum imperium*) for Frederic I Barbarossa. In the honor of Charlemagne's sainthood, a hymn was composed, the *Urbs Aquensis,*[151] which evoked Charlemagne's accomplishments by referring to him as a great emperor and a converter of infidels, therefore a ruler, warrior, and saint – a twelfth-century ruling ideal.

However, nothing had managed to exemplify the fusion of piety and martial skills as the military orders did. During the First Crusade, a new kind of monasticism emerged in the Holy Land, and the members of these military orders were subjects to the prescriptions of canon law except in their right and duty to bear arms.[152] As an institution closely associated with Crusades, and driven by the crusading values, the Templars, Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order were initially founded with the goal to support the Latin Christians in the East during their conquest and pilgrimage, therefore making their role twofold: spiritual and practical.[153] The concept of a military order was new, but ecclesiastical efforts to temper noble warfare into a more practical purpose could already be seen with the Peace and Truce of God movement.[154] The foundation of the military orders seemed to have come during the crisis for the Franks in the East, when most of the Crusaders returned home, to the West, after 1100, leaving around 200 knights and 700 infantries in Jerusalem.[155] The Templar Order, the first among the military orders, was formally established around this time, at the 1120 council of Nablus, after the Christian forces in the principality of Antioch suffered a great defeat in the Battle of Ager Sanguinis. The request for the brothers of the order to be armed was

[151] On the importance of *Urbs Aquensis* as part of Bararossa's imperial propaganda see Erika Eisenlohr, "Die älteste Niederschrift der Sequenz „Urbs Aquensis urbs regalis" im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts und ihre mögliche Verbindung zum Karlskult Barbarossas," in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* (1989): 35–67.

[152] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (4th edition) (San Francisco: Ignatus Press 2009), 84.

[153] Karl Borchardt, "The Military-Religious Orders in the Crusader West" in *The Crusader World* ed. Adrian J. Boas (London, New York: Routledge 2016), 111.

[154] Paul Crawford, "The Military Orders: Introduction," *The ORB: On-line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*, March 20, 2024, https://www.arlima.net/the-orb/encyclop/religion/monastic/milintro.html. On the Peace and Truce of God as the prelude to the Crusades see H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past & Present*, no. 46 (1970): 42–67.

[155] Nicholas Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314* (London-New York: Routledge 2013), 12.

additionally encouraged by an attack and murder of a group of pilgrims who were traveling from Jerusalem to Jordan in 1119.[156]

By introducing the military orders to their campaigns, the Crusaders greatly changed the ideas of a religious war, but also gave a new form to monastic masculinity. The brothers of the Templar Order took vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. They were the soldiers of Christ, dedicated to their faith, ascetic, and created in imitation of their Savior.[157] As such, they gave a new definition to the term 'knight,' hence distinguishing themselves from the 'secular' knighthood. The greatest critic of the secular knighthood, in contrast to the Templars, was without doubt Bernard of Clairvaux, the co-founder of the Templar Knights, who wrote a treatise "In Praise of the New Knighthood" (*Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*). According to the Prologue, Bernard dedicated his work to Hugh de Pays who was the first Grand Master of the Templar Knights.

During the 1120s, a few years into the Order's foundation, the concept of a warrior-monk was still to be defined. Initially, knights may have viewed their role as akin to the Hospitallers, who had long provided aid to pilgrims and gained recognition from the Church in 1113. The Templars' physical protection of the pilgrims was only complementary to Hospitallers' function, especially with the lack of Christian forces in the Holy Land at that moment. Professing monastic vows only reinforced Templars' dedication to a pious cause without turning them into monks.[158]

The first set of rules for the Templars was confirmed by the Council of Troyes in 1129. Known as the *Latin Rule*, the clauses were written in the Holy Land and they are attributed to Bernard de Clairvaux and Hugues de Payens, both present at the Council of

[156] Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders*, 12.

[157] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Paris: University of Notre Dame Press 2010), 12.

[158] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood: A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, trans. M. Conrad Greenia, (New Jersey: Gorgias Press 2010), 10-11.

Troyes.[159] The *Rule* concerned every aspect of the Knights Templars' life, from daily rituals, prayers, garment regulations, to the prohibition of earthly pleasures. Bernard's other text on the principles of the Templars, *De laude novae militiae*, was aimed at those within and outside of the order as it was supposed to rally support for the Templars.[160] One may also read *De laude* as not only praise, but also as defense of the Templars' way of life. Modern editions divide *De laude* into thirteen chapters, which either deal directly with the Knights Templar by contrasting them to 'secular' knights or describe the holy sites in the crusader states. For the purpose of the present thesis, I will only focus on the critique of secular knighthood and the basic principles that distinguished one knighthood from another.

In the first place, Bernard describes a Templar knight as one being protected by a double armor – one of the faith and the other of steel. As such, a Templar knight fears neither demons, nor death. Instead, he desires it "when for him to live is Christ, and to die is gain (Phil 1:21)."[161] Bernard furthermore states that, in the eyes of the Lord, precious is the death of his holy ones (Ps 115:15), but even more so, if it is a death in battle since this is more glorious.[162] The knights who fight for Christ do not have to fear the sin of murder, unlike the secular worldly knights who, each time they march, must worry for their soul as killing an enemy's body means striking down your own soul.[163]

It is not only the cause of their fight and the weight of their sins that set apart the new knighthood from secular knights. The way a secular knight adorns his horse and wears his hair and robes also concerns Bernard, who is quick to condemn the secular knights for their vanity and love of earthly possessions. Bernard frowns upon the "shameful wrath and fearless

[159] M. L. Bulst-Thiele, "The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gerves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 58.

[160] Bulst-Thiele, "The Influence of St. Bernard," 59.

[161] *De laude* 1.1. All translations of Bernard's *De laude* are taken from Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood: A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 31-82.

[162] *De laude*, 1.2.

[163] *De laude*, 1.2.

folly"[164] with which a secular knights charges towards his death. The silks, gold, and jewels should not belong to a knight for him to adorn his horse, as they are "trinkets of a woman."[165] These adornments Bernard finds troubling not only for their association with women, but also for practical reasons. In a battle, a knight should always be prepared to swiftly draw his sword. If he carries all the trinkets with him while sparring, then his long silky tunic may trip him and his long locks can fall in his face, blinding the knight. The hands of a secular knight are not made to hold a sword, as he has "delicate hands in cumbersome, flowing sleeves."[166] In the end, Bernard concludes that is it not the physical aspect of a secular knight that is terrible as his "insecurity of conscience" is.[167] Secular knights have no true goal to go into battle for, except for "flashes of irrational anger, hunger for empty glory (Gal 5:26), or hankering after some earthly possessions."[168]

Knights' idealized physical descriptions are an integral part of Bernard's *De laude* while he describes the life and habits of Templars. First and foremost, the Knights of the Temple are disciplined. They wear whatever is given to them by their superior (Lk 7:8, RB 55), they do not carry any excessive ornamentation with them, and they live in isolated quarters, surrounded only by their fellow brothers in arms and without their wives and children. All their activities are performed with a practical purpose, such as repairing torn clothes or fixing their armor, and they foreswear leisure activities such as dice and chess. Unlike the secular knights, Templars keep their hair short and "they never dress, and seldom wash, their hair—content to let it appear tousled and dusty, darkened by chain mail and heat."[169] Bernard goes on to emphasize then the importance of faith and steel in battle, rather than the gold of the secular knights, who parade to be admired by others. Templars keep their

[164] *De laude*, 2.3.
[165] *De laude*, 2.3.
[166] *De laude*, 2.3.
[167] *De laude*, 2.3.
[168] *De laude*, 2.3.
[169] *De laude*, 4.7.

minds on the battle and their desire to win, which is winning for Christ, seeking to be "formidable rather than flamboyant (*formidini quam admirationi*)."[170] For the way in which they go into battle, as "men of peace (Gen 42:31; Mt 5:9)," and because of their manners, which appear "gentler than lambs, yet fiercer than lions,"[171] Bernard is hesitant whether to call Templars monks or soldiers. In the end, he opts for both, writing that they were men chosen by God and who "lack neither monastic meekness nor military might."[172]

The reception of Bernard's text is well documented, but it is difficult to certain to what extent the Knights of the Temple actually followed the principles set forth by his *De laude* and the *Latin Rule*. In their early days, Templars enjoyed the support of Baldwin II, although they were sworn only to their grand master, whom they chose through their own election process.[173] At the end of the thirteenth century, the knight Gerald of Gaûche possessed his personal edition of *De laude* while fulfilling duties in the East. Additionally, the cords worn by the brothers, resembling scapulars, were reportedly introduced in recognition of or by order of Bernard, who some have believed to be their founder.[174] However, not all Templars were pious men who strove towards peace. Jonathan Riley-Smith describes the Templars as "the antithesis of chivalry," while chivalry is seen as "a secular parody of Christianity, with its own scriptures, liturgy and iconography."[175] The radical nature of Templars' lifestyle caused a negative reaction with some contemporaries, as their distinctive role as monks and warriors provoked arrogance among the Templars, but it also led to envy and hatred for their departure from Christian customs.[176] Isaac of l'Etoile, a Cistercian abbot, was among the first to criticize the Templar brotherhood by calling it both

[170] *De laude*, 4.8.
[171] *De laude*, 4.8.
[172] *De laude*, 4.8.
[173] Bulst-Thiele, "The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar," 62.
[174] Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers*, 11.
[175] Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers*, 12.
[176] Bulst-Thiele, "The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar," 63.

nova militia and a *monstrum novum*; he was especially critical of the knights' cruelty towards non-Christians.[177] Riley-Smith argues that Isaac of l'Etoile represents the opinion of a minority as, generally, most Latin Christians viewed the Templars' mission as beneficial.[178] The public would only turn on them in case of catastrophic losses in the Holy Land, such as the aborted conquest of Damascus in 1148 after the Templars had, allegedly, accepted a bribe from the Saracens.

However, the formation of the military orders, especially the Knights of the Temple, had a greater impact beyond the militarization of the Holy Land. The Templars' set of rules on warrior identity led to the emergence of a new masculine identity.[179] Starting from their clothing, humility, and courage, the crusaders maintained an appearance that embodied the traditionally masculine features of a warrior with a cleric's yearning for the divine reward. As A. Holt rightfully notes, although both crusaders and secular warriors were expected to exhibit courage, the level of courage expected from crusaders was significantly higher, as they were believed to be guaranteed a divine reward for their sacrifices.[180] The crusaders found comfort in dying on the battlefield as martyrs, unlike the secular knights who did not have promises of heavenly rewards.[181] Strength, valor, sacrifice, and a humble appearance are seemingly the greatest virtues a Christian warrior can possess in the crusading discourse. I believe these traits are held in an even higher esteem once they are compared to their "effeminate" counterparts, i.e., the secular knights, women, and Byzantine Greeks.

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[177] Isaac of L'Etoile, *Sermons*, eds. Anselme Hoste and Gaetano Raciti, 3 vols (Paris: Les editions du cerf, 1967–87), 3.158–60. Also, in Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, 14.

[178] Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, 14.

[179] On the idea of a new masculine identity, based on Bernard of Clairvaux *De laude*, see A. Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," in *Negotiating Clerical Identities. Genders and Sexualities in History*, ed. J. D. Thibodeaux (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 185-203.

[180] Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," 192.

[181] Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," 192.

Depending on their social status, women did participate in the Crusades on different levels of engagement and in different spheres of the enterprise. Their tasks, in most cases, included diplomacy, and moral and physical support of those engaged in combat, but some women also rode into battle, camouflaged as men.[182] For the sake of my argument, I will only briefly discuss the role of women here as, to quote Andrew Holt, "an impediment to their [viz. clerics'] efforts to convince men to take crusading vows."[183]

After the fall of Acre in 1291, the enthusiasm for joining the Crusade diminished, particularly among women.[184] Whether they were interested in assuming the dress of a crusader themselves or recruiting others, women's support dropped. Although the conquest itself had proven to be dangerous, during the first decades of the Crusades, women seemed not to have any issue with their husbands leaving their families behind and traveling to the Holy Land, as they themselves were swept away by the initial enthusiasm. After the disastrous Second Crusade, many of the failed military campaigns were blamed on women for their ties to immorality, sexual desire, and sin.[185] The oath of chastity taken by the military orders only added to the ongoing condemnation of female presence on the battlefield. Furthermore, a man's renunciation extended not only to the bodily temptations a knight might experience, but also to the stages before he ventured on a crusade, during recruitment. Some contemporary preachers, such as James of Vitry and Gerald of Wales, told tales of men whose wives objected to their taking the crusading vow by locking the man inside the house

[182] Keren Caspi-Reisfeld, "Women Warriors during the Crusades 1095-1254," in *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), 95. For more on the presence of women in the Crusades see Helen Nicholson, *Women and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 1-20; Helen Nicholson, "Women on the Third Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History*, Volume 23, Issue 4 (1997): 335-349; Maureen Purcell "Women Crusaders: a Temporary Canonical Aberration?" in *Principalities, Powers and Estates: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Government*, ed. L. O. Frappell (Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press, 1979), 57-64.

[183] Holt, *Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades*, 194.

[184] Nicholson, "Women's Involvement in the Crusades," 55.

[185] Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," 196.

or refusing to give consent for their departure.[186] Eventually, rejecting a woman became a confirmation of one's "masculine prerogative."[187]

3.3. Fractured Alliances: The Byzantine-Western Divide in the Crusades

Although animosity and contempt between Romans and Greeks can be traced back to antiquity, the Crusades represent the period of one of the greatest rifts between Greek-speaking Byzantium and the Latin West. The two sides held prejudices towards one another from the time of Rome's dominion in mainland Greece after the Macedonian Wars (214–148 BC). The Romans of the Late Republic and the Early Empire characterized Greeks as pleasure-seeking, often using verbs such as *pergraecor* to denote those who 'lived in the Greek manner,' which was associated with banqueting and idleness. However, Benjamin Isaac argues that it is possible that the philhellenism of some emperors, such as Nero, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, was not despised because of their admiration towards Hellenic antiquity, but because they identified themselves with contemporary Greeks.[188] Romans gladly engaged with the culture of classical Greece, distinguishing between the ancient Greek heritage and the contemporary Greeks who were their subjects.[189]

I would argue that a similar occurrence can be observed in the Latin West of the late medieval period. Despite the split between the two Churches in 1054, the Great Schism or any other dispute between the Latin West and the Byzantine Empire did not prevent either

[186] Nicholson, "Women's Involvement in the Crusades," 55-56; Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," 194; Peter W. Edbury, "Preaching the Crusade in Wales," in *England and Germany in the Middle Ages*, eds. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 225.

[187] Holt, "Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades," 194.

[188] Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 381-382.

[189] Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, 382.

side from acknowledging the cultural importance of the other.[190] On the other hand, the Crusades, being a time of conquest and war, dismissed the scholarly admiration for art and literature between the East and the West in favor of military prowess. The twelfth-century knightly culture had different sets of values in Byzantium and in the Latin West, and the two sides could not seem to find a common ground when defining courage, martial skills, and rules of war. What started as a battle again a common 'infidel' foe, the Saracens, soon vanished, and was instead replaced by mutual perceptions of each side as bearers of foreign and inferior cultures.[191]

One of the earliest recorded instances we have on the "effeminacy" of the Byzantines comes from the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* ("The deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem"). This anonymous chronicle on the First Crusade recalls a conversation between Christian envoys and a Muslim ruler, where the latter boased to have conquered land "from an effeminate people (*effeminatis gentibus*)."[192] This was a clear reference to the Byzantines which the author of the *Gesta*, as Andrew Holt notes, could have heard from the Christian envoy, but it is even more likely that significant portions of the conversation were imagined conforming to the pre-existing values and perspectives of the crusaders.[193] It is most likely that the Byzantine court customs came as a shock to the Western knights that found themselves surrounded by eunuchs and the ornamental clothes the nobles wore.[194] Eunuchs in particular were seen as effeminate by the Westerners and their reaction can be found with Guibert of Nogent, among others. The Benedictine wrote in his *Dei Gesta per Francos* that Emperor Alexius I had ordered some men to be castrated,

[190] See Réka Forrai, "The Sacred Nectar of the Deceitful Greeks. Perceptions of Greekness in Ninth Century Rome," in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen,* ed. Andreas Speer and Philipp Steinkrüger (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 71-84.

[191] Andrew Holt, *The World of the Crusades: A Daily Life Encyclopedia* [2 volumes] (Santa Barbara: Greenwood 2019), 160.

[192] *Gesta Francorum* xxvii, in Rosalind Hill, ed. and trans., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 67.

[193] Holt, *The World of the Crusades: A Daily Life Encyclopedia*, 161.

[194] Holt, *The World of the Crusades: A Daily Life Encyclopedia*, 161.

therefore, "rendering their bodies, deprived of virility, weak and effeminate, no longer fit for military service. Even worse, they were cut off from producing progeny for the future, who might have been looked for as aid against their enemies."[195]

Perfidy and lack of military skills were the Greeks' greatest vices in the eyes of the Western authors and knights.[196] They justified such accusations by the defeats Greeks had suffered at the hands of the Turks in half century prior to the First Crusade, but also because the Latin knights were not paid following the siege of Nicea nor did they receive aid during the siege of Antioch.[197] During the time of war, when robust virtues needed to defeat the enemy were prized the highest, it only made sense for the Latins to abandon their previous admiration for Greek culture for the pathetic image of weak and desperate Byzantine emperor and his men. This view can be found with other Latin authors, such as Robert the Monk,[198] Albert of Aachen,[199] and Peter Tudebode.[200]

In conclusion to what has been said above, during the age of the Crusades, a period characterized by intense conflict, emerged a transformative principle centered on the

[195] Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent's 'Gesta Dei per Francos,'* trans. Robert Levine (New York: The Boydell Press, 1997), 26.

[196] For this thesis, I am only focusing on the Greek representation in the Latin sources. For a vernacular perspective see Zuzana Černáková, "The Image of Byzantium in Twelfth-Century French Fiction: A Historical Perspective" in *Byzance et l´Occident II: tradition, transmission, traduction*, ed. Emese Egedi-Kovács (Budapest: Collège Eötvös József ELTE, 2015), 17-45.

[197] Matthew Bennett, "Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?" in *Gendering the Crusades* eds. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), 18.

[198] "[About the defeat at the Battle of Civetot] Those who managed to escape by luck or judgement returned to the Arm of St George and thence Constantinople, on the orders of the infinitely wicked Emperor. He and his Greeks were delighted by the Turkish victory, and cunningly bought up all the arms from our men so as to render them defenceless." in Robert the Monk, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 88.

[199] "[In a speech by the Turkish leader Qilij Arslan] The imperial army is made up of soft and effeminate Greeks, who have rarely been troubled by the exercise of wars and could easily be overcome by the strength of hard men and, once overcome, decapitated." in Albert of Aachen, *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem, vol.1: Books 1-6. The First Crusade 1095-1099*, trans. S.B. Edgington (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 136.

[200] "[On the lack of skill of any that are not the Franks, but also on the shared legend between the Turks and the Franks that they descend from the Trojans] ...and strength of the Turks, who thought that they could terrify the Frankish army with threats of arrows as they had terrorized the Arabs, Saracens, Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks. But, God willing, may they never be as strong as our men in appearance, deed, or ideas. However, they claim to be of Frankish descent, and in the nature of things only the Franks and themselves are knights." in Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, trans. with introd. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), 37.

cultivation of formidable warrior abilities, military prowess, and desire for eternal glory. Some of the values promoted during this time were fostered by the martial nature of the Crusading movement, while others were generated by the Christian character of the crusading endeavor. The belligerent character of the Crusades established an archetype of the exemplary warrior in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, evident not solely among the lower-rank soldiers but also among their leaders. This violence-infused atmosphere of the military campaigns in the Holy Land enabled the growth of the holy king cults, which celebrated a ruler's piety in addition to his battlefield expertise. Therefore, *miles Christi* became a symbol of an environment characterized by the confluence of violence and religious fervor.

Due to this distinct aspect of the Crusades which fused religious zeal, military endeavor, and geopolitical ambitions, there was a need for the creation of new social groups that would put in practice the tasks drawn by the religious authorities, with the pope as the leading figure. Although the Templar Order fell out of favor with the European monarch and the Church in the fourteenth century, their organizational structure, which combined military and monastic elements, lead to respect and admiration among both secular and religious authorities in the early days after their foundation. The Templars' unwavering dedication to the defense of Christian interests in the Holy Land demanded commitment to their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, perceptible from the way they styled their hair to the equipment their horses were decorated with. I believe that this perceived "secrecy" of the order, that displayed their vows through their appearance, set the ground for the invention of a new masculinity.

The perfect contrast, according to the Western sources in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, to new crusading masculinity were the Byzantine Greeks who lacked the skills and appearances of an ideal Western knight, or *miles Christi*. The elite Byzantine clothing was renowned for its richness and refinement, featuring elaborate decorations such as intricate

embroidery and precious gems, everything that the military orders perceived with distaste. What is more, the strategic and diplomatic actions of the Byzantines and their emperor came to be questioned often by the Western leaders, who doubted their motives and sincerity, especially after the failure of the Second Crusade. I believe that the twelfth-century resurgent interest in the *Iliad* was caused by a convergence of factors, notably the aspiration for affiliation with a venerable cultural and military power, i.e., Ancient Rome, coupled with Rome's pivotal role as foundational ground of Christian ideology. This revival coincided with an epoch marked by expansive conflict of monumental scale, where the inherent violence associated with territorial acquisition and conquest further accentuated the allure of the epic narrative. The identification of the Latin West with the Trojan side in the *Iliad* not only pointed to their affiliation with Rome, but it allowed the Latin poets and scholars to seek the traits of the new crusading masculinity and the anti-Byzantine attitude in the late antique and twelfth-century *Iliad* retellings. In the last chapter of my thesis, I will show how Hector of Troy embodied the ideal image of a *miles Christi*, as envisioned by the military orders and the Western crusading propaganda, in the twelfth-century Latin retelling of the *Iliad*.

4. From Pagan Virtue to Crusading Ideal: The Evolution of Hector in Twelfth-Century Literature

In the last chapter of this thesis, I intend to show how Hector of Troy came to embody the ideal image of a *miles Christi* in twelfth-century Latin literature, as vehiculated in the ideology of the military orders and the Western crusading propaganda. I will focus on scenes and descriptions of Hector which appear in two different kinds of texts, according to their topics: on one hand, the retellings of the Trojan War, and on the other, both secular and ecclesiastical texts that used Hector's figure as a term of comparison for various characters. After providing a brief historical background on each text and its author, I will analyze each mention of Hector while paying attention to the similarity vs. difference of his appearance when compared with versions of his character in the Latin texts that could have served as sources (discussed above, see ch. 2). My investigation will also consider how any detectable changes might have responded to contemporary cultural and political circumstances, as mentioned in the previous chapter. By doing so, I will be able to establish if we can truly talk about the poetic baptism of a 'Christian Hector' in context characterized by the emergence of crusading warrior ideals and anti-Byzantine rhetoric in the Western European texts. I will also consider the possibility of other factors that may have contributed to this renewed interest in Trojan heroes and re-interpretations of Hector in addition to the two mentioned above.

4.1. The Scholarly and Political Context of Joseph of Exeter's Literary Legacy

I have already had the opportunity to mention Joseph of Exeter's versified version of Dares' account of the fall of Troy. The comparison between Hector and Henry the Young

King stands out as the most invaluable textual reference in my exploration of Hector's perceived 'Christianization.' Most details from Joseph of Exeter's life, along with the information about his literary works, come from Joseph's correspondence with Guibert of Gembloux, a Benedictine monk and later the head of the monastery of Gembloux.[201] The two became acquainted during Joseph's study at Jodoigne, in modern-day Belgium, and after returning to England, Joseph continued to share his personal stories, but also some of his poetic works with Guibert. One of many letters Joseph sent to his mentor reveals his anxieties about setting forth on a Crusade in 1189.[202] Joseph would eventually leave for the Holy Land, following his friend Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he had dedicated *De Bello Troiano* some years earlier. However, once Archbishop Baldwin passed away in 1190, Joseph returned to England where he would commemorate his crusading in a fragmentary poem called the *Antiocheis*.[203] Joseph's most famous work, *De Bello Troiano*, was largely written before 1183 since Joseph refers to the death of Henry the Young King who predeceased his father, King Henry II in that year. However, *De Bello Troiano* was probably not completed before 1184 because of its dedication to Archbishop Baldwin, who did not attain the archbishop primacy until that year.

Who was the intended audience of *De Bello Troiano*? A. K. Bate writes in his edition of *De Bello Troiano* that it would be tempting to claim that Joseph wrote it as a commission of Henry II's court, and that it is more probable that the inspiration for Joseph's poem lies in the intellectual environment rather than the royal court.[204] I already mentioned the importance of Gembloux not just for Joseph, but for the general renewed interest in literary motifs

[201] The correspondence, coming from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Laurent of Liège, can be found in Guibertus Gemblacensis Abbas, "Epistola Hervardi Leodicensis Ad Guibertum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* 211, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1855), col. 1305-08.

[202] *PL* 211, col. 1307. The same letter contained two poems Joseph had written. The poems can be found in Keith A. Bate, "Joseph of Exeter—Religious Poet," *Medium Ævum* 40, no. 3 (1971): 222–29.

[203] Only 21 lines of the poem are preserved in William Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain*, where the author used Joseph's verses to praise Britain as a warrior land; see William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 338-339.

[204] Joseph of Exeter, *Trojan War I-III*, 21.

connected with Antiquity and apparent from Sigebert of Gembloux's poem on the martyrdom of the Theban Legion. More of this literary resurgence can be seen in works by Godfrey of Reims' (ca. 1094) who wrote about his dream where the Count Odo of Orleans (ca. 834) had recited a poem on the Trojan War, as well as in the anonymous poem *Pergama flere volo*, and works by Baudri of Bourgueil (ca. 1050-1130), Hugh Primas (ca. 1090-1160), and Simon Aurea Capra (ca. 1175) in the early twelfth century.[205] Gembloux seems to have been a flourishing center of written culture, equipped with a library rich in classical texts. It is most probable that Joseph acquired his material on the Trojan War and ancient mythology here, outside the domain of Henry II. Jean-Yves Tilliette mentions that an even more important learning center for Joseph was Reims, where he stayed for an unknown period of time. The cathedral school in Rheims was a major literary center in medieval Western Europe, and although it might have fallen behind Paris in importance by the twelfth century, the cathedral school there would have influenced Joseph significantly as he was not simply a student at Rheims, but a teacher.[206]

Although Joseph had the tendency to invent new episodes, especially those relating to battle scenes, the main source material for Joseph's tale on the fall of Troy was Dares' *Historia de excidio Troiae*. In places where Dares simply wrote that there was a battle (*pugnatum est*), Joseph supplied the battle descriptions featuring warriors not present in Dares' original account, some with names that evoke Greek or foreign origins, despite them never being mentioned in the Trojan myth.[207] The main departure of Joseph from Dares' narrative concerns the involvement of the gods. Where Dares' prose is dry and lacking vividness, due to its author's desire to imitate an eyewitness historical account, Joseph's

[205] Joseph of Exeter, *Trojan War I-III*, 20.

[206] Joseph d'Exeter, *L'Iliade: Épopée du XIIe siècle sur la Guerre de Troie*, ed. Francine Mora, trans. C. Cosme et al. Introduction by Jean-Yves Tilliette (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 16. Furthermore, Tilliette tells of other famous authors connected with Rheims who wrote in similar style to Joseph, such as Simon Chèvre d'Or, who was commissioned by Henry I, Count of Champagne, to write his *Ylias*, and Walter of Châtillon, who wrote his *Alexandreis* under his patron Archbishop William of Rheims.

[207] For more on Joseph's mythological inventions in his poem see Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, vii-viii.

language is rich in imagination, coming close in its qualities to the Roman writers of the Latin Silver Age.[208] Furthermore, Joseph is fond of mythological themes; stories like the division of the world between the gods[209], the Gigantomachy[210], and the birth of Venus[211] found their place in his poem.[212]

While for the most part Joseph aligns his narrative to that of Dares' *Historia*, he additionally draws his material from Dictys' account, particularly on the return of the Greeks from Troy. Joseph includes a story in which Antenor, Aeneas, Ucelagon, Polydamas, and other Trojan warriors form a conspiracy to open the city gates to the Greeks after they become aware of Troy's inevitable doom, but he alters it to a certain extent. According to A. G. Rigg's interpretation, Joseph does not find guilt in the Trojan men for opening the city gates, but in Calchas, a renegade Trojan, into whose character Joseph introduced a sense of moral ambiguity.[213] Notably, he also preserves domestic scenes involving Hector, such as Andromache's prophetic dream foreshadowing Hector's death, and the moment in which Hector rejects his father's command not to go into battle. By retelling these scenes, I believe that Joseph meant to present Hector in a complex light, having the Trojan prince simultaneously embody paternal authority by dismissing Andromache's pleas, while also having Hector challenge paternal dominance, therefore amplifying Hector's portrayal as both a formidable warrior and Trojan leader. As for the rest of the storyline, I did not encounter any other significant alterations of Dictys and Dares' accounts. *De Bello Troiano* is divided

[208] Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad*, vi.
[209] *De bello Troiano*, 1.239-240.
[210] *De bello Troiano*, 2.374, 6.45-48.
[211] *De bello Troiano*, 2.523-524, 560-569.
[212] On Joseph's treatment of 'pagan' gods, their allegorical meanings, and Joseph's mythological sources see Hugh C. Parker, "The Pagan Gods in Jospeh of Exeter's 'De BelloTroiano,'" *Medium Ævum* 64, no. 2 (1995): 273–78; and A. G. Rigg, "Joseph of Exeter's Pagan Gods Again," *Medium Ævum* 70, no. 1 (2001): 19–28.
[213] Riggs suggests that by obscuring Calchas' Trojan origins and hinting at his treachery, Joseph adds depth to the character and challenges conventional views on prophecy and morality. The ambiguity surrounding Calchas not only aligns with Joseph's criticism of pagan practices but also keeps the reader engaged by prompting them to question the true motivations and loyalties of the characters, in A. G. Rigg, "Calchas, renegade and traitor: Dares and Joseph of Exeter," *Notes and Queries* 45, no. 2 (1998): 178.

into six books and, after Joseph's introductory note on the importance of firsthand testimonies in contrast to Homeric-Virgilian fiction, the author begins his storytelling from Jason and the Argonauts' encounter with Laomedon. In addition to his mythological innovations, Joseph's most significant reinventions present in his poems are commentaries related to contemporary events, such as the comparisons between the deaths of Hector and Henry the Young King, and a concluding note to Archbishop Baldwin.[214]

The parallel between Hector and Henry the Young King might come as a surprise to a reader familiar with the reputation the Young King enjoyed throughout his life.[215] Notorious for inciting a rebellion against his father, but loved for his youthful nature and knightly stature, Henry the Young King was mostly favored by his contemporaries.[216] Most of the Young King's youth was in spent organizing knightly tournaments, especially between 1170s and 1180s when these tournaments were held almost fortnightly, providing young

[214] In addition to the introductory word, in Book VI, at the poem's end, Joseph promises Baldwin that he will write a poem for the future endeavors too – the forthcoming crusade (*De bello Troiano*, 6.968–973).

[215] The number of studies conducted on the rule of Henry II and his sons is immense. Usually, modern accounts of the life of Henry the Young King are based on the acts and the reign of his father, and other contemporaries, such as William Marshall and Richard the Lionheart, so it was difficult to find a study that focuses solely on the Young King, as Henry II's life and his are so intertwined. Here, I will point out only a few modern contributions that have shaped my understanding of Henry the Young King's brief, but tumultuous life: Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery, Britain, 1066-1284* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 191-262; W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), 121-143, 580-593; Richard Barber, *Henry II: A Prince Among Princes* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), 76-88; Thomas Asbridge, *The Greatest Knight: The Remarkable Life of William Marshal, the Power Behind Five English Thrones* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2015), David Crouch, *William Marshal*, 3rd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2016), 41-68; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings: 1075-1225*, 54-64.

[216] Gerald of Wales, for one, describes both Henry the Young King and his brother Richard as "tall in stature, rather above the middle size, and of commanding aspect. In courage and magnanimity they were nearly equal; but in the character of their virtues there was great disparity [...] [Henry] was admirable for gentleness and liberality commendable suavity [...] commended for his easy temper [...] remarkable for his clemency [...] the vile and undeserving found their refuge in [Henry] […] was the shield of bad men [...] was bent on martial sports [...] bestowed his favours on foreigners [...] [Henry's] ambition magnanimously compassed the world." in Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Topography of Ireland*, trans. Thomas Forester (Cambridge: In Parentheses Publications, 2000), 90. Gervase of Tilbury also paints the Young King as well-natured, wise and skilled in battle in his *Otia Imperialia*: "He was tall in stature, and distinguished in appearance; his face expressed merriment and mature judgment in due measure; fair among the children of men, he was courteous and cheerful. Gracious to all, he was loved by all; amiable to all, he was incapable of making an enemy. He was matchless in warfare, and as he surpassed all others in the grace of his person, so he outstripped them all in valour, cordiality, and the outstanding graciousness of his manner, in his generosity and in his true integrity. In short, in this man, God assembled every kind of goodness and virtue, and the gifts which fortune usually bestows on single individuals of special distinction, she exerted herself to give all together and in richer measure to this man, so as to make him worthy of all commendation." in Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, 486-487.

knights with an opportunity for apprenticeship and skill development.[217] The Young King was married to Margaret of France, the daughter of Louis VII of France, and crowned as joint-king in 1170, but also crowned for the second time in 1172 alongside his wife, who did not partake in the first crowning ceremony. The second crowning ceremony would occur only a year before the fallout between the father and the son, after the Young King demanded one of the lands of his paternal inheritance—Normandy, Anjou, or England.[218] Although the Young King's rebellion against Henry II was supported by his two younger brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, their mother, and Louis VII, it would result in the Young King's defeat just eighteen months after its breakout. The rift between Henry II and his sons was blamed on the Young King's advisors.[219]

After making peace with his father, Henry the Young King would continue with his previous activities which included promotion of knightly tournaments. However, the Young King's tournament undertakings should not be considered as a leisure time for the prince. As Matthew Strickland notes, by the late twelfth century, tournaments had become integral to noble culture and a significant means for projecting princely power and influence. Another great tournament patron, Philip, count of Flanders, was to become the Young King's "chivalric mentor," having the Young King extensively involve himself in the tournament circuit of northern France from 1176 to 1182. The Young King's wish to assume a ruling position within the Angevin territories, which were denied to him despite his coronation, had been great; it seemed that the tensions between Henry II and his eldest son stemmed not from

[217] Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments. Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Age* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989), 21.

[218] Another reason for the rebellion seems to have been the lack of financial sources the Young King could have used to supply his retinue as "he had many knights but he had no means to give rewards and gifts to the knights," see Thomas Jones, ed, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), 161.

[219] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings: 1075-1225*, 56.

a lack of interest in governance, but from the Young King's keen desire to fulfill the role that was withheld from him even after his coronation.[220]

4.2. From Youthful Valor to Penitent Resolve: The Comparative Destinies of Hector and Henry the Young King

What, then, is the origin of Joseph of Exeter's comparison between Henry the Young King and Hector? Twelfth-century English sources' portrayal of the Young King as an ideal princely figure would agree more with Homer's vision of Hector than that of the Latin retellings. However, as I have shown in the previous chapters, the Latin-speaking and reading audience in the West did not interact directly with Homer's poems in the original Greek. Instead, they read of Hector as, sometimes, a ruthless and prudent prince who attempted to win over Achilles to his side through trickery. Mora notices a certain dose of "irony, veiled beneath hyperbole" in Joseph of Exeter's parallel between the Young King and Hector,[221] and here is where I would disagree with her note and offer an alternative interpretation of this parallel that lies in the cultural and ecclesiastical propaganda of the twelfth century Crusading West. In my opinion, the comparison Joseph of Exeter makes is not related to the Young King's chivalrous activities, but to the events in the latter part of his life, which is marked with penitence and regret. This repentant version of Henry the Young King who was preparing to venture on a Crusade aligns more with the Latin versions of Hector, which served Joseph as his source material on the Trojan War. To make my argument convincing, I will first draw parallels between the Young King's last years as a Templar crusader, and Joseph's description of Hector, before I finally contextualize these parallels in the framework of the literary works that restored Hector as a model for Christian knights.

[220] Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183,* 12.
[221] Joseph d'Exeter, *L'Iliade: Épopée du XIIe siècle sur la Guerre de Troie*, 246-247.

Roger of Howden, a twelfth-century English chronicler, tells us about a crisis of 1183 that seriously affected King Henry II.[222] A new dispute occurred between the Young King and his father after young Henry sought control of all of Normandy to support his knights, only for his father to offer a pension and stipends for retainers instead. The dispute would only worsen and after a series of events in the same year, the Young King took a crusader's vow, which the King frantically protested:

> "His father, however, thinking that he [the Young King] had done this more through indignation than religious feeling, in an affectionate manner used all his endeavours to recall him from this rash vow, asking of him on his knees, and weeping, whether that vow had proceeded from rancour, indignation, poverty, or religious feelings. To this the son made answer, with all kinds of oaths, that he had made the vow solely for the remission of the sins which he had been guilty of towards his father; and added, when he saw his father opposing it and shedding tears, that he would slay himself with his own hands, unless his father should cease to dissuade him from his purpose of assuming the cross, inasmuch as the body of the Lord which he had that day beheld..."[223]

For the Young King, the crusader's vow was also a tactical move. Leaving on a crusade required money, and if he was unable to secure Normandy, the young Henry intended to drain his father's Eastern treasury.[224] Hesitantly, King Henry agreed to his son's conditions, saying:

> "The will of God and your own be done. I will be your supporter and assistant in acquiring the earldom, and will provide you, by the help of God, with such plentiful supplies, that no one, of whom I have heard going to the land of Jerusalem, could at any time have done his service to God on a more bounteous scale."

[222] For this thesis, I am using Henry T. Riley's English translation of Roger's *Gesta Henrici II et Gesta Regis Ricardi* ("The Acts of Henry II and King Richard I"), see Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of others Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, Vol. I and II, ed. and trans. Henry T. Riley (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853).

[223] Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of others Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, Vol. II, 24.

[224] Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land," *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 385 (1982): 730.

Whether there were any genuine intentions behind the Young King's vow we do not know.[225] During the 1183 campaign in France, where the Young King was attempting to claim control over Aquitaine from his brother Richard, an illness suddenly struck the ever-rebellious son and he died.

The Young King's death remains the most described and well-documented part of his life. The young Henry spent his last days in remorse and regret, during which he also requested forgiveness from his father for all his misconduct. Roger of Howden described the dramatic transformation of the Young King's appearance as he lay on his deathbed, done in fear of God's judgment. The Young King shed off his royal garments and put on the clothes of a penitent, together with a noose around his neck that, in accordance with the Young King's orders, the men surrounding him had to use to drag him to an ash bed, displaying the Young King as a betrayer and felon to God.[226] In those final days, the young Henry did not forget about his vow to take the cross; the pilgrimage was handed down to William Marshal, who was already his long-time loyal companion and had served the Young King as a knight errant.[227] The knight would fulfill this promise, and would already be on his way to the Holy Land near the end of 1183. There, according to the *History of William Marshal*, he got acquainted with the Templar Order, whose brotherhood he secretly joined.[228]

[225] Matthew Strickland claims that the Young King's vow "reflected his own troubled state of mind" and, aware of his unfavorable position within the conflict between Henry II and the rest of his sons, he never truly wished his father any ill during the 1180s clash. Although the author who wrote in favor of Henry II, such as Roger of Howden and Walter Map, saw the Young King's act as a sham, it is possible that the old king did see sincerity in his son's words. Even if not, the Young King's presence in the Holy Land would help ease the tensions within his own land where he brawled with his other sons; in Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183*, 297-298.

[226] Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of others Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 To A.D. 1201*, Vol. II, 26-27; Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183*, 307.

[227] "This gift [the Young King's testament] was received in great honor. The mission was not a disagreeable one." in Georges Duby, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Faber, 1986), 117.

[228] William Marshall's ties with the Templar Order did not start in the Holy Land. In 1157, John Marshal, William's father, granted the Templars a manor in Rockley, Wiltshire; for more, see Asbridge, *The Greatest Knight: The Remarkable Life of William Marshal, Power Behind Five English Thrones*, 74.

The premature death of the Young King shocked those contemporaries closely associated with the royal court in both England and France. Ralph of Diss, an archdeacon of Middlesex and a friend of both Henry II and Thomas Becket, wrote that the Young King died "in the flower of his youth" and "surrounded by barbarous peoples (*populos barbaros*)."[229] Bertran de Born, a baron and a poet, who had followed the Young King during his campaign against Richard I in 1183, lamented his king's death:

> "Lord, because of you I want to renounce joy, and all those who saw you, Bretons and Irishmen, Englishmen and Normans, Aquitanians and Gascons, should be sad and still for your sake, and never again may joy transform my sadness."[230]

Gervase of Tilbury, while writing his *Otia Imperialia* for Otto IV, had nothing but words of praise for the late Young King.[231] Within the post-mortem tradition and a cult that sprung up around the Young King's tomb, where healing miracles were reported, the most notable was the promotion of the Young King's sainthood. Thomas of Earley, Archdeacon of Wells, wrote a sermon (*De morte*) honoring young Henry's acts and miracles. The sermon proved to be a tall order for Thomas as the Young King was not known for leading a virtuous life, nor did he offer any recorded grants to religious institutions. Therefore, Thomas focused on the last days of Henry's life, describing him as *vir sanctus*.[232] Strickland points out that Thomas described the Young King's illness as his martyrdom, using "martial language" to discuss Henry's death, notably: "[the Young King] fought on (*militavit*) for many days under such penitential discipline and wonderful devotion of contrition," that he proved to be an

[229] Ralph de Diceto, *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica: The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. William Stubbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19.

[230] Original text and translation of Bertran de Born's *Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire* in Born de Bertran, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovitch and Patricia H. Stäblein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 215-229.

[231] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperalia*, 14-15.

[232] Thomas Agnellus, "De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis Anglie Junioris," in *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London: Longman etc., 1875), 265–273.

example to religious men around him.[233] The Young King's martyrdom should not be denied, "to he who ended his life by the violence of such persecution, instead of by the sword."

However, despite the number of silver-tongued praises, not everyone was appreciative of the Young King's conduct. Those who stayed loyal to his father, criticized young Henry's endeavors and saw his untimely death as divine punishment,[234] but neither of the two factions in this time of patricidal conflict denied the Young King's valor, martial skills, or tournament prowess. Considering this, one may ask: was Joseph of Exeter's comparison between Hector and Henry the Young King merely a poetic device, intended to enhance the Young King's prowess in warfare by likening him to one of antiquity's greatest warriors?

As I discussed previously, Joseph of Exeter's Troy is primarily based on Dares' account, and this extends to his description of Hector. Joseph's Hector is highly praised for his strength, which is "the match of Hercules" (*spirat par Herculis*),[235] and he is also said to be "like a storm" (*fulmineus*),[236] "warlike" (*martius*),[237] "savage" (*ferus*), and "the only hope of Troy" (*spes una Frigum*).[238] In addition to picturing Hector as a skilled warrior, alike Mars, Joseph also retained the unique physical description of Hector as seen in Dares' *De excidio*:

> Within a slender frame there thrives the noble heart
> Of Hector; curling hair gleams bright with crinkled locks,
> Enclosing tiny head. A stammer stole his words,
> Cut short in pleasing style. Brisk limbs he had; his mind
> Was placid to the citizens. Some hair adorns
> His gentle face. A sidelong glance diverts his eyes
> To different ways, and thus a downcast look deforms

[233] Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183*, 314.

[234] Other than Geoffrey, prior of Vigeois, who justified the Young King's early passing, Roger de Howden even scolds Henry II for lamenting the death of his son, writing: "Why, glorious father, dost thou bewail him? He was no son of thine, who could commit such violence upon thy fatherly affection... For it was his due to perish by a severe retribution, who wished to introduce parricide into the world," in Roger de Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and of others Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 To A.D. 1201. Vol II*, 27.

[235] *De bello Troiano*, 3.92.

[236] *De bello Troiano*, 5.300.

[237] *De bello Troiano*, 5.340.

[238] *De bello Troiano*, 5.535.

His steadfast countenance and makes it seem quite sad.[239]

It is not immediately apparent Joseph chose to retain Hector's strabismus and stutter, which stood in contrast to Hector's otherwise attractive features. I agree with Sandrine Legrand's interpretation, who points out that Joseph emphasized Hector's youthful appearance, so later the parallel between Hector and the Young King could be "more striking." In that instance, both Hector and Henry's "violent and excessive behavior" are not necessarily negative traits but are instead associated with youth.[240] Catherine Croizy-Naquet offers an alternative explanation while interpreting Hector's portrait in Benoît de Sainte Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*, in ca. 1155. In his interpretation, Hector's strabismus is a sign of the inevitable fall of Troy and his inability to gauge Andromache's dream, the pleas of Trojan women, and his father's command not to go into battle. Croizy-Naquet adds that in mythology strabismus is commonly associated with lameness; although Hector is not lame, he is devoid of a beard, which in combination with strabismus is an implicit devirilization of Hector. Such description of Hector could suggest his unsuitability to reign, even if he were a skilled military commander, as in the end he was not able to secure Troy, a responsibility inherently tied to his status as the eldest son.[241]

At this stage, it would be possible to argue that Joseph's association between Hector and Henry the Young King arose from their shared destinies: both being eldest sons endowed with martial prowess, yet ultimately precluded from assuming rulership due to their untimely passing. On the other hand, to make such a claim, one would have to disregard any other mention of Hector as a model of virtue for contemporary figures in the twelfth century. Hector's tragic death may have served as a point of connection between the Trojan prince and the Young King. However, it is noteworthy that poets of the twelfth century found other

[239] *De bello Troiano*, 4.49-56.

[240] Sandrine Legrand, "Hector au Moyen Âge – Définition et évolution d'un personnage épique et romanesque," *Perspectives médiévales*, 38 (2017): unpaginated.

[241] Catherine Croizy-Naquet, "Le portrait d'Hector dans le Roman de Troie de Benoît de Sainte Maure," *Bien dire et bien aprandre*, 14 (1996): 74-75.

attributes in Hector compelling, which rendered him worthy of comparison to esteemed Christian commanders.

4.3. The Enduring Echoes of Hector

Joseph of Exeter was not the only writer to compare the grief caused by young Henry's death to that of Hector's tragic fall. In his *Otia Imperialia*, Gervase of Tilbury wrote:

> A rose of matchless beauty fades,
> Another Paris dies,
> Another Hector lies asleep,
> Not second to the first;
> Troy to one, to the other the world
> And every power bowed down.
> When Henry died, heaven was hungry, so the world went begging.[242]

The comparison to Hector does not come as a surprise, as the Trojan prince had a reputation as a valiant and strong warrior in the Latin retellings of the *Iliad*. Coming across Paris' name in Gervase's verses would prove startling to a modern reader, aware of Homeric representations of Paris as a cowardly and unskilled prince who set Troy for her doom. However, the Latin tradition on Troy, until the twelfth century, favors both Priam's sons. Without the intervention of gods in Dares' narrative, Paris' only crime was his abduction of Helen, which fades into oblivion after Aeneas and his companions open Troy's gates for the Achaeans. In the Latin *Iliad(s)*, I can only see Paris as a glorified character, as he is responsible for the death of the *Iliad*'s true antagonist – Achilles. For Gervase, who described Henry the Young King as "matchless in warfare,"[243] it only made sense to establish parallels between the Young King and the two Trojan princes.

Outside of England, before Joseph of Exeter embarked on his journey to honor the Young King by setting him side by side with the greatest Trojan hero, another skilled warrior earned the same praise. In the twelfth-century *Poem of Almería*, which tells about the siege of

[242] *Otia Imperialia*, 2.21.
[243] *Otia Imperialia*, 2.21.

Almería by the King of León and Castile, the vigor of one Catalan warrior, Ponce Giraldo de Cabrera, is compared to that of a Hector:

> Count Poncio, a noble lance, commands the group.
> He possessed the strength of Samson and the sword of Gideon.
> He was equal to Jonas, illustrious as a ship of the Lord.
> He was the leader of the people as the strong Hector was,
> As generous and true as the invincible Ajax.[244]

The author of this poem remains anonymous. The poem was never published as a sole work, but was included in the C*hronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, written in praise of King Alfonso VI (ca. 1040-1109) who led a crusade against the Muslims in Al-Andalus. Count Ponce, who had participated in almost all military campaigns led by King Alfonso VI, was highly praised for his military prowess, more than any other crusade leader mentioned in the poem. His skills also earned him a lengthy encomium, endowed with biblical and mythological figures. Of these, interestingly, the only two 'pagan' heroes we read of are Hector and Ajax, not only in context of count Ponce, but the entire poem. While Ajax's virtues are generosity and truthfulness (*docilis et uerax*), Hector is "strong" (*fortissimus*) and an exemplary "leader of the people" (*gentis erat rector*). Simon Barton, who wrote on the rising cult of aristocracy in twelfth-century Iberia, sees the *Poem of Almería* as a significant departure from earlier literary traditions. The poem was a showcase of the aristocracy's embrace of knighthood and its increased emphasis on social exclusivity during this era as a pre-stage to the chivalric culture.[245] Barton also adds that the poem rarely brings up piety as an aristocratic virtue and instead focuses on illustrious lineage, physical attractiveness, strength, wealth, generosity, and bravery in battle. I disagree with Barton's view on the matter of religiosity; although the author does not explicitly reference piety, its implication

[244] Translation of the poem into English in Glenn Edward Lipskey, ed. and trans; *The Chronicle of Alfonso the Emperor* (PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1972), 169-170. The modern Latin edition of the poem can be found in J. Gil, ed., "Prefatio de Almaria," in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII, Pars Prima*, ed. E. Falque, J. Gil and A. Maya (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1990), 249–67.

[245] Simon Barton, "The 'Discovery of Aristocracy' in Twelfth-Century Spain: Portraits of the Secular Élite in the Poem of Almería," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 83, 6 (2006): 464-465.

can be inferred from the occupations of the crusaders depicted. Within the framework of the twelfth-century Crusades, as argued in the previous chapter, martial prowess and valor on the battlefield were construed as manifestations of Christian virtues. Therefore, I would argue that the absence of explicit mention of piety does not preclude its presence, as these attributes coexist simultaneously within the narrative context.

Another sign of literary appreciation of Hector can be found in Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*. Presumably coming from a prominent Norman family, Ralph was educated at the cathedral school in Caen under Arnulf of Chocques,[246] later the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, before being ordained priest in 1106. In the same year he joined Bohemond of Taranto, prince of Antioch, for his crusade against Emperor Alexius Comnenus. Following the death of prince Bohemond in 1111, Ralph continued his service at the Antioch court, this time under Tancred who inherited his uncle's throne. Once Tancred passed away, Ralph sought the patronage of his former tutor, Arnulf, who had become patriarch of Jerusalem, and started writing the *Gesta Tancredi*. His work served as a homage to the Antiochian princes, with special attention dedicated to the events of the First Crusade. Ralph's choice to adopt the epic verse for some parts of his text, such as the battle of Dorylaeum, aligns with a longstanding classical tradition of presenting historical events, particularly battles, in a poetic format, exemplified by contemporaneous works such as Gilo of Paris's crusade narrative.[247]

Ralph honored Hector in two instances. First, when describing Godfrey of Bouillon on the battlefield, Ralph writes:

[246] Ralph seems to have received a remarkably comprehensive education, which familiarized him with classical poets and historians. On the school of Caen at the time of Ralph's stay there see David Spear, "The School of Caen Revisited," *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992): 55-66.

[247] Natasha Hodgson, "Reinventing Normans as Crusaders? Ralph of Caen's Gesta Tancredi," in *Anglo-Norman Studies 30: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2007*, ed. C. P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 125.

> Duke Godfrey was a man totally devoted to war and to God. He gave up nothing to Hector in fervor (*fervor*), in strength (*vires*), in will (*animosus*) or in spirit (*spiritus*).[248]

Then, when emphasizing Tancred's ardor for battle, Ralph says:

> Although Tancred was a man, he was a lion rather than a man, and he had the mouth and eyes of a lion and especially the heart of a lion. He rushed on to do great deeds such that Ajax could not dream, nor that Hector or his conqueror Achilles would dare.[249]

Finally, Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques are compared to Hector and Aeneas in the manner of Vergil's heroic portraits:

> In regard to these two [Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques], I shall confidently set out what the Mantuan (Vergil) said about Hector and Aeneas: 'If the land of Gaul had sent out two other men such as these,[250] the Gauls would now hold Memphis (Egypt) and Babylon as kings. Such was the gleaming power of their oratory, their bravery, their generosity, discretion, care, justice and prudence.'[251]

Once more, Hector serves as a reference point for praising Christian military leaders. It is Hector's determination and warrior might that are held up as ideals worth emulating. While references to Achilles and Ajax are present, they are not portrayed as models of virtue but rather as figures whose feats may be surpassed. Hector, on the other hand, is illustrated as both. Ralph mentions additional figures from non-Christian traditions, including Aeneas and Alexander,[252] thus showing his knowledge of classical history and poetry. However, it is noteworthy that neither Alexander nor Aeneas are presented as exemplars of virtue; rather, it is Hector, renowned for his martial prowess, who emerges as the primary figure deserving of admiration, while the capabilities of the others can merely be exceeded.

[248] *Gesta Tancredi*, XXX. The Latin edition of the text can be found in Rudolfo Cadomensi, "Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana" in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. III (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1866), 593-716. For the English translation, see Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, eds. and trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

[249] *Gesta Tancredi*, CXXVIII.

[250] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.285.

[251] *Gesta Tancredi*, CXXXVII.

[252] *Gesta Tancredi*, CXXXVI.

Walter of Châtillon, a French theologian and a member of Henry II's court until the 1170s, wrote a Latin epic on the life of Alexander (*Alexandreis*), filled with Christian allusions and motifs from the New Testament.[253] While the author only mentions Hector in the *Alexandreis* when he recalls his killing by Achilles, he did write satirical poems that evoke Hector and Andromache as irreproachable personalities.[254] For instance:

> Thais blames Andromache, Thersites blames Hector, but neither Andromache nor Hector is any the less for it. Therefore let them call him thief, pervert, parasite, while I shall offer no resistance, that I bear whatever may be.[255]

The glory of Troy and Hector also reached beyond the lands of Western Europe. Written by an anonymous author, commonly referred to as "Gallus,"[256] in the early twelfth century, "The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles" (*Gesta principum Polonorum*) offered as a justification for writing about Polish kings the claim that great deeds and kingdoms are preserved through the memory of written texts. In this context, the author noticed the amount of works dedicated to preserving Troy's fame:

> Her [Troy's] walls are leveled, her towers cast down, her broad and pleasant quarters are uninhabited and in the palaces of her kings and princes lurk the hidden lairs and trails of wild beasts; yet writings loudly proclaim the fame of Troy and her citadel the world over. Hector and Priam are more sung now that they are in the dust than when they sat on the throne.[257]

[253] See Dennis M. Kratz, *Mocking epic: 'Waltharius,' 'Alexandreis,' and the problem of Christian heroism* (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1979), 61-167; and Christine Ratkowitsch, "Troja - Jerusalem - Babylon - Rom: Allgemeingültiges Und Zeitkritik in Der 'Alexandreis' Walters von Châtillon," *Poetica* 28, no. 1/2 (1996): 97–131.

[254] For Walter of Chatillon's 'Goliardic' poetry in its cultural and historical context see Venetia Bridges, "'Goliardic' Poetry and the Problem of Historical Perspective: Medieval Adaptations of Walter of Châtillon's Quotation Poems," *Medium Ævum* 81, no. 2 (2012): 249–70.

[255] English translation obtained from Robert Levine, trans; "Satirical Poems of Walter of Chatillon," *Boston University*, May 7, 2024, http://people.bu.edu/bobl/walt821.htm. For the Latin edition of the poems, see Walter of Châtillon, *Moralischsatirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon: aus deutschen, englischen, franzosischen und italienischen Handschriften*, ed. Karl Strecker (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1929).

[256] The author was first called so by the sixteenth century Polish historian Martin Kromer, who appended this name to one of the manuscripts of the chronicle; see: Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, eds. and trans; *Gesta principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, Central European Medieval Texts 2 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), xxv.

[257] *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, 3.17-20. The Latin edition of the text, along with the English translation, in Knoll and Schaer, Ibid., 212-213.

A final example, and at the same time the only negative mention of Hector I came across during my research, is found in Honorius of Autun's *Gemma Animae*. We do not know much of Honorius' life except that he was a traveling monk who spent one part of his life in England as Anselm of Canterbury's student before he finally settled in Regensburg at Scots Monastery.[258] In the introduction to his allegorical treaties on the liturgy, Honorius speaks against those who wish to know more about classical literature:[259]

> Most people today are so insane—a fact that troubles my mind to consider!—that they are not ashamed to expend the greatest effort investigating the abominable deceptions of the poets and the frivolous doctrines of the philosophers... For what good does it bring the soul to know the battles of Hector or the disputes of Plato, the poems of Maro or the lullabies of Naso, who along with all their ilk shriek in the prison of the infernal Babylon under the cruel sway of Pluto?

The critical representation of Hector by Honorius of Autun does not appear to be a direct attack on Hector's character, but rather a reflection of a broader commentary on the resurgence of interest in classical literature during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In my view, Honorius's decision to specifically invoke Hector's name suggests a pervasive recognition of Hector's significance and the scholarly familiarity with the Trojan myth in the Latin West.

This chapter has analyzed Hector as a multifaceted figure which embodies virtues and ideals reflected in the martial principles of the crusading movement. Although Hector's portrayal is not uniform across all twelfth-century texts that recall the deeds and tragic end of the eldest Trojan prince, he often shows up as the only example of 'pagan' virtue in the world of Crusading literature. I would suggest that Joseph of Exeter's *De Bello Troiano* serves as a focal point for the Christianization of Hector. According to my interpretation, the strategic juxtaposition of Hector with Henry the Young King reveals deliberate endeavor to ingrain the

[258] For a more comprehensive and detailed biography, see: V. I. J. Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Authors of the Middle Ages, Volume II, Nos 5–6: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, eds. Constant J. Mews, Valerie Irene Jane Flint, Patrick J. Geary (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 89-183.

[259] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Jewel of the Soul*, 9.

Trojan hero with Christian virtues and contemporary relevance. By aligning Hector with the penitent aspirations of Henry, Joseph not only underscores the trope of martial prowess but also delves into the thematic undercurrents of redemption and spiritual renewal, resonant with the Crusading fervor of the twelfth century. In the Latin tradition concerning the Trojan War, Hector emerges as a complex figure, often depicted as a rebellious prince who defiantly challenges paternal authority and goes against his wife Andromache's warnings. For Hector, the urge to go into battle is greater than any fear of death. It is my understanding that Joseph's choice to retain Hector's scenes that resemble the idealized behavior of a crusading knight, i.e., those that emphasize martial excellence, rejection of conjugal relations or any other obligations not tied to one's (holy) land, unruly physical appearance, and heroic death, indicate ideological undertones running through his text. In this light, the Young King's comparisons to Hector are not a mere poetic artifice, but manifestations of the Crusader ethos. Joseph and Gervase of Tilbury's comparisons between Henry the Young King and Hector, and Ralph of Caen's parallels between Hector and contemporary Christian leaders affirm the Trojan prince as a model of the twelfth-century martial Christian virtue.

A similar interpretation can be applied to the *Poem of Almeria*. While other ancient heroes, such as Achilles and Ajax, are invoked within these narratives, it is Hector who consistently emerges as the preeminent example of virtuous martial conduct. Unlike his classical counterparts, Hector embodies a synthesis of martial prowess and moral rectitude, making him a compelling archetype for military leaders striving to emulate Christian ideals on the battlefield. Despite their disparate geographical origins within Western Europe, these reimaginings of Hector suggest a common intellectual framework rooted in the Latin narratives of Troy. This shared literary heritage served as a source of crusading archetypes that resonated with their educated audience. Moreover, the prevailing set of principles of

military orders that some authors, like Joseph of Exeter, had encountered during this period further contributed to the idealization of Hector as a symbol of chivalric virtue.

The absence of references to the Achaeans in these narratives remains open to interpretation. While the absence of characters may not inherently suggest a negative portrayal, such implications become increasingly discernible with the emergence of the Trojan-themed vernacular and Latin literature from the thirteenth century onward. The twelfth century, serving as a transitional period, witnessed a shift from barely any significant portrayal of Greek heroes in western literature to an openly negative characterization, adding to classical stereotypes a new inventory of Christian vices.[260] The only exceptions in this case are Ajax and Alexander, who continued to enjoy a positive portrayal within the Latin literary tradition in the medieval West.

[260] The portrayal of Achilles in literature and cultural narratives as Iliad's antagonist starts as early as seventh century BC, peaking during the Dares' tradition in the Medieval West, see K. Callen King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the war hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 110-170; also on the perception of anger in Antiquity, such as that of Achilles, in contrast to the late Middle Ages see Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Cornell University Press, 1998), 127-152.

5. Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to contribute to the already existing view of Hector as a model of chivalry by supplementing the previous research on the topic with an alternative reading of the pre-thirteenth century textual material. My aim was to show how Hector of Troy would have been understood as an exemplary 'pagan' and warrior during the early crusading movements, whose learned contemporaries recognized the shared characteristics between Hector and their images of *miles Christi*. The comparable features of Hector that can be paralleled in characters associated with the age of the Crusades ranged from external appearance, as seen with the Young King and Hector's youthful looks, to the valor they displayed before and during the fight. One of my main arguments found its ground in the set of ideal principles that was meant to shape the idealized Templar knights, not only because they are set out in written form, but also because of the order's involvement in social circles that produced literature inspired by the Trojan myth (e.g., Joseph of Exter's ventures to the Holy Land, William Marshal's Templar oath).

In order to argue for the potential 'Christianization' of Hector, it was necessary to dwell on the history of the Homeric receptions in the late antique and medieval West. Therefore, in Chapter 2, I provided a brief overview of Greek literacy in the West, along with a contextualized close reading of Hector in the three Latin reinventions of the Trojan myth. My intention was to argue for the Christian reading not of Homer as such, but of the characters involved in the war, whose both Homeric portrayals and the Latin adaptations could be accommodated to illustrate Christian virtues. However, such appropriations varied in form and were dependent on specific contemporary events. I argued that the more pliant and patriarchal Hector, who meets his demise at the hands of vicious Achilles, shares the fate of early Christian martyrs. On the other hand, Hector's over-emphasized warrior nature and

distorted appearance in the Latin adaptations of the Homeric poems served the image of crusading monarchs and military leaders as illustrations of the concept *miles Christi*.

Following my arguments, I presented the formation of the new knightly identity and the cult of the warrior king in Chapter 3. Additionally, my research in Chapter 3 showed that the resurgent interest in the Trojan War that occurred in the twelfth century was gradual. Although the Latin authors in the period between the Late Antiquity and the Crusades scarcely mention Hector that does not imply that the interest in the Trojan myth waned during that time. Homer's epics remained a constant historical reference, having the Trojan War consequently become more popular as a foundation myth when the Carolingian demand for a reimagined Roman identity became a staple in Charlemagne's politics. In the same manner, their propaganda, firmly rooted in antiquity, befitted the crusading movement. By linking important participants of the crusading campaigns with great ancient heroes, such as Hector, the twelfth-century authors validated the Crusaders' historicity. The references to the Trojan War additionally confirmed the enduring conflict between the East and the West, now seen in the rivalry between the Latin West and the Byzantine Empire. The said rivalry was mirrored in the decade-long war, whose most illustrious hero – Achilles – was an antonym to the desired ideals of crusading masculinity. Although the Latin reinventions of the Trojan War did not deny Achilles' martial skills, the king of the Myrmidons was subjected to lust, a vice that did not have place in the Holy Land's military convents.

My analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that in twelfth-century Latin literature, Hector was compared to Christian military men based on characteristics that had been established in the late antique reinventions of the *Iliad*. These characteristic features mostly involved Hector's physical strength, but also his appearance, leadership, will, and premature death. Especially significant is the crusading poets' apparent lack of interest in Hector's domestic scenes despite their significance to the Homeric tradition. In my view, any shift of focus from the

scenes between Hector and his family happened in order to highlight Hector's apparent lack of inappropriate passions, in contrast to the *Iliad*, where domestic scenes served to humanize Hector. Hector's dismissal of Andromache and his eager embrace of warfare resonated with the crusading ideals where the knight was expected to renounce all worldly attachments, including his family ties. From the very start, the different accounts of women preventing their husbands from taking the cross were Andromachean in their nature.

Although the 'Christianization' of Hector is never expressed explicitly, the recurring comparisons between Hector and notable crusading knights are suggestive of the attempts to reframe the Trojan prince as more than a literary coincidence. It befitted the Latin Crusading accounts to be aligned with a mythical military power that was, according to twelfth-century texts, greater than those of the Greeks. However, it was more than Hector – the entire Trojan War was an ideological instrument that enabled institutions of power to legitimize their authority. The Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were only a fraction of the wide geographical and temporal range from which the reimagined texts on the Trojan myth would emerge.

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