

ESCHATOLOGY AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Military History

by

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AD BELLUM 2018

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 15-06-2018		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2017 – JUN 2018	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Escatology and the First Crusade				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Paul M. Aitchison				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT This thesis examines how eschatological elements were present in the decision to begin the First Crusade, in the way in which it was conducted and in the manner of the completion and eventually fulfillment of the First Crusade. The eschatological elements present are the penitential cycle of sin-confession-absolution-penance, in pilgrimage to holy sites, in the Divine plan of God as describe in <i>Deus lo vult</i> or God will it and in the Final Judgment of the world. Scrutinizing how the crusade leaders engaged in actions, both military, religious and administrative in order to attain their goal.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Escatology, First Crusade					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
			(U)	93	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

ESCHATOLOGY AND THE FIRST CRUSADE, by MAJ Paul Aitchison, 93 pages.

This thesis examines how eschatological elements were present in the decision to begin the First Crusade, in the way in which it was conducted and in the manner of the completion and eventually fulfillment of the First Crusade. The eschatological elements present are the penitential cycle of sin-confession-absolution-penance, in pilgrimage to holy sites, in the Divine plan of God as describe in *Deus lo vult* or God will it and in the Final Judgment of the world. Finally, this thesis will scrutinizing how the crusade leaders engaged in actions, both military, religious and administrative in order to attain their goal.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr. John Hosler, CH (MAJ) Shawn Gee and Mr. Gary Hobin for their guidance and patience with me throughout this entire study and writing process. I would also like to heap praise and thanks to my wonderful family, my wife Jena, and children Titus, Ainsley and Sydney who would help out however they could, in road trips to libraries to reading and holding little fingers on book pages. They made this project possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there is no longer *any* sea. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne, saying, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is among men, and He will dwell among them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself will be among them, and He will wipe away every tear from their eyes; and there will no longer be *any* death; there will no longer be *any* mourning, or crying, or pain; the first things have passed away."

—Revelation 21:1-4, New American Standard Bible

Primary Research Question

The First Crusade offers one situation in history where a multi-ethnic collection of individual cities, regions and small principalities of different peoples, not nations in the modern sense, fought together to defeat a common enemy and win back lost territory. The primary catalyst for the formation of the First Crusade came from the Roman Catholic Church and Pope Urban II (d.1099). He preached a sermon at Clermont that, by adding to the religious elements that were present in the decrees of previous pontifical reigns, created an armed pilgrimage, a holy adventure to retake the land where Christianity had its foundation.

In addition to its military aspects, modern study of the Crusades has featured a significant concentration on the theology and why crusaders fought. In particular the Crusades, began by the head of the Roman Catholic faith, are connected with eschatology, which is the study of theology that is concerned with death, judgment and the final destiny of the soul and humanity. The apocalyptic torment the crusaders felt mirrored the horror and realities of campaigning to retake the Holy Land. The campaign,

battles, and sieges that occurred during the march, along with the successes and defeats of both the Christian army as well as the Muslim army, will be analyzed through the lens of the religious motivation that gripped the crusaders themselves. This paper argues that eschatological elements were not only a significant influence on the course of the First Crusade but also a primary motivation for the crusaders to take up the cross. It will examine the different eschatological aspects in the crusading movement and how those aspects helped shape who decided to go, to where they traveled, how they fought, and what they did during the campaign. It also examines eschatological elements present at specific times during the First Crusade, during the siege and defense of Antioch in 1098 and at the siege of Jerusalem in 1099. Finally, it will examine eschatology in comparison to the other factors that motivated Christians to fight for territory in the Middle East in the eleventh century.

The primary method employed in this study will be content/document analysis using the qualitative approach. This paper will look at primary Christian sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, understanding that many of these sources focus on the reasons for particular successes or failures of their armies. Among these Christian sources are diplomatic sources (such as medieval charters), theological texts (such as sermons), and narrative histories from chroniclers who were present on the crusade and adopted themes in hindsight. Gaps in the current literature include primary Islamic accounts of the First Crusade. This gap is related to the chaos within the competing forces of the Fatimid Caliphate and Seljuk Turks as well as a general delay in the Islamic intellectual reaction to the success of the First Crusade.

Secondary sources adhere primarily to viewpoints on the First Crusade that is mainstream. One is the viewpoint that the crusades represented an unprovoked attack by Western Christians on the Muslim world. Another is that greedy crusaders plundered Muslims to get rich. This study will argue, however, that the First Crusade was, by and large, a religious-minded endeavor that was directed to the Jerusalem in a penitential manner, and that crusaders saw an end times coming soon and sought to bring about personal and worldwide judgment.

In particular, it offers a thorough analysis of what eschatology means to the study of the First Crusade and viewpoints on apocalyptic judgment and Particular Judgment for those who chose to participate in the campaign. The recapture of Jerusalem, with the perspective of it as Zion, the location of the Temple Mount, and the city of David, was a military objective and campaign focus. The spiritual importance of the city, combined with the religious favors placed on the combatants in remission of sins, compelled many to travel to the Middle East.

Historiography

Several recent studies have tackled these questions and they fall into the realm of general crusade surveys and critical studies. Jay Rubenstein's 2011 book *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*,¹ argues that apocalyptic fervor was the driving force behind the First Crusade. He divides his book into significant events during the First Crusade and using a lens of apocalyptic motivation to examine the causes of the movement. Rubenstein conducts a partial narrative of the beginning, giving reasons why Jerusalem was considered to be of primary importance, at least to the religious leaders, and ending with the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. He uses primary

sources from both lay and clerical writers to argue for his interpretation of the apocalyptic basis of the Crusades.

He argues that the new kind of warfare was unrestrained and apocalyptic in nature that the men who chose to go on the First Crusade were attempting to bring about the end times. The crusaders were participating in events that would culminate in the end of days; with the retaking of the earthly Jerusalem, they would bring about the heavenly Jerusalem and the second coming of Jesus Christ.

This book is innovative first in examining and attempting to formulate a thesis beyond the traditionally ascribed motivations of land acquisition, papal desire to restore communion between the Latin and Orthodox Churches, and greed. This book will be used in this paper as an alternative to these traditional viewpoints of the Crusades.

A second important book is Norman Housley's *Contesting the Crusades*.² It is an historiography of the crusades that analyzes recent treatments of the First Crusade and also of the historiography of crusading in the later Middle Ages. Much of his book is dedicated to the period after the First Crusade, in which he observed that crusading became an institution central to the period. He also speaks to the fact that crusading was done against other enemies than just Islam and, as such, cannot be seen as simply an anti-Islamic struggle. He examines the goals and beliefs of the crusaders as they formed and grew from the First Crusade and acknowledges that they were varied, not easily placed in a single category such as wealth, land or death and judgment.

Housley's book will be used as source on crusade historiography and how the evolution of crusading theory has changed. The complexities of the purposes for the crusades, particular the First Crusade, are many and varied, and his book helps to provide

a perspective on how the religious thoughts and actions of the crusaders affected the overall ends, ways and means during the First Crusade.

Christopher Tyerman's book, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*,³ focuses on a general outline and history of the crusading movement. It is a detailed survey that provides an overview of the entire Crusading Period. Arranged in chronological order, it provides narrative and analysis of the entire crusading period.

Tyerman provides the commentary in the book from a medieval western European viewpoint. He attempts to understand how and why the crusades formed, what they did or did not accomplish during each progressive crusade. This book only touches briefly on eschatology of the crusading movement and instead explains events via more popular theories of the crusades. His book provides discussions of the campaigns in Asia Minor, in particular leading up to the siege and defense of Antioch in 1097-1098 and then the campaign down the coast to Jerusalem, provide a narrative foundation for the eschatological analysis offered in this present thesis.

¹ Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011).

² Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008).

³ Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2008).

CHAPTER 2

NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

The sermon preached by Pope Urban II outside of the cathedral at Clermont in the Auvergne on Tuesday, 27 November 1095, set in motion one of the most renowned sequences in the history of western Europe and Christianity. The story of how tens of thousands of soldiers willingly uprooted themselves for the sake of liberating Jerusalem, a place of unimaginable physical remoteness, and the subsequent suffering of horrific losses and the overcoming of agonizing obstacles. The army was united with worldly and spiritual ideas. It surmounted fatal odds, of climate, terrain, local hostility, and superior enemy numbers in repeated desperate battles and skirmishes, and at the end of three years on the road, the survivors stormed the Holy City, Jerusalem itself, reclaiming it for Christendom, 460 years after its loss to Islam under the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius.¹

This chapter will cover the military aspect of the First Crusade, focusing specifically on the religious motivation of the campaign, with the armies fighting their way from their home countries in Western Europe, to Constantinople, and across the Bosphorus into Anatolia, and then finally southwards through the Levant towards Jerusalem. The choices made during the campaign were filtered through the religious opinions and thoughts of multiple commanders as well as the ordinary fighting men. The main points behind this thesis and the themes of the First Crusade are as follows. First, the Penitential Cycle, (or Sin-Contriteness-Confession-Penance) showcases the fear that the crusaders had in their own Particular Judgment, and the status of each individual's soul. Pilgrimage and the notion of a journey of spiritual renewal relates back to the idea of Particular Judgment. Second, those crusaders believed that they were carrying out a

divine plan from God-*Deus lo vult*-, or “God wills it!”- in order to re-establish the Kingdom of Heaven. Third, the crusaders believed that the Kingdom of Heaven could be re-established on Earth, which would hasten Christ’s return to the world and the Final Judgment.

The traditional view of the causes of the First Crusade centers around the popular support that was generated by Pope Urban II’s preaching, which inspired both low and high born men and women to leave the familiar locales of the West to travel great distances to the East. There, they fought against Islam in order to free the Christians in the East from the tyranny and oppression of a hostile government.² The idea of crusading, however, or that of an armed pilgrimage, had its origins much earlier than the eleventh century. For example, Pope Leo IV wrote to the army of the Franks, who were busy in the middle of the ninth-century, clearing the center of Italy from Muslim raiders from Sicily:

Now we hope that none of you will be slain, but we wish you to know that the kingdom of heaven will be given as a reward to those who shall be killed in this war. For the Omnipotent knows that they lost their lives fighting for the truth of the faith, for the preservation of their country, and the defense of Christians. And therefore, God will give them the reward which we have named.³

Leo was formulating the idea that there is a spiritual benefit to defending the faith, to bringing the unbeliever to battle and to die in the defense of the church. The stated reward, which is the Kingdom of Heaven, brings the soul that much closer to a union to God.

In examining the military aspect of the First Crusade, the number of western Christians were present when the campaign began in earnest in western Asia Minor, and how many survived to storm Jerusalem in the summer of 1099, is debatable. Numbers in

ancient and medieval texts are notoriously problematic. Some are entirely plausible and seemingly trustworthy, according to our modern idea of what is possible or not under certain sorts of conditions, and some are incredible. At the same time, they cannot always be cast aside, because of their potential a symbolic or indicative value, even if they do not provide an exact arithmetic count. Fulcher of Chartres, an eyewitness, reports that the forces of the First Crusade at Nicaea in 1097 numbered 100,000. He reports further than 5 million noncombatants were also present at the battle. In contrast, another eyewitness, Raymond of Aguliers, reports that by the time the army reached Jerusalem in 1099 it had been reduced to just 12,000.⁴ Whatever the number, it was still quite the feat to be able to assemble such a large army in the medieval period.

The papal legate Daimbert arriving to the crusade while they were outside Jerusalem at the end crusade wrote back with a further contrast in numbers: an army 300,000 strong at Nicaea was down to 20,000 by July 1099. The sharp contrast in number accentuates the terrible losses suffered while on campaign.⁵ The number varied greatly and it is impossible to know how many people began or were with the army as it took Jerusalem when it fell.⁶

At the beginning, the goal and mission of the crusade is difficult to discern from the original primary sources. It is sometimes argued that Urban II's plan had been for a limited expedition to assist the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I⁷ and press on to the Holy Sepulcher, an idea that was first created and circulated by Urban's predecessors as Pope, Gregory VII in 1074.⁸

The Council of Clermont, 1095

The Council of Clermont met 18 -25 November 1095. Some three hundred clerics were present and their work covered a wide range. Of issue beyond crusading, Decrees against lay investiture, simony and clerical marriage were promulgated and the Truce of God was reiterated. King Philip of France was excommunicated for adultery and the Bishop of Cambria for simony, and the primacy of the see of Lyons over those of Sens and Reims was established. But the pope wished to use the occasion for a more momentous purpose. Urban was a reform minded pope who bemoaned the sinfulness that was rampant within Western Europe. Urban was setting the stage for a remedy to the impious and sinful nature that dominated the nobility.

There are a number of different accounts of Urban's speech at the council. Each has its own perspective on what emphasis he placed on this armed pilgrimage to the East. It was announced that on Tuesday, 27 November, he would hold a public session, to make a great announcement. The crowds, clerical and lay, that assembled were too huge to be contained within the cathedral, where hitherto the Council had met. The papal throne was therefore set up on a platform in an open field outside the eastern gate of the city, and when the multitudes were gathered, Urban rose to his feet to address them.⁹ The first account comes from Robert the Monk, who has been identified as a prior of Senuc and former abbot of Saint-Remi, who lived c. 1055 – 1122; hence, he is sometimes referred to as Robert of Reims or Robert of Saint-Remi. Robert asserts in his prologue that he had been present at the Council of Clermont of 1095, which makes his account of Pope Urban II's speech that of an eye-witness, even though it was written from memory

twelve or more years later. It gives a general idea of the pontiff's argument for an armed pilgrimage to free Jerusalem:¹⁰

O bravest of knights, descendants of unconquered ancestors, do not be weaker than they, but remember their courage. If you are kept back by your love for your children, relatives, and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel: He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me' [Matt. 10:37]; and everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life [Matt. 19:29].¹¹

Robert the Monk's reference to everlasting life relates to particular judgment and the penitential cycle. The pilgrimage, though difficult to undertake and would force the crusader to leave those he loved, would provide an eternal benefit:

Let no possessions keep you back, no solicitude for your property. Your land is shut in on all sides by the sea and mountains, and is too thickly populated. There is not much wealth here, and the soil scarcely yields enough to support you. On this account you kill and devour each other, and carry on war and mutually destroy each other. Let your hatred and quarrels cease, your civil wars come to an end, and all your dissensions stop. Set out on the road to the holy sepulcher, take the land from that wicked people, and make it your own. That land which, as the Scripture says, is flowing with milk and honey, God gave to the children of Israel. Jerusalem is the best of all lands, more fruitful than all others, as it were a second Paradise of delights. This land our Savior made illustrious by his birth, beautiful with his life, and sacred with his suffering; he redeemed it with his death and glorified it with his tomb.¹²

Urban was looking for an outlet for the violence that was gripping Europe. He now had the opportunity to redirect the violence towards non-Christians and allow the fighting to take on a more spiritual aspect of a war of opposing religions. He was looking for a way and a reason to reduce the fighting in Europe and found a solution in an armed pilgrimage to re-take Jerusalem:

This royal city, however, situated at the center of the earth, is now held captive by the enemies of Christ and is subjected, by those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathen. She seeks, therefore, and desires to be liberated and ceases not to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all

other nations great glory in arms. Accordingly, undertake this journey eagerly for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the reward of imperishable glory in the kingdom of heaven.¹³

Urban believed that Jerusalem was like Heaven and he wanted his audience and those who would consider going on this pilgrimage to Jerusalem to understand the particular importance of the city. It was the center of the world in the medieval mind, and to liberate it would be a step towards the liberation of the world from those who did not believe in Roman Catholic faith promulgated by papal authority.

The idea of a journey, of spiritual renewal for the crusaders, also relates to Urban's formulating idea of Particular Judgment of each of the individual crusaders souls and their own particular fears of Hell and eternal damnation. This idea that a knight, who has spent the majority of his professional career in the service of a secular lord, killing in his name, could now go on a pilgrimage and fight the enemies of Christianity, killing in the name of Jesus and be free from the sins of his life had already committed was alluring. The concept of homicide versus justified homicide, or religiously sanctioned homicide in the defense of ones' beliefs, (i.e. just warfare) begins to be formed in the mind of those behind the crusading movement.

Fulcher of Chartres, a priest appointed as a chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne records Urban's speech as well and emphasizes that Urban's audience was the clerics, not any secular leaders or lords. The idea of remission of sins was central in importance as a tool by which clerics could preach this good news in their particular areas:

Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has

often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for a while with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.¹⁴

Fulcher begins his version of Urban's speech by appealing to the defense of the church, the common belief and spiritual authority that Western Europe had. The defense of the church extended to the defense of God's Kingdom on Earth and the re-taking and holding of Jerusalem would go towards accomplishment of that goal:

All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who, for a long time, have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians.¹⁵

Fulcher's version next takes on the idea of the penitential cycle, and the avenue of remission of sins that Urban and the church would provide for those going to Jerusalem. The remission of all the sins of individuals was a potent token to place before those considering on the journey:

Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and

poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide.¹⁶

The eternal rewards mentioned here is of great interest. It allows for the combatant to obtain relief from the punishment for sins that would be visited upon every soul in Christendom. Urban was letting the clergy know that God was on their side and the war divinely sanctioned, through the office of Bishop of Rome.

Another account of Urban's speech comes the *Gesta Francorum*, written by an anonymous writer connected with Bohemund of Antioch and shortly after the end of the First Crusade:

If this land is the inheritance of God, and his holy temple, even before the Lord walked and suffered there, as the sacred and prophetic pages tell us, then what additional sanctity and reverence did it gain then, when the God of majesty took flesh upon Himself there, was fed, grew up, and moving in his bodily strength walked here and there in the land? To abbreviate a matter that could be spun out at much greater length, this is the place where the blood of the Son of God, holier than heaven and earth, was spilled, where the body, at whose death the elements trembled, rested in its tomb. What sort of veneration might we think it deserves?¹⁷

The account here begins with an emotional appeal to the holiness of Jerusalem, that Jesus lived, taught, and died, and was resurrected in. How could a Christian allow it to stay in the hands of unbelievers? The City of God and the capitol of the Kingdom of Heaven must be liberated by the Christians, the *Gesta* continues:

If, soon after our Lord's death, while the city was still in the possession of the Jews, the Evangelist called it sacred, when he said, "Many bodies of the saints that have been asleep here have awoken, and come to the holy city, and they been seen by many.", and it was said by the prophet Isaiah, "His tomb will be glorious," since this very sanctity, once granted by God the sanctifier himself, cannot be overcome by any evil whatsoever, and the glory of his tomb in the same way remains undiminished, then, O my dearly beloved brothers, you must exert yourselves, with all your strength, and with God leading you and fighting for you, to cleanse the holiness of the city and the glory of the tomb, which has been

polluted by the thick crowd of pagans, if you truly aspire to the author of that holiness and glory, and if you love the traces that he has left on earth.¹⁸

The carrying out of the divine plan, that God punished unbelief in the loss of Jerusalem to the rise of Islam and that now, if the crusaders were faithful enough they could restore the holiness of the city worked on the emotions of those seeking to go on crusade:

If the Maccabees once deserved the highest praise for piety because they fought for their rituals and their temple, then you too, O soldiers of Christ, deserve such praise, for taking up arms to defend the freedom of your country. If you think you must seek with such effort the thresholds of the apostles and of others, then why do you hesitate to go see and to snatch up the cross, the blood, and to devote your precious souls to rescuing them? Until now you have waged wrongful wars, often hurling insane spears at each other, driven only by greed and pride, for which you have deserved only eternal death and damnation. Now we propose for you battles which offer the gift of glorious martyrdom, for which you will earn present and future praise.¹⁹

In this, the final portion of the speech, Urban focuses on judgment, in particular here on the judgment of those listening, reminding them that they can change their fates of eternal torment to eternal rest and peace.

The focus in the *Gesta Francorum* is on the notion of *Deus lo vult*, that God has a plan for Christianity. Furthermore, it praised and promoted a violence against unbelievers that Urban and the other prelates formulated. Free Jerusalem and the surrounding area from the rule of Muslims.

The enthusiasm was present but the secular support needed for a military campaign had not yet been established. In order for the expedition to be a success, from an earthly or military standpoint, the forces that were to take up the cross needed to be able to find a way to get from western Europe to the pilgrim pathways to Jerusalem, and

the lord's commitment would need to be secured. This was a central problem that faced Urban.

Urban speech began with the vivid picture of the cherished locations of the Bible being held by Muslims and how the area, sanctified by having been the resting place of Jesus, were being desecrated by their use in Islam. This was even more profound as Jerusalem was the birthplace of Christianity.²⁰ Urban was using the excitement generated by the religious fervor of the audience to press for a military expedition to take back lands that had been out of Christian hands for over 300 years.

Besides the complementary efforts of the pope and local ecclesiastical apparatus, news of the expedition spread through informal contacts and association. The rapidity of the spread of news of the Jerusalem campaign is attested not only in the literary accounts but in the rate of recruitment itself. Within twelve months of Clermont perhaps as many as 70,000-80,000 people had already left their homes for the east. This is in contrast to some of the other chroniclers, such as Fulcher, who estimates were larger. The geographical spread was wide but uneven, the bulk of known crusaders coming from northeast portions of France, western Germany and Italy.²¹ The answer to the calls for men to fight in the East was answered largely on the charisma and religious fervor of the soldier listening to the sermon or admonition to join.

Urban II's problem was not just coping with the extraordinary scale of the response; almost certainly he himself was not sure of what he had created. His preaching was like a chemistry experiment that created an inherently unstable compound. He had called for an armed pilgrimage, and it is certain that most of those who went to the First Crusade saw themselves first and foremost as pilgrims to Jerusalem. They had made

vows to worship at Jerusalem's sacred shrines, and they were carrying out one of Christianity's most ancient and popular devotional practices: earning forgiveness of sins through the public demonstration of sorrow, or penitence. But the military task facing these pilgrims was novel and extraordinary.²² The military leaders had to come up with a means to achieve the ends of the military campaign with the guidance from the nominal religious head of their faith, who was not a military or logistical expert.

The men who took up the cross and went on crusade were marching to Palestine through the territory of the Byzantine Empire, whose European lands extended from the Adriatic Sea to Constantinople. It is possible that the arrival of envoys sent by Emperor Alexius I, appealing for western military help, triggered in Urban's mind the idea of launching the expedition. Most of the territory that Alexius's predecessors had ruled for centuries in Asia Minor and northern Syria had recently been overrun by the Seljuq Turks, so hard fighting could be expected along the entire route leading from Constantinople to Jerusalem.²³ The logistics involved in the movement of so many people could not be completed in a short timeframe but rather took months and years for soldiers to leave behind their property and families in some semblance of order.

Movement towards Constantinople 1096

The frantic efforts to prepare logistically and financially did not fully meet the needs of those setting out. Europe was scoured for coin and plate in the 1090s and the unceasing search for liquid cash, denigrated as greed by many contemporaries, was a major cause of the attacks that took place on Jewish communities in the Rhineland. The simple fact that expeditions of up to 100,000 strong could be equipped and furnished with at least some cash reserves was a testimony to the existence of a reasonably buoyant

exchange economy. Since the West at that time had no coin of higher value than the penny, the volume of metal involved was remarkable.²⁴ The success of recruitment in 1095-1096 relied on wealth, social order and mobility, attributes of an underlying prosperity, as well as on skillful manipulation of cultural habits of violence and spiritual fears of damnation.

The main purpose for which money flowed out of Crusader forces was for purchase of food en route. Crusaders could always try to purchase supplies on an ad hoc basis or take them without payment; however, the numbers involved meant that considerable organization was required to ensure that sufficient quantities could be made available. The authorities in the friendly states through which they passed had to encourage sufficient numbers of producers to come forward and to provide places to buy and sell where their safety would be guaranteed. Large numbers of crusaders would have an immediate effect on local demand and consequently on prices, and one of the frequent concerns echoed in the chronicles was the demand for fair prices and goods in fair weight and measure.²⁵

As the process of recruiting, arming and supplying the crusaders began, those who were ready to begin the journey prior to the papal authorized date began to grow restless. According to some witnesses, at the center of the great rumor was the charismatic preaching of a diminutive, ageing Picardian evangelist known as Peter the Hermit. Peter had experience as a preacher of apostolic poverty. It was later claimed that he was a pilgrim to the Holy City who had been entrusted with a letter from heaven to rouse Christians to liberate Jerusalem and a request from the patriarch of Jerusalem to send western help which was conveyed to Pope Urban II. The hints of distinctive features in

Peter's appeal—apocalyptic, populist, visionary, charismatic—in contrast to penance, pilgrimage, cross, war—may be taken as a sign of Peter's insignificance or the reverse.²⁶

The response to Peter's preaching had tens of thousands joining him. The European peasant did so mainly as a result of the difficulties of prospering in the eleventh century. Land that was not already cultivated was difficult and costly to bring back into production. The preaching that centered around ominous and catastrophic teaching resonance with the populace. Peter was a priest that spoke to the people and preached in such a way that he was able to spark a reaction that caused all members of society, from peasant to knight, to join him on crusade. The medieval church provided comfort to a world that was harsh to those who were not in charge. Judgment was ever present in the mind and the clergy used penance and pilgrimage to reduce the wages of sin. At any time, the end of the world could come, so the church used this as an impetus to press its adherents to meet their goals for a general pilgrimage to Jerusalem that was armed.²⁷

As Jonathan Riley-Smith has famously argued it was believed that crusaders particularly expressed their love of God in the way they became literal followers of Christ. From the first, they were treated as "soldiers of Christ", who had joined an expedition out of love for him. And the taking of the cross, the sewing of a cross on a man's garments as a symbol of his vow to crusade was seen as a response to Christ's statement in the gospel of Luke: "Whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me cannot be my disciple."²⁸ It is notoriously difficult to establish exactly what occurred at the Council of Clermont in November 1095, but it is possible that Urban preached the First Crusade on the basis of this text: the author of one of the accounts of the council mentioned that he had done so when he ordered the crusaders to sew crosses on their

clothes: and another witness also referred to it. in a narrative in which Urban was made to remind his audience of Christ's words²⁹, He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. And everyone that hath left house or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my name's sake shall receive a hundredfold and shall possess life everlasting.³⁰

The armies he inspired were on the road by Easter 1096. Interestingly, the anonymous chronicle attached to Bohemund I, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, placed Peter's army as part of the official campaign. To organize, equip and supply perhaps up to 30,000 troops and non-combatants at the end of winter and in spring, following poor harvests, some local famines and plagues in the previous year, suggests that Peter must have begun preaching before Clermont and that his powers of organization were of an order beyond his image of a disheveled wandering priest.³¹ The logistical challenges were real obstacles for all levels of society to overcome, but the adventurous and religious fervor of the crusader, motivated them to preservice.

The journey was from Western Europe to the Byzantine Empire, from where Alexius I had originally sent letters requesting support to Pope Urban II in 1095. It was a serious undertaking, which sparked resentment and riots wherever the crusading armies traveled. At Constantinople, Alexius obtained an oath of allegiance from all the princes except Raymond of Toulouse, with whom he had achieved a private understanding. Alexius had no illusions about the practical value of the oath nor about the reliability of the men that had sworn it. But at least it gave him a juridical advantage that might well prove important.³² Alexius saw his interest as eternal: the benefit of the empire. Anything else that the crusaders wanted was peripheral or secondary to regaining lost territory and

influence in Asia Minor and the northern Levant. Initially the treaties of Constantinople worked. Relations between western leaders and the Greeks held. Nicaea reverted to imperial control after its capture in June 1097, despite Alexius's absence. A Byzantine division accompanied the army eastwards towards Antioch. Cities captured on the way were restored to Greek lordship.³³

Siege of Nicaea

The first major obstacle to the crusaders on their march towards Antioch began at Nicaea, the capital of the Turkish Seljuks of Asia Minor, the sultanate of Rum. The crusaders encircled the city. The first Turkish relieving force led by the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan, reached Nicaea to find the city entirely blockaded by land. It was about 21 May his army attacked the crusaders in an attempt to force an entrance into the city. The battle raged fiercely all day but the Turks could make no headway.³⁴ The optimism at the beginning of the march across Anatolia appeared to be justified.

Nevertheless, in spite of some disappointment that the crusaders felt in not being able to sack the city after encircling it, nor were they able to help themselves to its riches in pillaging the city, the liberation of Nicaea filled the crusaders with joy and with hope for the future. Letters went westward to announce that the venerable place was Christian once more, and the news was received in the West with enthusiasm. The Crusade had proven to be a success so far. In the camp, the knights were eager to continue their journey. The carrying out of a divine plan, *Deus lo vult*, was coming to fruition already in the journey to Jerusalem, and many hoped to march straight to the Holy City on a wave of divinely ordained success.³⁵

Battle of Dorylaeum

From Nicaea the crusaders once again set out across Asia Minor. The inability to recapture Nicaea from the crusading army forced the Seljuk army to move further east away from Constantinople and look for allies to assist in the defense of the Sultanate. The loss of Nicaea gave him trouble, especially the money taken, but the Turks were still nomadic by instinct and relied upon freedom of movement to maintain order and control. In the last days of June, he returned towards the west, with all his own troops ready to attack the crusaders as they came down the pass.³⁶

The battle proved to be a difficult one and it was only through the timely arrival of a second crusading army under the Duke Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, did the Turks rout and advanced through Asia Minor could continue. After the battle, the crusading army divided, a decision displaying an awareness of regional political conditions, local geography and topography, diplomatic opportunities, and prospects for collective and personal gain. The march took about seven weeks, averaging about eight miles a day; with local Armenian Christian support to secure the hinterlands of Antioch in advance of the army.³⁷

One note from the battle is that even during the encirclement and fierce fighting, some of the knights broke out from the tight formations to demonstrate their personal courage in face of the enemy onslaught. They were spurred on by the words of the clergy in the group, of the divine plan and their own idea of personal valor on the field of battle.³⁸

On the third day, the Turks made a violent assault on Bohemund and his companions. The Turks began unceasingly to shout, babble, and cry in a loud voice,

making some devilish sound, I know not how, in their own tongue. When the wise Bohemund saw from afar the innumerable Turks shouting and crying a diabolical sound, he straightway ordered all the knights to dismount and pitch the tents immediately. Before the tents had been erected, he spoke to all the soldiers: “My lords and strongest of Christ’s soldiers! A difficult battle is now building up around us. Let everyone advance against them courageously and let the infantry put up the tents carefully and quickly.”³⁹

Logistically and realistically, Alexius made the key strategic decision regarding the route that the army would follow and looked to what would serve Byzantium first and foremost. As a result, he sent the crusaders on a difficult and arduous campaign overland through very difficult terrain to capture citadels such as Antioch, and no less importantly, to destroy any Muslim armies encountered. The reconquest of Jerusalem was not Alexius’s primary aim and if the crusaders were destroyed along the way to Jerusalem, it would solve the decision of what to do with them after the crusade was over.⁴⁰

Siege of Antioch

The moment when crusaders came closest to resembling the Maccabees, who in the 2nd century BCE revolted against the Hellenistic Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who was attempting to eradicate their religion,⁴¹ was at the Battle of Antioch. According to a number of sources, the crusaders were able to emerge victorious thanks to divine intervention. For instance, the *Gesta Francorum*, one of the earliest narratives of the First Crusade, notes that there “appeared from the mountains a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white”. The crusaders realized that this was the succor sent by Christ, and that the leaders were St. George, St. Mercurius and St.

Demetrius, a great cloud of witness from the realm of the saintly, the biblical parallel to this being in the New Testament book of Hebrews, “Therefore, since we have so great a cloud of witnesses surrounding us, let us also lay aside every encumbrance and the sin which so easily entangles us, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us.”⁴² An obvious parallel to this and other narratives of celestial intervention in the Battle of Antioch is to be found in the Second Book of Maccabees.

Timothy, who had been defeated by the Jews once before, had gathered a large number of cavalry from Asia and a tremendous force of mercenary troops and was now advancing to take Judea by armed attack. But as the enemy forces were approaching, Judas and his men prayed to God. They put on sackcloth, threw dirt on their heads, and lay face downward on the steps of the altar, begging God to help them by fighting against their enemies, as he had promised in his Law.

When they had finished praying, they took up their weapons, went out a good distance from Jerusalem, and stopped for the night not far from the enemy. At daybreak the two armies joined in battle. The Jewish forces depended upon both their bravery and their trust in the Lord for victory, while the enemy relied only on their ability to fight fiercely. When the fighting was at its worst, the enemy saw five handsome men riding on horses with gold bridles and leading the Jewish forces. These five men surrounded Judas, protecting him with their own armor and showering the enemy with arrows and thunderbolts. The enemy forces then became so confused and bewildered that they broke ranks, and the Jews cut them to pieces, slaughtering 20,500 infantry and 600 cavalry.⁴³

William of Malmesbury, who included an extensive narrative of the First Crusade in the subsequent generation after the First Crusade, in his *Deeds of the English Kings*,

uses the reference to the Maccabees to demonstrate that the miracle of saintly intervention in the Battle of Antioch was credible. After describing the miracle, he adds: “nor can we deny that martyrs have aided Christians, at any rate when fighting in a cause like this, just as angels once gave help to the Maccabees.”⁴⁴ According to William, both the Maccabees and crusaders were fighting for a worthy cause and thus deserved divine help. Thus, William’s reference seems to be an example of a conventional use of Jewish heroes as prototypes of medieval warriors.⁴⁵

There is little military specific evidence on why the crusaders chose to take Antioch. There is much more biblical evidence on why the crusading army would want to take the city where they were first called Christians. The army did not have the support of being so close to Constantinople as they did previously. The idea of taking each town in a line down to Jerusalem was never considered, but rather only strategic areas that had good defensive positions or harbors that could bring in reinforcements were considered.⁴⁶ With the road network blocked by Antioch, and reinforcement as support from the north and Constantinople largely cut off without taking the city, it was imperative that it was captured for the future success of the crusade.

The crusaders set their camp outside the walls and began to plan. They could attempt to assault the walls and overcome the garrison or use an enemy soldier who could be persuaded to let the attacking army inside. The Crusaders were not able to encircle the city, but he had not enough soldiers to man all its walls. Until reinforcements arrived, he could not risk his men on a sally from the city. He made no move against the crusading army and allowed them to take up positions unhindered.⁴⁷

When the crusaders attacked Antioch in October 1097, their army faced against a small garrison, who had limited support from the population, many of whom were Christians. But the walls were ten kilometers around and enclosed an area of nearly three kilometers long and two kilometers wide. This stone city wall dated from Emperor Justinian's time (d.565) and it was defended by a circuit of great and lesser towers. The crusaders were not able to blockade all of the main gates until April 1098, after seven months of siege.⁴⁸

Yaghi-Siyan had expected an immediate assault on the city. But, amongst the crusading leaders, only Raymond advised that they should storm the walls. God, he said, had protected them so far, and would surely give them the victory.⁴⁹

Ought we not at once take advantage of the terror spread among the enemy? Is it right to leave them time to rally and recover from their alarm? Is it not well known that they have implored the succor of the caliph of Baghdad and the sultan of Persia? Every moment of delay may strengthen their armies and rob the Christians of the fruits of their victories . . . As to the rigors of winter, which they appeared so much to dread, it was an insult to the soldiers of Jesus Christ to think them incapable of enduring cold and rain.⁵⁰

Raymond attempted to convince the other leaders that since they had defeated the enemies of Jesus Christ already, they could not be defeated now except through treachery. The Army of God was carrying out a divine plan that could not be beaten spiritually. *Deus lo vult*, God wills that the attack on the city result in victory.

A deadlock in plans placed enormous strain on resources and morale. In late December 1097, acute food shortages prompted a major foraging expedition south up the Orontes valley toward al-Bara. It stumbled across an allied relief force from Damascus and Homs, led by Duqaq of Damascus and his subordinate. The Muslim army withdrew after inflicting heavy casualties, and preventing the collection of much-needed forage.

Supplies were sought from as far away as Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete, but famine loomed; prices soared.⁵¹

To counter collapsing morale, in January the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy, instituted penitential fasting, intercessory prayers, processions and alm-giving for the laity, with the clergy celebrating masses and singing psalms. Communal participation in familiar religious ceremonies played on the psychological requirement for the beleaguered Christians to shake off fatalism, lethargy and inertia by involving the ordinary soldier and pilgrim in active contributions to the army's destiny.⁵² The leaders looked to Adhemar's spiritual leadership in singling out the penitential cycle for the army. They needed to rid themselves of the sin that surrounded them with contriteness and then confess and do penance for those sins. Only then would they be spiritually fortified for the upcoming battle.

With a simultaneous secular crackdown on law and order within the army, the revivalist message was reinforced by the removal of all women from the camps, wives included, the association of sex with divine disapproval being widely promoted by the western clerical establishment. Ritual public humiliations and punishment for adulterers were staged to underscore the evils of sexual license, the culprits stripped naked and flogged in front of the whole army. To further reassure their followers, the leaders swore oaths not to abandon the siege. These measures emphasized the particular corporate identity that had grown through shared experience and crisis.⁵³ The effort to remove sin and the consequences of the sin from the attackers reminded them of the original notion of the expedition, in pilgrimage, and more important in the judgment that God would inflict upon those who did not maintain a godly lifestyle and conduct in their life.

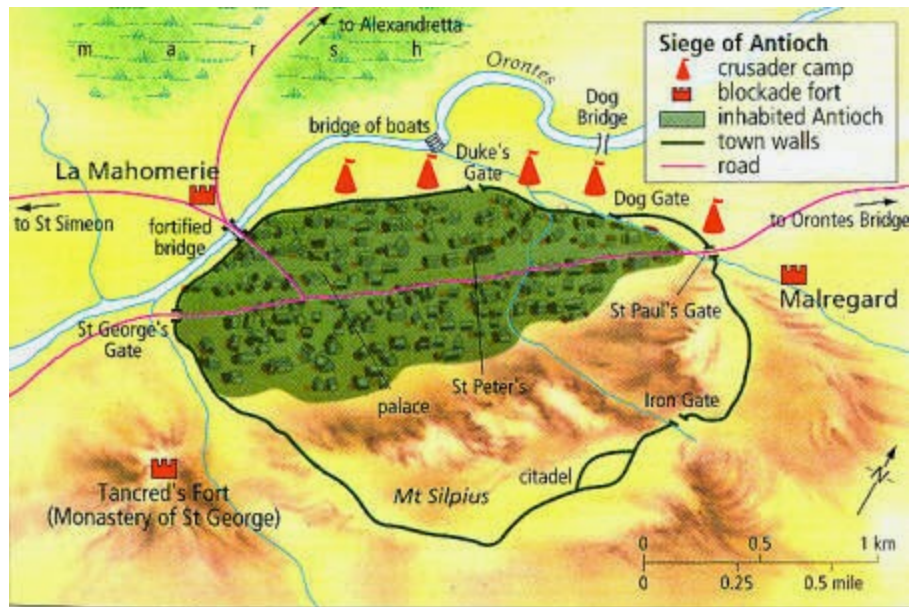


Figure 1. Siege of Antioch

Source: Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria Handbook for Travelers*, 5th ed. (London: Dulau and Co., 1912), 103.

The crusading army could not get to Jerusalem without taking Antioch, and a sizable garrison was provisioned for a long siege. The city as centered on a large citadel which was on mountain one thousand feet above the town. There were also hundreds of towers all along the city's gates, which provided ample room for missile infantry to fire on the attackers.⁵⁴ For the assault the Christian knights formed up behind their leader's banners. The first division deployed in line with its right flank on the Orontes. The second division marched behind the first, and deployed in line on the left of the first; so did the third. A wide front of about two miles was occupied towards the mountains, which would protect the left flank. The Turks intended to use their customary tactics: they withdrew before the advancing crusaders and sent one formation round to the rear of

their opponents; but this maneuver was observed in time and the leaders had the sense not to throw in his reserve at once.⁵⁵

The legendary quality of so many incidents during the First Crusade is nowhere more evident than in the story of how Bohemund and an Armenian dissident in the Antioch, one Firuz, collaborated in allowing the crusaders to penetrate the walls of the city at a point under the traitor's supervision on the night of 2-3 June 1098. It appears that Bohemund had been hatching the scheme for some time, and he possessed a linguistic advantage for this: on the night of the agreed commando-style raid on his section of the walls, they were able to converse with Firuz in Greek. The element of surprise devastated the civilian population, who woke to uproar and the sounds of massacre. The overwhelmed garrison immediately withdrew to the citadel, leaving the city below to be plundered at will by the invaders.⁵⁶

The cry that went up of *Deus lo volt* was vindicated not just by military victory but also by the fact that victory followed prolonged physical, mental, and emotional suffering. The crusaders had to experience their Good Friday as well as their Easter Day.⁵⁷ By nightfall on 3 June there was no Turk left alive in Antioch; and even from neighboring villages to which the crusaders had never penetrated the Turkish population had fled.⁵⁸

The crusaders were barely able to install themselves in the city before Muslim reinforcements arrived. Two days after the capture of the city, the Muslims encamped before the walls, on the very positions that the Franks had only just occupied. The first Muslim plan was to penetrate into the city from the citadel. Foreseeing the danger, Bohemund and Raymond constructed a rough wall to cut it off from the city

fortifications. As this was the most vulnerable sector of the defense, it seems that the princes took turns to man it.⁵⁹

From this extreme crisis emerged the visionary politics that characterized the rest of the campaign until Jerusalem was won. According to the story generally accepted by immediate eyewitnesses, on the very night of the panic and desertion, a Provençal priest, Stephen of Valence, beside himself with terror at what seemed to him the imminent fall of the city, while praying in the church of the Virgin Mary experienced a vision of Christ, the cross, Mary and St Peter. Christ assured Stephen that the beleaguered Christians would receive His aid in five days, provided they demonstrated their faith through prayers, ceremonies and penitence for their sinfulness. After initial skepticism, insisting that Stephen swore to the truth of his statement on the Gospels, Adhemar of Le Puy exploited the vision by instituting more morale-stiffening religious ceremonies and persuading the princes to renew their oaths to stay with the expedition.⁶⁰

The idea and use of visions was not new for western Christianity and could be interpreted from a variety of perspectives. Some visions that were reported and written down in the Bible, could be used as examples of how God worked in the lives of the Israelites and thus, as spiritual successors to them, could have the same divine support for the crusaders. Furthermore, visions of a successful battle, whether in the offense, such as the siege of Antioch, or on the defense, like the defense of Antioch a few days later, would be strong incentives for the soldiers to carry on the fight beyond the normal bounds of morale.

More dramatically, in an almost simultaneous report, a poor Provençal pilgrim, Peter Bartholomew, claimed to have received over the previous months a number of

visions of St Andrew in which the saint had urged penitence on the crusaders and, as a song of God's favor, had indicated where the Holy Lance that had pierced the side of Christ on the cross was buried in the cathedral of St Peter. Peter's story matched Stephen's by its promise of a sign of divine aid in five days. Adhemar and many others thought Peter a fraud, yet desperation and the advocacy of Raymond of Toulouse persuaded them to verify the story. The discovery of the lance transformed the army's mood from terrified inertia to awed encouragement, allowing the leaders to organize a military breakout with some prospects of success. Further celestial sightings accompanying the preparations for battle, hardly coincidentally, contained saintly instructions to further penance and military discipline.⁶¹ The fervor, resulting from the adoration of holy artifacts, on the members of the Crusades will be explored later in chapter three.

Ralph of Caen (d.1130), a chaplain of Bohemond, along with Adhemar were aware of the various histories of the Holy Lance. Through the ages, the lance with the most respectable ancestry was at the time kept in the chapel of the Pharos in Constantinople. It is hard to imagine that the crusaders, at least the clerics and Bishop Adhemar, were unaware of this. The sources, however, make no mention of the lance at Constantinople, and there is no doubt that the lance discovered at Antioch was believed to be the actual Dominical Lance.⁶²

Whatever later doubts and manipulation, the discover of the Holy Lance and the injection of religious ceremony into the political discourse of the army contributed to the startling victory over Antioch's besiegers and lead to the Christian breakout of Antioch on the morning of 28 June 1098. The defeat of the Muslim army prompted the garrison in

the citadel to surrender. This allowed for the crusaders to send to Constantinople for aid. Alexius brought a large army with him but did not reach Antioch. Those who had left the army earlier concluded that it was a hopeless cause and Alexius return to Asia Minor to hold the gains he had already made.⁶³

The march towards Jerusalem and the siege and assault upon the walls would be a whole new ordeal for the army to work towards, the final stage of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The siege and then defense of Antioch was still fresh in their minds, and the commanders did not want to fight Muslim skirmishers south towards Jerusalem. The consolidation of power in the northern Syria in the hands of the crusading nobility began to lay the framework for more long-term settlement in the region by the crusading army and the next generation of western pilgrims. This shows the acquisition of material wealth was on the minds of some of the leaders as they worked towards individual as well as collective goals.⁶⁴

This rivalries within the crusading army did nothing to move the army away from Antioch. As the army refitting and resupplied as best they could in Antioch, preachers and those more religiously inclined pressed for the resumption of the march south. The foot soldiers in the army conducted many different displays of religious favor. Examples of this include crusader leaders such as Raymond of Toulouse conducting public penance with his soldiers to display their willingness to march on to Jerusalem. The nobility used these displays of piety to form factions in order to gain control of sections of the force. These factions had various goals but the major one wanted to press on to Jerusalem without delay and complete the crusade.⁶⁵ *Deus lo vult* would take the army to the walls of Jerusalem one way or another.

Not all the leaders wanted to leave areas they had hoped to conquer. The other factions within the crusading army wanted to add other strongholds in Palestine and Syria to their domain prior to Jerusalem. These issues were further exacerbated by the use of clergy and visions to promote factional concerns. A division between the northern and southern French nobility and clergy formed, and at last Peter demanded that he be allowed to defend himself by the ordeal of fire. Whatever the truth may have been, he clearly by now believed firmly in his divine inspiration.⁶⁶

It can be argued here that there is a practical limit to which the crusaders were willing to believe in the spiritual impetus of a holy war. So far, the spiritual advice of Bishop Adhemar, alongside the military council led by the nobility allowed the crusade to get as far as Antioch. The goal of Jerusalem, which had been so many thousands of miles away back in 1097-1098, was now only a few hundred miles away. But Adhemar was gone, and his instruction to the faithful on how to prepare themselves for battle and for the arduous journey was now taken over by various priests, one of which was Peter. Adhemar was the only churchman with the authority, personality, and standing to insist on Urban's intentions being carried out, the only one of the leaders to personify the ideological goal of the expedition – the liberation of Jerusalem and spiritual rewards that could be bestowed upon those who met that goal.⁶⁷

The ordeal took place on Good Friday, 8 April 1099. Two piles of logs, blessed by the bishops, were erected on a narrow passage and set alight. Peter, clad only in a tunic, with the Lance in his hand leapt quickly through the flames. He emerged horribly burnt and would have collapsed back into the fire had not the crowd caught hold of him. For twelve days he lingered on in agony, then died of his wounds. As a result of the

ordeal the Holy Lance was utterly discredited, save for the southern Frenchmen. This desire to travel to Jerusalem and complete the crusade was strong throughout the majority of the crusading army.⁶⁸

Another instance of focused pilgrimage happened on the march towards Jerusalem when envoys from the town of Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus, came to the crusading camp and begged to be delivered from the yoke of Islamic rule. Tancred of Hauteville, an Italian-Norman leader and future Prince of Galilee, and Baldwin of Le Bourg, the future Baldwin II of Jerusalem, at once rode off with a small detachment of knights over the hills to Bethlehem. They arrived in the middle of the night, and the frightened citizens at first believed them to be part of an Egyptian army come to reinforce the defense of Jerusalem. When dawn broke and the knights were recognized to be Christians, the whole city came out in procession, with all the relics and the crosses from the Church of the Nativity, to welcome their rescuers and to kiss their hands.⁶⁹ This instance of pilgrimage, to a place that did not have particular military value but rather spiritual value, highlights the religious mindset of some of the crusading leaders in viewing and liberating areas well known to them from biblical texts.

The veneration that crusaders felt for Jerusalem is, unsurprisingly, most strongly evident when their armies approached the city itself in 1099. The army of the First Crusade experienced a surge of self-confidence and renewed solidarity during the march southwards from Arqa that grew as it got closer to Jerusalem. The absence of resistance at places like Tripoli, Beirut and Acre helped, and in the last days of their march the crusaders were passing through locations familiar to them from scripture, many of them pilgrimage shrines. They experience at first hand the holiness of the Holy Land.⁷⁰ The

siege of the city was fueled by their urgent desire to complete their pilgrimage; as the *Gesta Francorum* put it, “our leaders then decided to attack the city with engines, so that we might enter it and worship at our Savior’s Sepulcher.”⁷¹

Siege of Jerusalem

In early June, the June the Christian army now smaller than ever before, arrived and began the siege that would fulfill their vows of so many years before. The real danger of a Fatimid attack from Egypt along with the depleted numbers pressed the leaders to find a quick solution to another long and draw out siege and reduction of the walls. As the material preparations reached fruition with the building of siege engines, it was agreed on 6 July to hold a solemn religious procession around the walls of the city, in imitation of Joshua at Jericho. The planning and execution of this morale-boosting ritual encapsulated the expedition’s spiritual history. The inspiration came from a vision received by Peter Desiderius; the decision to hold the procession was reached at an assembly summoned by Adhemar of Le Puy’s brother, William Huger of Montclair. After a three day fast, on 8 July the whole army, led by the clergy bearing the growing collection of relics, processed barefoot around the walls of Jerusalem, ignoring the taunts of the locals.⁷²

When a breach into the city was reached on 15 July, the army was able to gain a foothold into the city the scale of the slaughter there impressed even hardened veterans of the campaign, who recalled the area streaming with blood that reached to the killer’s ankles. Raymond of Aguilers resorted to the language of the Book of Revelation in describing the Christian knights in front of the al-Aqsa mosque wading through blood up to their horses’ knees.⁷³

Before we made this assault on the city, the bishops and priests persuaded all, by exhorting and preaching, to honor the Lord by marching around Jerusalem in a great

procession, and to prepare for battle by prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Early on the sixth day of the week we again attacked the city on all sides, but as the assault was unsuccessful, we were all astounded and fearful. However, when the hour approached on which our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to suffer on the Cross for us, our knights began to fight bravely in one of the towers - namely, the party with Duke Godfrey and his brother, Count Eustace. One of our knights, named Lethold, clambered up the wall of the city, and no sooner had he ascended than the defenders fled from the walls and through the city. Our men followed, killing and slaying even to the Temple of Solomon, where the slaughter was so great that our men waded in blood up to their ankles.⁷⁴

After a difficult and deadly siege that lasted more than a month, the First Crusade breached the walls of Jerusalem and captured the city. According to the customs of war, adhered to by Muslims and Christians alike, the city and all of its inhabitants were at the mercy of the conquerors. There can be no doubt that the conquest of Jerusalem in July 1099 was a bloody affair. The eyewitnesses as well as contemporary writers made it clear in their respective writings. But at least in the first century after the events, no one suggested that the streets of Jerusalem ran with blood at any level.⁷⁵ Whether or not these activities actually took place, the emphasis placed in the primary sources from the crusades focuses on the apocalyptical aspect of the successful siege. The City of God, the Kingdom of Heaven was liberated from the rule of unbelievers. Raymond write further about the celebrations that occurred as well on the ‘day of all days’.

With the fall of the city, it was a delight to see the devotions of the pilgrims before the Lord’s Sepulcher: how they rejoiced, exulting and singing a new song for the Lord, for their mind offered to the victorious and triumphant God sacrifices of praise which they could not express in words. A new day, a new gladness, new and everlasting happiness, the completion of labor and devotion,

demanded new words and new songs from everyone. I say that this day, to be famous in all ages to come, turned all our sorrows and labors to joy and exultation.⁷⁶

This First Crusade had all classes of society within its ranks. What was extraordinary was that the leaders of the army molded it into a force that accomplished what it set out to do. This came from their religious convictions, they sense of adventure, to explore places rarely seen and to do what was thought to be impossible. The use of holy relics and visions that helped accomplish the work highlights their sense of doing what God wanted them to do.⁷⁷

The First Crusade accomplished more than what might be considered possible. beyond all hope and measure, achieved what might be considered the near impossibility of conquering and taking Jerusalem, and when the chroniclers and those who eye-witness the events began to write of what they took part in, many described it in dramatic and highly religious language. The influence of Penitential Cycle at the siege of Antioch and Jerusalem was clear. *Deus lo vult*, or God's divine plan on earth, in their eyes and hearts was accomplished when the crusading armies' banners were held over Jerusalem's walls and citadels. With the capture and establishment again of the Kingdom of God on earth in Jerusalem, this act of particular faith would hasten God's plan for the Final Judgment of all the earth.

¹ Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 58.

² Ibid., 61.

³ Oliver J. Thatcher, trans., *Patrologia Latina in Source Book for Medieval History: Selected Documents Illustrating the History of the Middle Age*. (New York: Scribner, 1907), 511.

⁴ Victor Gaffney, Georgios Theodoropoulous, and Peter Murgatroyd, "Marching across Anatolia: Medieval Logistics and Modeling the Mantzikert Campaign," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011-2012): 209-235.

⁵ John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 124-125.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 126-127.

⁷ This is a large subtopic of the First Crusade and will receive a limited amount of discussion here.

⁸ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 2.

⁹ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: MA: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 42.

¹⁰ Carol Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade = Historia Iherosolimitana* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 80-81.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

¹² *Ibid.*, 81-82.

¹³ James H. Robinson, *Readings in European History: A Collection of Extracts from the Sources Chosen with the Purpose of Illustrating the Progress of Culture in Western Europe Since the German Invasions*, vol. 1 (Rockville, MD: Wildside Press, 2013), 315.

¹⁴ Robert Levine., trans., *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert De Nogent's* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 382.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Rosalind T. Hill, trans., *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 13.

¹⁷ Levine, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert De Nogent's*, 28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁰ Jacque Michaud, *The History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (London: G. Routledge, 1852), 48.

²¹ Tyerman, *God's War*, 77.

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- ²² Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land*, 2.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 62.
- ²⁵ Bernard S. Bachrach, "Crusader Logistics: from Victory at Nicaea to Resupply at Dorylaion." in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (Sydney: Asgate, 2016), 17.
- ²⁶ Tyerman, *God's War*, 79.
- ²⁷ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 48.
- ²⁸ Luke 14:27-28 (New American Standard Bible).
- ²⁹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65, no. 214 (1980): 177-192.
- ³⁰ Matthew 16:25 (New American Standard Bible).
- ³¹ Tyerman, *God's War*, 79.
- ³² Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 92.
- ³³ Tyerman, *God's War*, 122.
- ³⁴ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 97.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 99.
- ³⁶ Ibid., 100.
- ³⁷ Tyerman, *God's War*, 124.
- ³⁸ John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300* (Abington: Routledge, 2007), 70.
- ³⁹ Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, trans., *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 49.
- ⁴⁰ Bachrach, "Crusader Logistics: From Victory at Nicaea to Resupply at Dorylaion," 51.
- ⁴¹ Nicholas De Lange, *The Illustrated History of the Jewish People* (London: Hartcourt Brace and Co., 2009), 124.

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- ⁴² Hebrews 12:1 (New American Standard Bible).
- ⁴³ 2nd Maccabees 10:24-31 (Good News Translation). Don't see this in the bib.
- ⁴⁴ Rodney Mynors, Rodney Thomson, and Michael Winterbottom, *Gesta regum Anglorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 638–639.
- ⁴⁵ Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 154.
- ⁴⁶ Tyerman, *God's War*, 135.
- ⁴⁷ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 129.
- ⁴⁸ France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, 109.
- ⁴⁹ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 129.
- ⁵⁰ Susan B. Edgington, trans., *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, vol 1. (Farnham, GB: Ashgate, 2013), 338.
- ⁵¹ Tyerman, *God's War*, 139.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 128.
- ⁵⁵ Jan Frans Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages: From the Eight Century to 1340* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 206.
- ⁵⁶ Tyerman, *God's War*, 142.
- ⁵⁷ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 6.
- ⁵⁸ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 144.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., 146.
- ⁶⁰ Tyerman. *God's War*, 143.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., 144.
- ⁶² Charles Morris, "Policy and Visions: The case of the Holy Lance at Antioch," in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, eds. John Gillingham, James Clarke Holt, and John Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), 35-36.

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- ⁶³ Tyerman, *God's War*, 147.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 149.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 150.
- ⁶⁶ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 176.
- ⁶⁷ France, *Victory in the East*, 303.
- ⁶⁸ Rosalind M. Hill, trans., *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hieorsolimitorum* (London: Nelson, 1962), 123.
- ⁶⁹ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 179.
- ⁷⁰ Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land*, 187.
- ⁷¹ Hill, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hieorsolimitorum*, 89.
- ⁷² Tyerman, *God's War*, 157.
- ⁷³ Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land*, 185.
- ⁷⁴ August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Gloucester: Princeton University Press, 1921), 256-257.
- ⁷⁵ Thomas F. Madden, "Rivers of Blood: An Analysis of One Aspect of the Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem in 1099," *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales*, no. 1 (2012): 34.
- ⁷⁶ Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, 262.
- ⁷⁷ Tyerman, *God's War*, 164.

CHAPTER 3

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

The ground-breaking nature of the First Crusade was arguably its most important feature and one of which contemporaries were intensely aware. There was no precedent for these massive hosts of arms-bearing pilgrims taking the cross and making their way eastwards across hundreds of miles of unfamiliar terrain, much of it tenaciously defended by their Muslim enemies, to liberate the holiest of Christianity's many shrines.¹ Monastic chroniclers, living out their lives under a foundation that placed emphasis and value upon stability and tradition, reacted to such novelty by depicting the crusade as one of a handful of examples of divine intervention in the affairs of men.² It is not difficult to find evidence for a new and more profound religious belief in eleventh-century society. The cult of relics, a devotion which involved all sections of society, reached extraordinary height. The spread of reform in the church and the bitterness of the war of ideas, which was an element between the secular and religious leaders in Western Europe, attested to the continuing force of this new spirit whose temper was puritan.³ In this chapter, I will examine the aspects of Particular Judgment, pilgrimage, carrying out the divine plan of God and Final Judgment during the First Crusade.

The primary source materials show the crusades to be a profoundly religious experience, and that its origins came long before the setting out for Jerusalem. Urban II was sanctioning warfare and recruiting the warrior order to lead it. This was significant as it represented a shift from speeches, sermons and decrees to actively recruitment and campaigns. This integration of war and the church made the First Crusade possible.⁴

According to one early twelfth-century story, St Ambrose, disguised as a crusader, appeared in a vision to an Italian priest and asked him why there had been such a great response to the appeal of Pope Urban II for crusaders. The priest replied that he was troubled, because:

Different people give different reasons for this journey. Some say that in all pilgrims the desire for it has been aroused by God and the Lord Jesus Christ. Others maintain that the Frankish lords and most of the people have begun the journey for superficial reasons and that it was because of this that setbacks befell so many pilgrims in the Kingdom of Hungary and in other kingdoms; and for that reason, they cannot succeed.⁵

The story demonstrates that contemporaries divided their views about the motives of the earliest crusaders. The debate continues today, and every historian of the First Crusade has sooner or later to answer the question of what moved men to take the cross. It is true, of course, that large numbers of people involved, from different backgrounds and with the variety of motives found in any group of human beings. But historians are forced to generalize to some extent and when they do so marked differences in emphasis appear, ranging from the arguments of those who have been inclined to stress the ideological appeal of crusading, at least on the level of self-consciousness, to the counter-arguments of those who look for material reasons for the popularity of the crusade, especially land-hunger resulting from over-population, primogenitor and the practice of the knightly class. The sources for the crusade do not point in any one direction.⁶

The Frenchman Guilbert of Nogent also wrote concerning the motivation of the crusaders in stating:

We see nations moved by the inspiration of God . . . The highest offices of government, the lordships of castles or cities were despised; the most beautiful wives became as loathsome as something putrid; the lure of every jewel, welcome once to both sexes as a security, was spurned. These men were driven by the sudden determination of totally changed minds to do what no mortal had ever

been able to urge by command or achieve by persuasion . . . What can this universal response be except an expression of that plain goodness which moved the hearts of the most numerous peoples to seek one and the same thing?⁷

Many who took the cross in 1095-1096 saw the world in light of what the religious leaders in their communities were telling them about the horrors of the sins in their own lives and offered a path to redemption from the Particular Judgment that was sure to come upon them. As in later Crusades, a combination of religious devotion and kin/social networks played a significant role in determining who participated in the First Crusade. Many crusaders came from Christian families and systems, such as those of Polignac and Thouars. Others were vassals recruited by their medieval lords. When Count Stephen of Blois took the Crusading vow, many men in his home region of Chartres followed his example. Strong support for Crusading by Count Fulk IV of Anjou and King Philip of France likely helped to encourage many knights to take the cross.⁸ The importance of family ties often spanned generations. The costs of Crusading also explain the importance of kin and social networks. Not only did knights have to pay their way, but they knew that they would likely lose money, and potentially their lives, during the campaign. Crusading represented a substantial financial investment that required pooling family resources or soliciting the support of lords and religious communities.⁹

Particular Judgment (The Penitential Cycle)

Particular Judgment, to the mind of the medieval layman, centered on the penitential cycle: Sin, in the spirit of a 10th-century person, was a function of the collective will, an idea that aided the church in providing stability and order to a disordered world. Sin existed in the deeds that threatened the strength of the community. They were external, shaming and punished in this world. The penitential cycle also

included contriteness, where the sinner is crushed by guilt from the act that they committed and wants reconciliation with God. Confession was the pathway by which the individual who is contrite can bring himself back into the grace of God, where the penitent expresses sorrow for having offended God and fear of eternal punishment. Penance was more than a priest intervening on behalf of the church to ease one's consciences or to relieve the regretful aspect of sinning. Penance was a sacrament instituted by God in which forgiveness of transgressions committed after baptism and granted through the priest's absolution to those who with true sorrow confessed their crime and agreed to satisfy for the same.¹⁰ "Public penance was required only of those convicted of what then was called by pre-eminence mortal sins, idolatry, murder, and adultery."¹¹ This entire cycle relates to the crusader's fear of Hell and eternal torment.

The focus on a Particular Judgment of the crusader came from a series of reforms the Roman Catholic Church was going through beginning in the 10th century. The center of the improvement was the Burgundian Abbey of Cluny, where novices were welcomed from any social class or standing, educated, and promoted them by ability and nothing else— a pure meritocracy in the age of rigid class distinction. The local nobility took notice, and, eager to have genuinely pious monks interceding for them before God in Heaven, began to donate money and lands to the Cluniac Order. The leaders of the Church embraced the order with enthusiasm.¹² Urban II, who would call the First Crusade in 1095, was a member of the order. The reformations seemed to be bringing about a higher level of spirituality and a commitment to a penitential cycle in those who interacted with the Cluniac movement.

The crusading phenomenon emerged out of well-established Latin Christian traditions that included penance. And for Christians especially, pilgrimage is bound up with penance: the inconvenience, danger, and experience of the journey to the tomb of a saint or to Jerusalem itself was part of the payment demanded by God in return for the forgiveness of one's sins; a part of the process of absolution and redemption.¹³

In theological terms, the devil, who was continually striving to undermine the Church's mission of saving the soul, could cause it to place the laity in greater danger of damnation by encouraging them not just to dissimulate, but to engage in activity that was sinful. Hence the strong emphasis on pure intention found in the recorded decree of the Council of Clermont:¹⁴ "Whoever for devotion alone, not to gain honor or money, goes to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God can substitute this journey for all penance."¹⁵

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is the notion of a journey, of spiritual renewal, and relates back to Particular Judgment and the penance portion of the penitential cycle. A pilgrimage was centered on traveling to locations of high spiritual meaning, and regarding Jerusalem, there is no more elevated pilgrimage location. It was easy to persuade the western Franks to leave their farms as Ekkegard of Aura, a Benedictine monk, and chronicler of the First Crusade and participant in the Crusade of 1101,¹⁶ writes:

For Gaul had been afflicted for some years, sometimes by civil war, sometimes by famine, sometimes by an excessive death-rate. Finally, a—plague . . . had terrified the people to the point at which they despaired of life. . . . Of other nations or persons not covered by the papal edict, some confessed that they had been summoned to go to the Promised Land by certain prophets recently arisen among them or by signs in the heavens and revelations; others were compelled to take such vows by all kinds of personal disadvantages. In fact many of them were burdened on the journey with wives and children and all their domestic goods.¹⁷

There was a feeling at least by some within Western Europe to go on the First Crusade because things could not get any worse for them. This pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which was occurring since the establishment of the pilgrim trail by Constantine's mother Helena in the 4th Century CE, would be a semi-permanent resettlement for them. As a result of that choice, families were either separated for years or life. The alternate option would be to transplant the entire family and go on the pilgrimage together to liberate Jerusalem.

One custom that formulated prior to the First Crusade was the form and formation of the liturgical ceremonies. Beginning with the preexisting pilgrimage rites that implored God's protection and the remission of sins, the ritual evolved to accommodate the new and then shifting aspiration of crusading, evoking at times military themes before settling on devotional and penitential ideals that had been sharpened by the experience of failure. The ceremony for departing crusaders should not be mistaken for the ritual (or inspirational) moment when a crusader "took up the cross"—that is, made the *votum crucis*, vowing to crusade and affixing the cloth cross that marked him as a crusader to his garb. The language can be confusing, since "taking the cross" came to mean making the vow, which forms one *crucesignatus*, that is, signed by the cross, and ultimately came to define the crusader over and above the mere pilgrim.¹⁸

From the beginning, many crusaders submitted to some sort of ritualized blessing that, when available, was a pilgrim's blessing or a travel blessing. Ekkehard of Aura writes of a new rite (*novo ritu*):

No few men displayed the sign of the cross, stamped upon them from heaven on their front or on their clothing or on some part of their body; and having been signed in this way, they understood themselves to be ordered into the

army of the Lord. And then others, pricked by a sudden change of mind or instructed by a night vision, determined to separate their lands and family possessions and sew the sign of death on their clothing”¹⁹

Whatever pilgrimage rite these built on, the ritual almost certainly included the hope that pilgrimage to a holy place would count towards the remission of sins. A theme that was common to nearly all medieval pilgrimage traditions was God’s leadership and protection on the journey from dangers both physical and spiritual. The mission would be spiritual as well as physical: walking and living in the areas that Jesus Christ once lived and worked, his miracles would have a lasting impact on the crusader.²⁰

It was above all the symbol of the cross that distinguished the status of a crusader going on pilgrimage. The sign (*signum*) that distinguished crusaders from were travelers or even pilgrims and sanctified them as crusaders was the cross sewn on to their clothes. Fulcher indicated that these crosses were sewn on “by command of Pope Urban after they had made the vow to go.”²¹ Just as Saint Paul stated in his letter to the Ephesians²², these soldiers of God were to be fitted with the spiritual armor of God; it was proper that the soldiers of God who were preparing to fight for his honor should be identified and protected by this emblem of victory. And since they decorated themselves with this emblem of faith, in the end, they acquired from the symbol the reality itself. They clad themselves with the outward sign so that they might obtain the inner truth.²³ The ideal for those going on pilgrimage transformed in the eleventh century, from those who could afford to go to Jerusalem on pilgrimage (the nobility and wealthy merchants) to those who should go, the knights fighting each other for glory and territory.

Historically, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an example of the wealthy and noble to display piety. The German pilgrimage of 1064-1065 was conducted mainly from the

wealthy. The bishops and other prelates who traveled did not do so as poor pilgrims but with all the trappings of wealth and high class.²⁴ As MacGregor notes the cult of the warrior-saints first emerged in Western Europe on the eve of the First Crusade. Prior to this religiously sanctioned outline to warfare, there was no association between the clergy and the knights in Western Europe, but the understanding of the knight, guided and instilled by religious knightly piety grew out to be a potent force had its origin in the Old Testament as well as legends in the local communities. The clergy, in preaching the crusade and stirring men to take up the cross told the Old Testament stories and encouraged the crusaders to emulate the warrior and combat related aspects.²⁵

The emphasis on combat in turn was also couched in the religious ideas of the Christian faith, so thus the warrior knight of Christ needed to have the faith to sustain him in the darkest and most desperate of fighting while also having the godly aspects of patience and humility. The ideas of knights taking vows of chastity, poverty and obedience to the church was a generation away but the seeds were planted during the First Crusade. Other clerics in the late eleventh century, however, began to use the example of these saints to support a potentially more militant form of piety-one based not on the passive virtues of the warrior-saints but instead on their military, and very precisely knightly, identity. Examples of the nascent knightly virtues coming out of dioceses that would be a part of the class of warrior that the church desired to fight on crusade included liturgies that invoked heaven for those who have power on earth and those to give the portion of the power of God to those in leadership positions. The church was calling on God to intercede on behalf of those who had the power to fight on earth and to do so in a way that allowed for Christian military success.²⁶ The liturgies further

developed beyond the First Crusade that would become a large portion of the initiation rights for the military religious orders such as the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, (Templars) and the Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers).²⁷

The use of knights that have been spiritually ordained to conduct warfare on behalf of their liege lord and the Church. The idea that these warrior-monks could be the leaders of an earthly war against the enemies of the church was also becoming apparent alongside the acknowledgement that the Church would support military campaigns, such as the First Crusade. “It is within the context of the First Crusade that the approval of the warrior-saints principally as intercessors for earthly knights most clearly articulated. In a letter written in January 1098 (during the siege of Antioch), the Latin and Greek bishops accompanying the Crusade called on the West to supply more troops to ensure the continued success of the enterprise.”²⁸ The belief in the intercession of saints on the lives of the warriors conducting the First Crusade was apparent based on the saints that were prayed to before, during and after a battle.

The prayers to Saint George, Theodore and Demetrius are well within the values and traditions of the knightly class, as these saints were warriors for the cause of Christ. Some lesser known saints in Western Europe, such as Saint Blaise, was based on the notion that the local area where the crusaders were present and fighting was important as to what the saints actually did. A saint that died at or near the sight of a crusader battle would be invoked since the knight was in proximity to the saint.²⁹ The invoking of saints back the crusading army assisted them spiritually in fulfilling what God intended them to do, as preached by the Church, in fulfillment of the Divine Plan.

Divine Plan (*Deus lo vult*)

The success of the First Crusade in its capture of Jerusalem and in the foundation of the Latin states in Syria was so unprecedented and so stirring that historians generally have overlooked the possibility, that from the point of view of Urban II, it may have actually fallen far short of the goal he hoped to attain when he set it in motion. In recent years, there has been an ever-widening awareness of the fact that Pope Urban may have sought by way of that Crusade to bring about a union between the Greek and Latin churches. The material considerations in the agreement with Alexius were so heavily in favor of, there must have been certain less tangible considerations, such as the union of the two churches, perhaps, to establish the balance.³⁰ Urban sought a way to complete God's plan on earth and desired to have the whole union of Christendom back underneath the Holy See of Rome.

But in striving to weigh and canvass the full extent of the problem more thoroughly, one must also take into account some other factors. Pope Urban's desire to bring about the union of Greek and Latin Christendom is evident by reports of his speech at Clermont. Since none of these were written at the time and since all, furthermore, were naturally influenced by later events, Urban's ambition to achieve this result is much more evident in the letters which he addressed to the assembling crusaders. In these he assigned great prominence to the plight of "*ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus*"; and since he chose, in addition, to single out the liberation of "*orientalium ecclesiarum*" as the major objective of the expedition one may reasonably assume that his identification of the "oriental churches" as "Churches of God" was no mere casual statement.³¹ Instead, it may quite well have been deliberate and, as such, intended to stress the fact that he

proposed to make no distinction between Greek and Latin Christians but to regard them all, instead, as ordinary members of one fold, of which the pope at Rome ruled by himself. The primary point of contention was to the primacy of the Bishop of Rome as compared to the other patriarchs of the church. Other items of evidence to this effect drawn from the fact that Urban had already established a record of friendly relations with Emperor Alexius long before Clermont.³²

Furthermore and more significant perhaps, was the action of Urban in sending military aid, in response to the emperor's request. This action, as well as the presence of the envoys of Alexius at the Council of Piacenza, about which we know too little, must be counted as substantial evidence in establishing the probability of some friendly understanding between Urban and Alexius before the First Crusade. More convincing, though still inferential, are the deductions to be drawn from the conduct of the pope's representative or representatives on the expedition itself. These were, in the first instance, Bishop Adhemar of Puy and, secondly, Count Raymond of Toulouse, who was present at Clermont; and the assumption Urban discussed his hopes and plans with Adhemar, and possibly also with Count Raymond.³³

Since Adhemar accompanied the count's forces on the long journey to the Holy Land, that military leader may have become acquainted with the pope's plans from the bishop, if not from the pope himself. The first significant occasion for the revelation of any previous understanding between pope and emperor was in connection with the treaty that the several leaders of the expedition were required to make with Alexius in Constantinople. The diplomacy included the agreement between them that all cities and territories which had been previously held by the empire would return to Alexius. This

fact in itself is enough to make one wonder whether so substantial a concession did not depend on other considerations which may, in turn, have rested upon some previous understanding with the real leader of the Crusade, Pope Urban. For over a year and a half, at any rate, this agreement was faithfully respected by the crusaders.³⁴ The wider implications for the crusade was on the enlistment of Western Europeans to come to the aid of Byzantium in the form of military conquest.

In further support of this general thesis let us return, for the moment, to Urban in Italy, where continued effort on his part was required to persuade the Italians to respond to his call for a crusade. Finally, he was successful, enlisting not only southern Normans but the maritime cities, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, and, last, of all, the Lombard region, whose largest contingents started after his death. More significant for the immediate argument, however, is the fact that he carefully planned a church council at Bari to consider the union of Greek and Latin churches.³⁵

This council, in which the momentarily exiled Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, played such an important part, met in October, 1098; and though it is not certain that any of the prelates from Constantinople were present, it adjourned to meet again in Rome the following spring for further consideration of the union of the two churches. Turning again at this point to the crusading army, and especially to its protracted siege of Antioch, it is clear that, since much of the territory recovered from the Muslim is garrisoned by crusaders, the policy adopted in filling church offices in these regions required careful consideration.³⁶

The vacant church offices the crusaders encountered as they controlled new territory was considered to be open to all prelates of the church. This becomes evident in

the examples of former Greek prelate when available, were reinstated to their episcopal sees.³⁷ In no instance up to the death of Adhemar were the two churches provided with separate leadership in the same area. The relationship began strong between the Greek and Latin churches that Simeon, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was then a refugee in Cyprus, joined Adhemar in a letter to the west asking for reinforcements.³⁸

Final Judgment

By the mid-eleventh century, the Kingdom of Heaven and heavenly hierarchy on earth established a level of martyrs and constituted an essential group in it. Divine orders may vary, but the hierarchical concept had become a component of medieval thinking by the seventh century. The call for indulgences as well as Especially in the wake of Urban's call for a crusade, the openness of a heavenly reward was fresh and foremost in the minds of those hearing the preaching. The pope outlined the eternal reward that waited those to die in faith fighting for the church. This is in sharp contrast to the campaign goal of the crusade in recapturing the earthly Jerusalem.³⁹ Urban's use of both spiritual and heavenly rewards to those on crusade were later used by other popes in invoking heaven in conducting the business of warfare on earth.⁴⁰

Looking further into attributing the characteristics of martyrdom and heavenly reward on those fighting in the crusade, the increasingly desperate fighting caused many of the clerics to invoke these images in more and more detail. In an effort to increase the moral and fighting spirit of the lagging crusading army, the Latin clerics would use images and descriptions of heavenly reward to press the soldiers to fight longer and harder. Just as today in military conflicts, individuals who succumb to accidents and injuries while on operation deployments are not necessarily considered less of a sacrifice

than those who fell in direct combat, there was also a general notion that those who died in Palestine were all considered martyrs for the faith.⁴¹

The general mood of glory in death whether in combat or not were widely circulated within the crusading army and the notion that those who died prior to Jerusalem would still receive the same rewards in eternal life were reinforced by Urban's speeches prior to the outset.⁴² They are to be paid, according to Urban, "with the same shilling, whether at the first or the eleventh hour."⁴³ The chroniclers writing at the end of the First Crusade also point back to the religious reward to all who died.

The actions taken by the crusaders highlight the forefront that religion was placed. The First Crusade was a new experience for the religious and secular leaders of Western Europe and future crusades were modeled and altered based off what worked well and what did not. As Shepkaru notes the crusaders first, after the celebration that followed the discovery of the Holy Lance, the battle preparations of the crusaders at Antioch in June 1098 consisted of fasting for three days. There is no general military reason for this behavior, though it was probably designed in part to boost morale by demonstrating the unity of the crusaders.⁴⁴ This does not mean that the crusaders did not tend to the military specific logistical problems, though they chose to fast, their animals continue to be feed in order to be ready and healthy for the battle. Second, when arriving at Jerusalem the crusaders chose to remove their armor and march as penitent pilgrims around the city, with the hope that God would come to their aid he did to the Israelites during the battle of Jericho. The two cases highlight that the religious devotion that the crusaders felt and then acted upon was based on their belief in doing the will of God and that he would reward those who were faithful to him.⁴⁵

The pope in his capacity as the spiritual leader of Western Europe saw in the crusade a means of working for the reunion of Christendom under its leadership, one of the objectives of the Reform Movement as the Papacy conceived it, and a necessity if the Papacy was to continue to resist the Empire. The combination of these various constituent factors explains how it was that an expedition launches against Jerusalem, where local circumstances no more justified it at that particular moment than at any earlier time.⁴⁶

¹ Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 76.

² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 135.

³ France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*, 6.

⁴ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 78.

⁵ Susan Edgington, trans., *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem. The First Crusade, 1095-1099*, vol. 1, book 1 (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016), 415-416.

⁶ Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100," *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 389 (1983): 724.

⁷ Levine, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert De Nogent's*, 124.

⁸ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, 94.

⁹ Michael C. Horowitz, "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading," *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 177.

¹⁰ Edward Hanna, "The Sacrament of Penance," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. (Nashville: T. Nelson, 1987).

¹¹ John Thomas McNeill, "The Development of Penance in Christianity," *The Journal of Religion* (July 1921): 38.

¹² Brian A. Catlos, *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors: Faith, Power, and Violence in the Age of Crusade and Jihad* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 85.

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- ¹³ Ibid., 247.
- ¹⁴ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 86.
- ¹⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), 37.
- ¹⁶ Joseph R. Strayer, "Ekkehard of Aura," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, (New York: Scribner, 1989), 417.
- ¹⁷ Uraugia de Eccardus and Wilfred Steidel Canning, trans., "The Hierosolymita of Ekkehard of Aura: A Translation and Commentary" (master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, 1964.), 17.
- ¹⁸ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095-1300," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (October 2013): 46.
- ¹⁹ Eccardus and Canning, *The Hierosolymita of Ekkehard of Aura: A Translation and Commentary*, 231-233.
- ²⁰ Gaposchkin, *From Pilgrimage to Crusader: The Liturgy of Departure*, 54.
- ²¹ Harold S. Fink, trans., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 68.
- ²² Ephesian 6:3-5 (New American Standard Bible).
- ²³ Gaposchkin, *From Pilgrimage to Crusader: The Liturgy of Departure*, 56.
- ²⁴ John Paetow, *The Crusades, and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), 14.
- ²⁵ James B. MacGregor, "Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, Ca. 1070-Ca. 1200," *Church History* 73, no. 2 (June 2004): 322.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 323.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 324.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 322.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 325.
- ³⁰ Dana C. Munro, trans., *The Letter of Pope Urban II to the Crusaders in Flanders in Heinrich Hagenmeyer* (Innsbruck: Cambridge Medieval Society, 1901), 136-37.

³¹ Dana C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II," *American Historical Review*, 9 (1905-1906): 231-242.

³² Claude Cahen, "An Introduction to the First Crusade," *Past & Present*, no. 6 (November 1954): 6-30.

³³ August Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta," in *The Crusaders and Other Historical Essay Presented to D. C. Munro* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1928), 57-58.

³⁴ Munro, *The Letter of Pope Urban II to the Crusaders in Flanders in Heinrich Hagenmeyer*, 136-137.

³⁵ August Krey, "Urban's Crusade-Success or Failure," *The American Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (January 1948): 236.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Krey, "Urban's Crusade-Success or Failure," 236.

³⁸ Munro, *The Letter of Pope Urban II to the Crusaders in Flanders in Heinrich Hagenmeyer*, 141-142.

³⁹ Shmuel Shepkaru, "To Die for God: Martyr's Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives," *Speculum* 77, no. 2 (April 2002): 316.

⁴⁰ Peter W. Edbury, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," in *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 46.

⁴¹ Shepkaru, "To Die for God: Martyr's Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives," 316.

⁴² Edbury, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade," 16.

⁴³ Shepkaru, "To Die for God: Martyr's Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives," 317.

⁴⁴ Horowitz, "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading," 180.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 193.

⁴⁶ Cahen, "An Introduction to the First Crusade," 29.

CHAPTER 4

ESCHAOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN ANTIOCH AND JERUSALEM

The eschatological elements in the First Crusade lay out a foundation for the acceptance, enthusiasm and success of the military operations from Anatolia in Asia Minor to the storming of the wall of Jerusalem. The capture of Jerusalem was seen as nothing short of a miracle. The chronicler Robert the Monk remarked that nothing like it had happened since Jesus virgin birth.¹ Guibert of Nogent, a Benedictine monk, saw God as the leader of the crusade and it was that spiritual involvement as a sanctioning for war.²

Some chroniclers argued that the First Crusade was, in a literal sense, the work of God. The accounts of miracles on the campaign, especially the intervention of saints in the Battle of Antioch that will be explored later in this chapter, were seen as proof of this. The claim that saints appeared in war, an inherently immoral occupation, was further evidence. Other chronicles of the First Crusade perceived that God's backing was not sufficient for a Christian war to deserve the title of holy. This dichotomy in the histories highlights the mental and spiritual thought process that was in the mind of those writers. Regardless, the spiritual nature of crusading warfare was of the foremost importance for the chroniclers. The two tasks were closely related, and one solution sufficed for both. In doing God's work, the members of the crusade could gain the rewards, spiritual and eternal, that were promised them by the clergy that recruited them, as well as by those who continued to minister to them while on the campaign.

The sermons exhorting the pilgrims to fight for the liberation of Jerusalem convinced many of the necessity of fighting and were full of apocalyptic and

judgmental elements. The siege of Jerusalem began after weeks of arduous traveling in an arid and unforgiving climate. The morale of the soldiers, lifted from the victory in Antioch months before, was again at a low point. The amazement of seeing the area where Jesus walked served as a bulwark for those thinking of deserting before securing the Holy City. While preaching forgiveness and poverty, Peter the Hermit also told stories of Jerusalem in the hands of pagans, who every day was preventing Christians from worshiping at the tomb of their Lord and Savior. The main point Peter was preaching to the soldiers was one of immediate concern to their fellow believers. If those in Jerusalem could not be relieved, then Christianity could be extinguished in the Levant. Already the Muslims had transformed the Temple of the Lord into a mosque. It would undoubtedly be a good and righteous service to God if those warring knights, whose conflicts had at least achieved some resolution through Peter's oratory and his very demeanor, would now turn their weapons against a real enemy, against the unbelievers who every day was defiling the sacred sanctuaries of Jerusalem.³

In this chapter eschatological elements manifest in the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem will be examined in detail.

Battle of Antioch

The finding of the Holy Lance and intervention of celestial troops reported by eyewitnesses of the First Crusade, but not everyone was immediately convinced. This discovery was not universally accepted, despite the account in the *Gesta Francorum*, which states "This is quite true, for many of our men saw it."⁴ What they did believe, however, was the results: relics led to victory. Henry of Huntington, a canon in the English diocese of Lincoln in the early twelfth century,⁵ wrote that clergymen and monk

witnessed the intervention of saints in the battle of Antioch: “The bishops, priests, clerks, and monks, dressed in sacred vestments, chanted hymns to God upon the city walls. Thus they saw the heavenly army, with white horses and sun-gleaming arms, whose leaders were George, Mercurius, and Demetrius.”⁶ Henry did not specify whether lay crusaders also witnessed the miracle, possibly because he considered this detail of secondary importance. Clergymen’s participation in the regular miracle of the Eucharist, their role as intermediaries between this world and the next, and their traditional responsibility of authenticating and explaining wonders made it implausible to him that they would give an incorrect interpretation of their experience.⁷

Medieval explanations of the events surrounding the battle of Antioch revolve around the element of miracles. The *Gesta Francorum* reports that shortly before the fight, Christ appeared in a dream to a particular priest and promised to send help. Christ fulfilled his promise, and in the midst of the battle, there arose a countless host of men on white horses, whose banners were all white.⁸ This miraculous event invokes the image of Christ return as described in the apocalyptic Book of Revelation:

And I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse, and He who sat on it is called Faithful and True, and in righteousness He judges and wages war. His eyes are a flame of fire, and on His head are many diadems; and He has a name written on Him which no one knows except Himself. He is clothed with a robe dipped in blood, and His name is called The Word of God. And the armies which are in heaven, clothed in fine linen, white and clean, were following Him on white horses.⁹

Revelation, written at the end of the first century at a time of persecution of nascent Christianity had direct parallels to the battle surrounding Antioch. The faithful believed that the relics and saints were surrounding them and assisted in the fighting.

When the crusaders breached the walls of Antioch on the third day of June 1098, they slaughtered all the Turks and Saracens they could find. How many died that day is unknown, but it was no doubt a large number. The crusaders, although joyful for finally taking the city, were starved and exhausted after besieging it for nearly eight months. Though they stripped their newly conquered city of valuables, there was little to nothing regarding food and supplies. To make matters worse, they found themselves under siege only two days later by a coalition of Muslims, who arrived in succor. The numbers exaggerate the attackers, but it is fair to assert the crusaders were desperate.¹⁰

The intense fighting in Jun 1098 in Antioch, when all seemed lost, is when the purported Holy Lance was found. The difficulties of the siege and the depravations were made even more acute by the political divisions within the leadership, as partisan positions for power and outweighed then greater importance in a united front against the Muslim army. This did not have a positive effect on the rest of the crusaders. The carnal spirit of the despoiling of Antioch did not have the beneficial effect, and the clergy within the crusading army instituted spiritual reform to bring them back to a religious devotion and aim. It is in this context that Raymond d'Aguilers account of the discovery of the Holy Lance should be placed. Raymond was an eyewitness to the First Crusade. He served as the chaplain of Raymond of Toulouse, a position that put him in the middle of the controversy surrounding the Holy Lance. Raymond d'Aguilers had the responsibility of carrying the Lance for his lord, and he would also establish a close relationship with Peter Bartholomew, the priest whose visions led to the discovery of the Lance.¹¹

Raymond d'Aguliers recording of the discovery of the Holy Lance begins with the account of the visions of Peter Bartholomew. The crusaders were in a precarious

position defending Antioch against the Muslim reinforcements and the saintly figures that told Peter what to do: “Two men clad in brilliant garments . . . the older one had red hair sprinkled with white, a broad and bushy white beard, black eyes and an agreeable countenance, and was of medium height; his younger companion was taller, and Fair in form beyond the sons of man.”¹²

The first time they appeared to Peter, the older man revealed himself to be St. Andrew the Apostle. He commanded Peter to do two things. First, he should meet with Bishop Adhemar, the Count of St. Gilles (Raymond of Toulouse) and Peter Raymond of Hautpoul, and ask the bishop why he did not “preach the word, exhort, and bless the people with the Cross which he carries daily?” Second, he commanded that Peter should “Follow me and I shall reveal to you the Lance of our Father, which you must give to the Count because God set it aside for him at birth.”¹³ At this point, Peter gave a detailed description of how he followed St. Andrew to St. Peters Church in Antioch, where he found the Holy Lance. He was then told to return later with twelve men and search for the Lance there. He did not return: Peter excused himself saying that he did not dare to approach the bishop with these words.

Some days later St. Andrew and his companion again visited Peter Bartholomew. This time the saint scorned him for not completing his task and explained that he choose Peter for this task. After they left, Peter was stricken with an illness that apparently affected his eyesight. Again, he did not dare approach the bishop, this time because he was afraid that Adhemar would “. . .cry out that I was a famished man who carried such a tale to secure food”¹⁴ This is reminiscent of Moses’s plead for a more eloquent person to speak before Pharoah in order for the Hebrews to be set free:

Then Moses said to the LORD, “Please, Lord, I have never been eloquent, neither recently nor in time past, nor since You have spoken to Your servant; for I am slow of speech and slow of tongue.” The LORD said to him, “Who has made man’s mouth? Or who makes *him* mute or deaf, or seeing or blind? Is it not I, the LORD? Now then go, and I, even I, will be with your mouth, and teach you what you are to say.” But he said, “Please, Lord, now send *the message* by whomever You will.” Then the anger of the LORD burned against Moses.¹⁵

The Christian use of the Old Testament highlights God as someone who can be reasoned and argued with as well as the vengeful, jealous God of the Israelites. Just like with Moses before the Exodus, Peter was persuaded through multiple visits. The third time Peter was visited by St. Andrew was on the eve of Palm Sunday. Peter was resting in a tent together with his lord, William Peter, in the porch of St. Simeon. And again, the saint asked why he had not delivered his message, to which Peter replied: “Lord! Have I not begged you to send a more capable replacement, one whom they would heed; and besides you must know that the Turks kill anyone en route to Antioch.” Now St. Andrew countered that he should not be afraid and that the Turks would not hurt him. He also gave a more cryptic message: “But tell the Count not to be dipped in the river Jordan upon his arrival, but first row across in a boat; and once on the other side be sprinkled while clad in a shirt and linen breeches and thereafter keep his dried garments along with the Holy Lance.”¹⁶

The bishop did not believe Peter Bartholomew, but the count did, and he placed him in the custody of his chaplain, Raymond d’Aguilers. On the following night, Jesus Christ also revealed himself to Stephen of Valence, a priest lying on his deathbed. While death was approaching, Peter entered the church of the Blessed Mary where he confessed and received absolution for his sins. He then chanted hymns with his friends and kept vigils while the others slept, repeating: “Lord, who shall live in your dwelling? Who shall

find rest on your holy mountain?” At this moment a man “handsome beyond human form” appeared and asked who had entered Antioch. Stephen answered that they were Christians.¹⁷

The heavenly visions, the assistance of saints and angelic forms were essential to the faith of the Christians present at Antioch. They believed that their religious acts in the crusade would reward them in the afterlife. The assistance in the current world came in the form of spiritual warfare. The vision that Peter had points towards the rewards for conducting the holy pilgrimage. In the vision, Peter has a conversation with a man, who reveals that he is, in fact, Jesus Christ, that he is the Lord, mighty and powerful in battle and that the Christians should not fear the pagan hordes. He proclaimed that Adhemar should take command and that they should abstain from sin. If they followed his command for five days, his compassion would be with them. Then Mary, the mother of Jesus appeared and inquired what Jesus was doing, and while they are talking, Stephen tried to wake his companions to witness the visions, but at this time Jesus and Mary rose out of sight.¹⁸ The lasting impact of Christ himself assisting the crusaders at a critical time impacted throughout the camp, and it boosted the holiness and subsequent reverence the crusaders felt when recalling the ultimate victory at Antioch.

Later the same night, St. Andrew and his companion again revealed themselves to Peter Bartholomew. Peter asked for mercy for the Christians in Antioch and St. Andrew answered that the Lord would pity his people. The mysterious companion now revealed himself to be Jesus Christ. When commanded, the crusaders won against Kerbogah’s superior force and put the Turks to flight.¹⁹ This spiritual companion to the crusaders was a bolster to their martial arms as well as their morale at a critical time.

Not long after the battle ended, Bishop Adhemar died and the political differences within the crusading army, strained between those of northern France against southern, were brought to the forefront without a religious unifying leader. The authenticity of the Holy Lance found in Antioch was always in doubt and this lack of credibility on the part of Peter Bartholomew led to a conflict. A large crowd gathered to observe the trial by ordeal that Peter demanded, one that required him to walk through a path surrounded by burning wood. He was able to do so but was soon overcome by the crowd and then shortly died later. The Holy Lance no longer appears in the northern French chronicles on the First Crusade.²⁰

Many explanations of the visions of Peter Bartholomew and the subsequent discovery of the Lance have been offered. Steven Runciman declares that “It would be rash to condemn him entirely as an imposter.”²¹ However, this is exactly what Runciman proceeds to do, suggesting, in essence, that Peter could have experienced some of his supposed visions as dreams and then fabricated evidence to support his claims. On the actual discovery, Runciman mocks the fact that Peter might have “divine the presence of metal in the ground.” Moreover, he claims that Peter may have been amongst the civilian crusaders sent to clean the cathedral before its re-consecration as a church, immediately after Antioch capitulated. He believes Peter could have sensed the piece of metal in the ground, and “like so many professional mediums of today, he had the recourse to fraud and invention to sustain his reputation and the interest he aroused.”²²

A single chronicler writes extensively about Peter Bartholomew and that is Raymond d’Aguilers. There is nothing written pertaining much to his upbringing or life before the First Crusade. His transformation from humble peasant to a voice of spiritual

authority is stark. This metamorphosis takes place during the siege of Antioch, and during this time the visions begin to multiply. The problem lies in that the vision tend to favor the political viewpoints of Count Raymond.²³

The role of relics in the Middle Ages is tied directly to the intercession of saints and visions during the First Crusade. Prior to Christianity, the known world and its religions emphasized the difference between the living and the dead. A thread within all the polytheistic religions is the separation of soul from the flesh at death and there was no link between the two.²⁴ The site of a burial however, might become a place to honor the dead, especially if that person was a leader within the community. From this practice rose the cult of heroes. But it was quite unthinkable to worship the dead like a divine being because of the infallible barrier between heaven and earth.²⁵ The crusaders' belief in the saints fighting for them at critical times highlights the communion Catholics believed they had with all the believers in Jesus Christ. And this communion allowed for a tie between the heavenly and earthly realms with the appearance of these spiritual warriors appearing to fight for the Christians, as first given in the letter to the Hebrews:

Therefore, since we have so great a cloud of witnesses surrounding us, let us also lay aside every encumbrance and the sin which so easily entangles us, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us, fixing our eyes on Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, who for the joy set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and has sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.²⁶

This cloud of witnesses and the interest they took in assistance to the crusaders included the providing of holy relics to boost morale. The tale of the Holy Lance at Antioch does not end with its discovery. As seen, several sources indicate that the lance gave the Christian soldiers the will to fight again. To understand what possible effect, the lance had both in the planning and in the execution of the battle between the crusaders

and Islamic armies, we must now turn our attention to the description of the struggle as related by the sources.

The odds the Christian army was facing were almost insurmountable. The Islamic army greatly outnumbered them, and the discovery of the purported Lance came at the exact time that they needed their spirits raised before battle. Even with this boon, so crusading nobles choose to flee to safety outside of the crusading army, such as Count Stephen of Blois.²⁷ Those who remained, took solemn oaths to stay behind and fight no matter what the outcome.²⁸

To this effect, Bohemond and Adhemar ordered that all the gates should be closed. In spite of this, some Christians escaped anyway, including Bohemond's own brother-in-law William of Grand Mesnil. The fact that many Christians wanted to flee stands in grave contrast to the "heightened spirits" caused by the visions and miracles reported by most of the sources. It is hard to establish an exact timeline of all reported events, but the modern reader cannot help but be puzzled by the conflicting notions that the chronicles report. In other words, how can we reconcile the fact that the crusaders experienced a boost in morale and an increased will to fight, due to the discovery of the Lance, yet at the same time were terrified by the prospect of battle and were seeking to flee?²⁹

Another miracle noted by many sources happened while the crusader army was under siege. Raymond d'Aguilers describes it as "a great star hanging over Antioch for a short time, then splitting three ways and falling into the Turkish camp."³⁰ The *Gesta Francorum* describes it as "a fire in the sky, coming from the west, and it approached and fell upon the Turkish Army, to the great astonishment of our men, and the Turks also."

Robert the Monk reports the incident in similar words as the *Gesta Francorum* but also adds his interpretation, claiming that “the fire descending from heaven represented the anger of God; because it had come from the west it symbolized the armies of the Franks through whom he would make his anger manifest.”³¹ Later chroniclers also report this event. Guibert de Nogent, for instance, compares the stars falling from the sky to signs of the Apocalypse.³²

Siege of Jerusalem

While crusaders must already have begun imagining themselves as marching in the footsteps of the ancients, the process intensified when they reached and eventually took Jerusalem. During the siege of Jerusalem, the bishops and priests accompanying the army commanded the crusaders to march in procession around the city, which is what Joshua’s army did before the capture of Jericho as described in the Book of Joshua.³³ More significantly, Jerusalem was the location of the Temple, which the Maccabees and King Herod the Great had refurbished in grand style restored after its desecration by the Seleucid Empire. Although the Temple was gone, the crusaders sometimes identified it with the Dome of the Rock.³⁴ Christians mostly and deliberately ignored the Temple Mount until the First Crusade. But the crusaders had a radically different attitude toward the Temple Mount and thus broke away from a tradition that went back to the apostolic era.³⁵

Raymond recorded the description of the religious fervor among the crusaders as they gained control of Jerusalem and the holy sites within in:

Now that the city was taken, it was well worth all our previous labors and hardships to see the devotion of the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulcher. How they rejoiced and exulted and sang a new song to the Lord! . . . This day, I say, will be

famous in all future ages...this day, I say, marks the justification of all Christianity, the humiliation of paganism, and the renewal of our faith.³⁶

Raymond believed, as many of the more religiously inclined of the First Crusade, that the army was doing nothing less than transforming the world in the name of God.³⁷ As stated by Rubenstein, one of the more dynamic sermons recorded from the siege comes from Baudry of Bourgueil, a chronicler who wrote in 1107 but did not participate in the First Crusade. It was most likely the message that he wished he had delivered if he had been able to join in the crusade:

You know with what gall they are polluting God's sanctuary, how they have subjected the holy city to many poisons. They were not just Egyptians; they were demons. Not metaphorical demons, but real, physical, hellish servants of the devil. For if these enemies, who are nothing, are able to triumph and to take away from us the city we now see, what do you think their lords will do, when servants dare such things?³⁸

Rubenstein concluded that just as Jerusalem pointed toward higher and more beautiful truths-toward-heaven so did these Saracens cover a darker reality. The stakes of this battle were, therefore, more significant than the control of an earthly Jerusalem. If the crusaders should prove unworthy of this earthly Jerusalem, then the heavenly one, too, might be forever closed. Physical danger, mortal danger, and otherworldly danger all were converging in this single apocalyptic moment where Christians met pagans and saints fought demons.³⁹

To win, the crusaders needed to become like Joseph of Arimathea, who took Christ down from the cross and give Him a tomb where He might rest. Then they could claim victory over all enemies, external and internal. But, above all, their war was for heaven, both the crusaders' right to enter heaven and to assist in the establishment of that

early kingdom of heaven.⁴⁰ These are difficult concepts, but Baudry of Bourgueil framed them in simple language any warrior could appreciate:

I am speaking now to father and sons and brothers and nephews: If some foreigner struck down someone in your family, would you not avenge their blood? How much more ought you to avenge your God, your Father, your Brother Whom you now see mocked and punished and crucified, whom you hear crying out alone, begging for help?⁴¹

When the tumult of the ransacking of Jerusalem had quietened down, the princes of the Christian army made their way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There, despite the celebratory activities of the clergy, they shared a sense of unease at the dispersed and disorganized state of their troops. It was possible that a rumored Egyptian army was close, and as matters stood the city was no state for a defensive battle. One by one they listed the towers and gates of the city and assigned guards to each of them. This arrangement, it was made clear, was an ad hoc precautionary defense and was only to last until one of them became ruler of Jerusalem. After that, the disposition of the city's security would be entirely at the command of whoever took power.⁴² Assigning the task of defense to guarding the towers did not mean ownership or dividing up of the spoils of Jerusalem. Furthermore, not all towers held the same significance, and David's Tower in the city was the most important and as such went to the foremost crusader, Count Raymond.⁴³

The duty to their lords kept the weary knights from participating in the feast and celebration of taking the city. Under the evening sky, the procession was in strange contrast to the enthusiasm of the day's fighting and subsequent massacre. It was as though the torsos and human parts littering the streets were invisible. As they approached revered sites, these hardened crusaders fell to their knees and, full of emotion, kissed the

ground. They were unusually humble as they returned to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for the Christian citizens of Jerusalem now emerged from the churches they had sheltered in to surround the victors, bearing crosses and relics of saints.⁴⁴

A spirit of devotion and penance swelled up among even the most iron-hearted of the crusaders: many confessed their sins and took vows never to repeat them. The most devout believed that through this walk and the completion of their pilgrimage they were guaranteed entry to heaven.⁴⁵ Many knights gave generously in alms for the old and the sick of the city. Then the bishops and priests celebrated mass and in giving thanks to God. They conveyed their belief to the army that all those who had died during the pilgrimage were temporarily called from their enjoyment of eternal blessedness to join the survivors in the fulfillment of their vows. The spirits of those who had died during the crusade were present and witnessed the end of the lengthy trial. In particular, Adhemar, the papal legate, was thought to be present among them.⁴⁶ They were those who swore they saw the deceased bishop of Le Puy on the walls of Jerusalem leading the critical breakthrough. With the comforting notion that all their fallen comrades were sharing in the sense of completion and heavenly reward, the ceremonies continued late into the night, with great shouts of praise and collective rejoicing.⁴⁷

After the celebratory prayers and singing had finally died away, the conquerors of Jerusalem made their way to their new homes. During the night, as the revelry in the west of the city diminished, Count Raymond fulfilled his agreement with the garrison. The Provençal army allowed the Muslim general, Iftikhar ad-Daula, to slip out of the city safely with a sizeable number of his soldiers and their families as well as a few citizens who had escaped the slaughter; an escort of Christian knights having been assigned to

protect them on a journey as far as Ascalon. In return, the count occupied David's Tower with a tremendous feeling of satisfaction.⁴⁸

It was not long before the news of the garrison's escape spread through the city. Incensed by betrayal, a Christian crowd gathered at the al-Aqsa mosque, where a group of pagans remained captive. In fact, 300 terrified Muslim citizens had spent the night there on top of the building, hoping that the banners of Tancred and Gaston would protect them. Perhaps they might have but made furious by the fact their chief opponents had escaped them, the Christian mob were not to be restrained by the banners, even if they did belong to two of their more popular heroes.⁴⁹ Grimly, the crusaders entered the building and set about the task of slaughter, decapitating men and women with their swords. The surge of citizens away from the stairs caused some to fall over the edge of the building, and it was not long before other Muslims deliberately threw themselves to their deaths to avoid the blades of the implacable crowd.⁵⁰

This massacre was justified by being conducted against the enemies of God. It was further seen as an act of piety, a consummation of labor and devotion as Raymond d'Aguiliers put it in his chronicle. They set about conducting a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre before it was even cleaned up. "A new day, new joy, new and perpetual gladness, the consummation of our labor and devotion, drew forth from all new worlds and new songs."⁵¹

Already there was a distinct stench in the air, and while corpses lay in piles throughout the whole city, the shrine in front of them was filled with an unusually large number of bodies. A few Muslim or Jewish citizens had survived the massacre, having been captured in a house whose new occupant had shown them mercy. These survivors

were now set to work hauling the bodies out of the gates, tying them together in mounds as big as houses, and setting fire to them. There were pitifully few prisoners to do the work, though, and it was going to take far too long if it was left to them. The military orders, in particular, the Order of Solomon's Temple on the site of the al-Aqsa mosque, became much more critical within twenty years of the conquering. This military order would use the eschatological elements of penance, and pilgrimage to defend the land for almost two centuries.

In the aftermath of such slaughter and death, the clergy saw the need for penance to be done by the crusaders. Not only was it a health concern that so many bodies were laying out in the open streets but could also be used as a penance to move the bodies out of the city. This penance, conducted quickly as opposed to days or years that might be required for the same instance of killing. For example, after the battle of Hastings in 1066, the victors were advised to perform a year's penance for every person they had slain. The euphoria after the victory was not tempered by the punishment that was conducted quickly in the cleanup of the city and only noted in the chronicles.⁵²

The language of Guibert of Nogent shifted in his narrative on the particular battle surrounding the conquering of Jerusalem to a spiritual adoration mixed with romantic desire. He wrote that the whole army felt "burning love of martyrdom." Jerusalem was "their most intensely pleasurable destination, an enticement toward death and a lure toward wounds, to that place desired, I say, by so many thousands upon thousands."⁵³ All warfare involves an effort to correct a perceived wrong and in doing so to achieve a desire. But because of the intensity and complexity of the emotional associations with

Jerusalem, these affections proved uniquely powerful. No group of aristocratic warriors had ever risked and suffered so much for the sake of spiritual gain alone.⁵⁴

The chronicles compiled after the crusades circle back to previously mentioned points to reinforce them. An example of this is in Raymond of Aguilers's history of the First Crusade and is noted by Rubenstein. The end of the his book focuses on Ida of Boulogne, Godfrey's saintly mother. In summing up her achievements and her life, he described the final entry of the Franks into Jerusalem in apocalyptic terms.⁵⁵

At the point of attack where Godfrey was besieging Jerusalem, a white horseman came galloping down from the Mount of Olives. Godfrey and Tancred were the first to follow it. In the words of Apocalypse, and I looked, and behold a white horse, and he wo sat upon it held a bow, and a crown was given to him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer. The armies who are in heaven were following him, on white horses, and they were clad in fine linen, white and pure.⁵⁶

The victory at Jerusalem was even more uplifting than Antioch in that it was the goal of the crusade. The desire of the crusaders to bring about a Kingdom of Heaven on earth could be realized. The salvation history of the scriptures, the bringing about of final judgment upon the world and instituting a reign of Christ on the earth was a motivation of the crusaders in bringing Jerusalem under Christian control. Religious and secular leaders look towards hastening of the final judgment and bringing about the end of the woes of the world and ushering in the Last Days. In further apocalyptic writing and style, Pope Urban II's sermon, as recorded by Guibert, point out that it was clear from the scriptures that the Antichrist would reside in Jerusalem. Being sure to attack Christians, he could hardly appear until Jerusalem was occupied by them, which was now accomplished.⁵⁷

There was no historical precedent for a massive host of arms-bearing pilgrims taking the cross and making their way eastwards across thousands of miles of unfamiliar terrain, much of it tenaciously defended. Monastic chroniclers, living their lives in an

institution that placed emphasis and value upon stability and tradition, reacted to such novelty by depicting the crusade as an example of divine intervention in the affairs of men.⁵⁸

As the battles of Antioch and Jerusalem show that these instructions and the accompanying use of relics, sermons, and religious urging demonstrate a clear eschatological framework the First Crusade was fought. This eschatology was a significant influence on the critical battles of Antioch and Jerusalem. Without those successes then the First Crusade could have ended without the recapture of Jerusalem and the beginning of the Crusader Kingdoms.

¹ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* = *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 4.

² Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, 1.

³ Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, .13-14.

⁴ Hill, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, 103.

⁵ Henry Matthew, "Henry of Huntingdon," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), 103.

⁶ Diana E. Greenway, trans., *Historia Anglorum* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996), 86.

⁷ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, 29.

⁸ Hill, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, 338.

⁹ Revelations 19:11-14 (New American Standard Bible).

¹⁰ Martha E. McGinty, trans., *Fulcher of Chartres: Chronicle of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2017), 87.

¹¹ Marius Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade" (master's thesis, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway, 2009), 29.

¹² John Hill, and Laurita Hill, trans., *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), 111.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Exodus 4:10-11 (New American Standard Bible).

¹⁶ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 124.

¹⁷ Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade," 30.

¹⁸ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 132.

¹⁹ Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade", 32.

¹⁹ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 126.

²⁰ Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade," 33.

²⁰ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 128.

²¹ Steven Runciman, "The Holy Lance Found at Antioch," *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 197.

²² Ibid., 199.

²³ Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade," 36.

²⁴ Ibid., 45.

²⁵ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 187.

²⁶ Hebrews 12:1-2 (New American Standard Bible).

²⁷ Stephen of Blois was a reluctant crusader who was urged to take the cross by his wife Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror. His flight and subsequent disgrace was largely forgotten when he lost his life in 1102 in an ill-fated attack on Egyptian forces at Ramla. Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 106.

²⁸ Kjørmo, "The Holy Lance of Antioch a Study on the Impact of a Perceived Relic during the First Crusade," 48.

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- ²⁹ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 134.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 135.
- ³¹ Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade* = *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 102.
- ³² Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert De Nogent's*, 73.
- ³³ Joshua 6:1 (New American Standard Bible).
- ³⁴ Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Oxford: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 141.
- ³⁵ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, 108-109.
- ³⁶ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 130.
- ³⁷ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*. 2015, 109.
- ³⁸ Steven Biddlecombe, trans., *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 405.
- ³⁹ Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, 284-285.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 285.
- ⁴¹ Biddlecombe, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, 134.
- ⁴² Conor Kostick, *The Siege of Jerusalem: Crusade and Conquest in 1099* (London: Continuum, 2011), 132.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 134.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 132.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 133.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Hill, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, 143.
- ⁴⁸ Kostick, *The Siege of Jerusalem: Crusade and Conquest in 1099*, 134.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 134.

⁵⁰ Edgington, *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem. The First Crusade, 1095-1099*.

⁵¹ Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, 262.

⁵² Kostick, *The Siege of Jerusalem: Crusade and Conquest in 1099*, 135.

⁵³ John F. Benton, trans., *The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064? - C. 1125)* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 110.

⁵⁴ Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, 325.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Edgington, *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem. The First Crusade, 1095-1099*, 86.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 143.

⁵⁸ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 147.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

During the First Crusade, the crusaders were confronted with the challenge of mobilizing, traveling, fighting and conquering a variety of villages, towns, and cities to reach their goal of Jerusalem. To fully understand the mindset of a medieval soldier at the end of the eleventh century and why he would take up this quest, this thesis examined the eschatological elements of the First Crusade along with some secondary questions, namely: (1) Was eschatology one of the primary motivations for fighting in the Middle East during the period of the First Crusade? (2) What were the eschatological elements present in the First Crusade? (3) Did those factors drive the success of the First Crusade?

The primary research question of this paper sought to discern whether or not the First Crusader's primary motivation was eschatological, that is, focused upon the Particular or Final Judgment of Christian souls. The secondary research questions are nested with this in understanding and providing examples of what is considered to be eschatological. Did these factors drive the *success* of the First Crusade?

The key to the success of the First Crusade was the ability of the army to endure. The soldiers had a higher calling, a belief that the ends (which was Jerusalem) were justified by the means (the conquest and taking of non-Christian settlements and the defeat of Muslim armies). The eschatological elements that brought about the beginning of the First Crusade started with Pope Urban II's papacy, which promoted the idea of attaining the remission of sins through campaigns to the Holy Land. This idea had its

roots in centuries of conflict between those who sided with the Roman Catholic Church, and those that did not, whether they were Orthodox Christians, Muslims, or heretics.

The eschatological element of Particular Judgment during the First Crusade is apparent in the speeches and letters that survive. The danger or fear of eternal damnation in hell drove crusaders to take up the cross and fight to the goal of Jerusalem. The real fear crusaders felt compelled them in large numbers to agree to follow the local nobility to fight Islamic armies. It was an armed pilgrimage, in which crusaders embarked on a penitential path towards a favorable judgment. The motivation of penitence also pushed the nobles to lead the expedition as well as the sergeant-at-arms to fight for a remission of earthly sins.

This fear of Particular Judgment is related to the other aspect of the First Crusade eschatology, Final Judgment. The crusader's understanding of Final Judgment centered on Jerusalem. It was thought that the conquest of Jerusalem would usher in the Second Coming. The siege and defense of Antioch demonstrate, that the soldiers believed (or wanted to believe) that God was aiding their quest. In October 1099, their greatest eschatological hopes fulfilled, or at least it seemed at the time.

The eschatological elements are present in the writings of the primary sources of the crusade. Present to a lesser extent are other motives customarily ascribed to the Crusades, mainly wealth, revenge and an outlet for pent-up violence that was wracking Europe during the period.

Recommendations for Future Research

Eschatological notions in the subsequent created crusader states should be explored. In particular, the actions of the crusaders as they completed their conquest, in

the establishment of Latin Rite Patriarch in Jerusalem, and local dioceses in the areas of the Levant now under Frankish rule further highlights the leaders and soldier's minds were on the religious aspects of the crusade. The applicability of eschatological elements present during the Crusading era can inform modern Middle Eastern history and the religiously-inspired warfare that takes place there, such as with the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. There is a belief within the Islamic State that is eschatological, and many of its leaders look for a future Armageddon-like battle to take place around the city of Dabiq. Contrastive research could also benefit the study of modern manifestations of radical Christianity and Islam and examine how their beliefs might have their origins in the ideas from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The eschatological factors in the crusades have now begun to open academically. Rubenstein's *The Armies of Heaven* is, to date, the most prominent of such studies but other historians are beginning to take notice. Further research into the Islamic sources and their interpretation and reaction to the First Crusade and the distinct Islamic eschatological elements associated with it would provide additional insight.

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