

GOD WILLS IT: COMMUNITAS, PENANCE, AND RITUAL IN THE
SPATIOTEMPORAL OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

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GOD WILLS IT: COMMUNITAS, PENANCE, AND RITUAL IN THE
SPATIOTEMPORAL OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

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Abstract
of
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In 1095 the call for the First Crusade went out and by the summer of 1096 the penitential expedition was well on the way. On the journey, in the city of Antioch, the participants reached a political and spiritual impasse of petty bickering and spiritual doubt. In Antioch they would turn to one of the most precious relics in Christendom, the Holy Lance in their time of indecision for guidance. The Holy Lance's symbolic nature and physical properties defined points of spiritual interrelation with public and private decisions made in the city of Antioch. Through the help of eyewitness accounts, contemporary and modern historical sources, and accentuated by sprinklings of religious anthropology insight is given as to why the Lance determined whether a Greek or Frankish lord would control the First Crusader state and ultimately who would lead the way to Jerusalem.

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PROLOGUE

A little over two thousand years ago on a dusty dry hill called the Place of a Skull, outside the gates of Jerusalem, at approximately three o'clock on a Friday afternoon the final physical blow humanity had to offer Jesus Christ was delivered. The day had been long, and the crowd that bore witness to this long prophesized event began to disperse.¹ With the shadows growing long on the days' events and the Sabbath drawing near, the Jews did not want the three dead bodies of criminals hanging from crosses the following Saturday morning. They appealed to the Roman authority, Pilate, to hasten the death of the three crucified men and remove their bodies.² Pilate was persuaded and ordered the legs broken of the three condemned men to expedite their deaths so the corpses could be disposed of, before the Sabbath.³

As ordered, the two thieves crucified on either side of Jesus, would indeed have their legs broken, to expedite their deaths by suffocating under the weight of their own bodies. Jesus though, was to be spared this final insult in what was to be a rare show of spontaneous Roman compassion. One of the soldiers came and broke the legs of the first criminal then walked around to the other side of Christ and proceeded to shatter the legs of the other.⁴ But as they turned to put the mallet to Jesus, he was already dead.

¹ Isaias 53:5-6. He was wounded for our inequities: he was bruised for our sins. The chastisement of our peace was upon him: and by his bruises, we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray, everyone has turned aside in his own way: and the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all.

² James Bentley, *Restless Bones The Story of Relics* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1985), 128

³ John 19:31

⁴ John 19:32

Longinus⁵ had gouged open Jesus' side with a Lance, letting what remained of blood flow from his body.⁶ In this brutal scene of the world's most famous Passion play, scripture had been fulfilled. The Lance, as the last instrument used to fulfill prophecy, became one of Christendom's most holy relics.⁷

⁴ Longinus was the centurion who pierced the side of Jesus Christ while he was hanging on the Cross. Longinus, who was nearly blind, was healed when some of the blood and water from Jesus fell into his eyes. It was then he exclaimed, "Indeed, this was the Son of God!" [Mark 15:39]. Longinus then converted, left the army, took instruction from the apostles and became a monk in Cappadocia. There he was arrested for his faith, his teeth forced out and tongue cut off. However, St. Longinus miraculously continued to speak clearly and managed to destroy several idols in the presence of the governor. The governor, who was made blind by the demons that came from the idols, had his sight restored when Longinus was being beheaded, because his blood came in contact with the governors' eyes. St. Longinus' relics are now in the church of St Augustine, in Rome. Catholic Online. "St. Longinus 1st Century Martyr." Accessed October 24, 2010. http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=11. Also see F.S. Ellis, ed., *The Golden Legend of Lives of the Saints*. (Great Britain University Press, Edinburgh, 1931), 37

⁶ John 19:33-34

⁷ Richard Barber, *The Holy Grail*, Cambridge: (Harvard University Press, 2004), Justification for the veneration of a tool used mainly for violence can be taken from Orien in a commentary on Matthew's Gospel from the fourth century. Orien interprets Longinus' blow as merciful, intent on putting an end to Christ's suffering, and the piercing of Christ's side with the spear representing the moment of his death. Only two other relics could be considered its equal in all of Christendom. The chalice that collected the water and blood that flowed from Christ's side which is well known through Chretien de Troy's Arthurian Legends, and the crucifix that in itself is explanatory, 120.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Holy Lance, through its symbolic nature and physical properties, defined points of spiritual interrelation with public and private decisions made in the city of Antioch, during the First Crusade. The question of its authenticity has and always will be questioned, but the effects of its presence were true and cannot be denied.⁸ This paper will not question the veracity of the Lance nor the probability or improbability of whether it was an apparatus with true magical powers. Those two questions are best left to theologians. This inquiry concerns the properties of the Lance as a symbol exploring interrelation with political and physical maneuvering within the First Crusade. Revealing why the Lance of Longinus acted as a crucial element in determining whether a Greek or Frankish lord would control the First Crusader state, and who would lead the way to Jerusalem. The Lance was given sacred and psychophysical considerations in the city of Antioch during the First Crusade. The Lance posed as a representation for what guided men, already encompassed in the ritual of pilgrimage, in the city of Antioch either

⁸ New Advent. "Holy Lance." Accessed November 21, 2010. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08773a.htm>. There are three or four relics that have been claimed to be the Holy lance or parts of it besides the one addressed in this work. A spear believed to be identical with that which pierced Christ's body was venerated at Jerusalem at the close of the sixth century, with the presence there of this important relic was attested to a half century earlier by Cassiodorus and after him by Gregory of Tours. In 615 Jerusalem was captured by a lieutenant of the Persian King Chosroes. The sacred relics of the Passion fell into the hands of the Muslims, and, according to the "Chronicon Paschale", the point of the lance, which had been broken off, was given in the same year to Nicetas, who took it to Constantinople and deposited it in the of St. Sophia in Constantinople. A larger portion of the lance found by Arculpus, in 670, at Jerusalem, was venerated at the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Sir John Mandeville declared, in 1357, that he had seen the blade of the Holy Lance both at Paris and at Constantinople. It fell into the hands of the Turks, and in 1492, the Sultan Bajazet sent it to Innocent VIII for favor towards the sultan's brother Zizim, who was then the pope's prisoner. This relic has never since left Rome, where it is preserved under the dome of St. Peter's.

individually or in a communal sphere. The First Crusade was a multiplicity of ritual observance and ceremony itself.

The crusade should be looked at as ritual that encompassed other rituals. Indeed the First Crusade is a unique ritual in that at a certain point within the confines of the expedition another ritual would take place. The Lance was the symbolic fixture, of this separate ritual from within, a conduit for decision-making, holding the bulk of the crusading army captive for a moment in time to command center stage to events ranging beyond political. Acting as a catalyst, the Lance would stand as totem and intercessor to a political situation that had been brewing in the crusaders' ranks that would culminate within the city.

The story of the Holy Lance is replete with the makings of relic and ritual. Besides the finding of the Holy Lance, there are long and elaborate visions, mostly with political connotations. Astronomical and geologic events accompanied by specific instructions on ritual observances, and in conclusion an ordeal by fire, tested the Lance and its founder's authenticity. Curiously, the space in time from the Lance's discovery in June 14, 1098 to its ordeal by fire outside the walls of Araqh on April 18, 1099, is a ritual in a small piece of crusading history within the grander ritual of the first crusading expedition. Both the Lance and the First Crusade allow for a glimpse into reasons men turned to such things as the Lance and pilgrimage for counsel, guidance and direction of purpose. The story of the Holy Lance is indeed sketched on the crusading canvas of penitential ritual, but it did not dominate the crusading picture; it simply clarified it.

It is fortunate that for this discussion the participants of the First Crusade were an incredibly diverse group of clergy, poor and mixed nobility. When Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade at Clermont, he did not have in mind a purely military expedition composed only of Western Europe's elite. Ever since the time of Constantine, large numbers of pious or adventurous pilgrims of both sexes and all classes had made their way to the Holy Land.⁹ The pope could not escape the influence of this vigorous tradition. Pilgrimages of large-scale, long-distance expeditions were what he was familiar with and he knew the power of the pilgrim ideal. Therefore Urban combined the idea of the Palestine pilgrimage with that of the holy war exhorting on a field in Claremont, "the pilgrims were to extend unwearied hands in prayer to heaven, and go forth to brandish the sword, like dauntless warriors."¹⁰ He implemented his plans for that would lead to the recovery of the Holy Land not by an appeal limited to the chivalry of Europe, but by stirring up the latent pilgrim enthusiasm that pervaded all classes. He raised it to an unprecedented pitch, and directed it into new, more warlike channels.¹¹

To understand ritual practice under warlike conditions it is necessary to divide the pilgrims into three distinctly different assemblies whose crusading motivations and

⁹ Walter Porges, "The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade," in *Speculum* 21, no 1 (Jan., 1946): 1. The pilgrims traveled mostly in small groups, and apparently did not bear arms, even for self-defense; but during the first half of the eleventh century, the small pilgrim bands were supplemented by larger enterprises, numbering several hundred to several thousand participants. The great German pilgrimage of 1064-1065 included from seven to twelve thousand persons - the equivalent of a respectable medieval army.

¹⁰ Baldric of Dol, *The Crusades A Reader*, edited by S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt. (New York: Broadview Press, 2000), 45; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: The First Crusade and The Foundation Of The Kingdom of Jerusalem*. v.1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 107. The summons for pilgrimage came on Tuesday, 27 November 1095. Urban called a public session to make a big announcement, but the crowd proved to large, so the papal throne was set on a platform in a large field.

¹¹ Porges, 1

attitudes stood, at best, juxtaposed. The first two to be introduced in this crusading social trifecta are the two major contingents, or more specifically their leaders, both with conflicting crusading views, represented by the antagonistic princes, Bohemond of Taranto, leader of the Norman army from southern Italy; and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, leader of the Provençal contingent. Under their commands rested the third group that comprised the greatest portion of the expeditionary force. Fired by a new and unrestrained zeal, the crusade attracted a strange mixture of priests and laymen, women, children, and those wont to prey upon them, false prophets and simple-minded believers.¹²

Bohemond I was christened Marc, first son of the mercenary leader Robert Guiscard and his wife Albereda, but his nickname, Bohemond, was taken from a legendary mythological giant.¹³ In his teens he became a leader in his father's mercenary army. Contemporary descriptions lead us to believe he was a magnificent physical specimen, and his feats of endurance in the First Crusade corroborate such descriptions. But before participating in the crusading endeavor he had land problems. His younger half brother, Roger Borsa, supported by his mother, Singelgaita, would deny him his

¹² Porges, 2

¹³ De Re Militari, "Journal of Military History," Accessed October 24 2010. <http://www.deremilitari.org/>. Robert Guiscard was one of several brothers who came to Italy from Normandy to work as mercenaries and gain their fortune. After arriving in Italy in 1046, he served in several campaigns before taking the place of his brother Humphrey as Duke of the Normans. His power steadily grew, as he became involved in the politics of both Italy and the Byzantine Empire. His most famous victory came at the battle of Durazzo on October 1081 where he defeated a Byzantine army. Robert Guiscard went to become the duke of Apulia and Calabria, and founded the Kingdom of the Two Sicily's. Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*. (Princeton: University of Princeton, 1917), 6. The nickname Bohemond, according to Ordericus Vitalis, the Norman historian, was given to him by his father, who had recently heard at a banquet a droll tale about a certain "Buamundus Gigas," and who evidently considered the name appropriate for his own son who was extremely large at birth.

patrimony. With no other prospects he turned to Byzantine lands to secure his name and wealth with limited success.¹⁴ The crusades then were a godsend for Bohemond. With the call from Urban II, in November of 1095, initiating the First Crusade, Bohemond had papal sanction for the acquisition of new lands with the promise of spiritual reward. Certainly, it is not hard to suspect that Bohemond was equally as interested in the acquisition of land as he was in the spiritual reward.

In contrast to Bohemond there stood Raymond of Toulouse, count of thirteen counties, Marquis of Provence, and the Duke of Narbonne. He was a man of impeccable breeding in possession of the majority of southwestern France and through marriage a substantial claim to lands west of the Pyrenees. One could say by the standards of the day the count had it all. Some fifteen years Bohemond's senior and already a veteran crusader, at the age of fifty-five, from his sojourns in fighting the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, he was by far the wealthiest of the two leaders.¹⁵ Already endowed with large holdings more than likely he did not have same desire as his Norman counterparts and their land grabbing intentions. The outward appearance of his piety could not be questioned. He was a man commendable in all things a valiant knight and a devout servant of God.¹⁶ He carried as a talisman the Cup of Saint Robert from the abbey of

¹⁴ Jonathan Smith-Riley, *The Crusades A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1987), 22. Bohemond played a leading role in his fathers' invasion of Byzantine Albania in 1081. His brother Robert Borsa left him his conquests on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, which the Normans were already losing, and in consequence Bohemond found himself disinherited, since Roger had been left the families only secure possession Apulia.

¹⁵ Smith-Riley, 22. Raymond had fought against the Saracens on the Muslim occupied peninsula of Iberia.

¹⁶ John Hugh Hill. "Raymond of Saint Gilles in Urban's Plan of Greek and Latin Friendship," *Speculum* 26, no. 2 (1951): 4
To be cited as Hill 2.

Chaise-Dieu to guide him on his journey.¹⁷ He was also a man of contrast and he rarely let piety stand in the way of his military prowess. Merciless in combat he ordered his men to cut off the feet and hands of Slavic prisoners and had their mutilated body parts scattered as reminders to their comrades.¹⁸ Count Raymond was the perfect example a representation of crusading contrast; the violence of holy war in the midst of sincere religious sentiment.¹⁹ He would set out for Jerusalem with stubborn purpose to recover the Holy Sepulcher, blessed with a seemingly unlimited purse, with the largest contingent of men on the crusade.²⁰

These two men Bohemond and Count Raymond, polar opposites in terms of wealth, privilege and expeditionary goals, were followed by the bulk of the crusading participants. Gathered under their charge was an eclectic representation of late eleventh century western European society. Magnates, knights and petty nobles that took the cross would figure most prominently among the crusaders, but it would be the landless poor bathed in psychophysical apocalyptic and eschatological piety that would grow into a

¹⁷ Robert was founder of the Abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, b. at Aurillac, Auvergne, about 1000 in Auvergne, d.1067. Robert distinguished himself by his piety, charity, apostolic zeal, eloquent discourses, and the gift of miracles. The renown of his virtues having brought him numerous disciples, he was obliged to build a monastery he named Chaise-Dieu (House of God), which he placed under the rule of Saint Benedict (1050). Robert also founded a community of women at Lavadiou near Brioude. Leo IX erected the Abbey of Chaise-Dieu, which became one of the most flourishing in Christendom. New Advent. "Saint Robert." Accessed July 19, 2010. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13095c.htm>.

¹⁸ Raymond de Aguiliers, "Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem" in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, edited by C. Krey, (Princeton, 1921), 262-64. Raymond d' Aguiliers recorder of the *Historia Francorum* was chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond's Provincial counterpart. Raymond d' Aguiliers was forthright as an apologist for Raymond of Toulouse and the Christian militia. His story of the siege of Antioch is fairly substantial, and his description of the fall of the city into Christian hands is important, especially his account of the trial of Holy Lance, which is missing from other accounts, 17

¹⁹ Hill 2, 4

²⁰ Hill 2, 4

strong overpowering influence on decisions guiding the direction of the crusade.²¹ Pilgrimages were traditionally devotional exercises for all the penitents and as Urban found out it was clearly impossible to limit the crusade to only one distinct class of men.²²

The pope could not escape the influence of this vigorous tradition especially when preached further by clergy offering the pontiff's promise of blanket indulgence.²³ The late eleventh century was a period marked by the church's increasing worry over its earthly holdings in the face growth of disquieting popular movements, nothing was more logical for the clergy than to make use of these popular forms of devotion to reach the widest audience. The paupers responded to the sermons all the more readily since the bad harvests of the years before 1096 made it easy to leave home and field in order to follow the path of salvation to a future filled with eschatological dreams pictured in the material fashion of the Holy City.²⁴ It was the idea of reward that was latent in the crusading indulgence that drew so many to the cause. The aged and sick trudged along, seeking the earthly Jerusalem and of course camp followers and harlots trailed as ever in the wake of the army. The bulk of the landless and poor pictured themselves as outcasts of Israel believing the lord had built up Jerusalem for them.²⁵ It would be a hard case to prove that Urban looked only on the poor as noncombatants, and not as potential fighters, to be equipped and maintained by the charity of the wealthier crusaders. He had exhorted them

²¹ Hans E Mayer, *The Crusades*. trns and edited by John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 11

²² Riley-Smith, 8

²³ Porges, 1

²⁴ Mayer, 12

²⁵ Psalm 147

as heralds of Christ persuading all of whatever class, both knights and footmen, both rich and poor, in numerous edicts, to strive to expel the wicked race from the Christian lands.²⁶ In doing so people responded in droves with many of the participants unarmed, and expected to overcome the Saracens by the direct intervention of God, rather than by the use of earthly weapons.

With their need for sustenance and protection the poor looked to the well to do Count Raymond for support, which he gave them.²⁷ The Count fought constantly at the rear, defending the people and was always the last to encamp.²⁸ They also praised or carped as their worldly goods increased or decreased with his fortunes of war.²⁹ At times Raymond's large contingent as well as Bohemond's smaller army resembled the ill-disciplined peasant army that had preceded them, while as a group the poor from both contingents would often jeopardize the crusade.³⁰ When referring to Count Raymond actually "leading" the largest contingent on the expedition, even when excluding the poor, the word "lead" must be used with some reservation. Collectively called "Provincals", Raymond's recruits came from many areas: Burgundy, Auvergne, Gascony, Gothia, and Provence.³¹ Many who rode under his banner did not follow him. The contingents that accompanied him from Gascony, Velay, Limousin, and Poitou as well as many lords from nearby lands owed him no allegiance and could assert their

²⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, "The First Crusade," in *The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other Source Materials*, edited by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 30

²⁷ Hill 2, 36

²⁸ Raymond de Aguiliers, 17

²⁹ Hill 2, 36

³⁰ Hill 2, 36

³¹ Hill 2, 35

independence at any time.³² This point was driven home for both Raymond and Bohemond by the high rate of desertions across class lines throughout the expedition.

Of the three groups mentioned above, notice should be given to the obvious exclusion of the clergy as a group within themselves. Certainly it would be difficult if not impossible to explain or expound on any part of the First Crusade without their inclusion.³³ After all it was not strictly a military endeavor but an event soaked in religiosity. Clergy, whose writings play a pivotal role in contemporary source texts, were also firsthand participants in the First Crusade. The fact that these individuals were men of the cloth should not detract from the religious dispositions of their judgments and firsthand accounts. The clerics were not only the recorders, but also every bit participants in the events of the story to be presented. They traveled with the forces and endured the same hardships as the other pilgrims on crusade. The primary sources of the chroniclers are rather diverse when the members of this group obviously direct their sympathies and flattery to the prince they served. However, their like-minded views of the general circumstances and excellent attention to detail lend a rather reliable snapshot on the events, both secular and sacerdotal, surrounding the Holy Lance. But for the purposes to be brought forth in this discussion the pastoral personalities will be kept mainly to the clerics directly involved in the ritualistic events to be described. The Bishop, Adhemar of Le Puy, who rode in Count Raymond's entourage as Urban's papal legate and sometimes referee between the contiguous camps of Normans, Provincials and poor. There was also

³² Hill 2, 35

the questionable character of Peter Bartholomew, the actual finder of the Holy Lance and his fellow visionary Stephen of Valence who played prominent roles in the discovery and ritual of the Lance. As religious men they would prove as conduits introducing and guiding ritualistic behavior and symbolic events in and outside the city of Antioch and Aqrha.

In retrospect then one must look on the participants of the First Crusade as an exceptionally large group with diverse personal motivations as to the outcome of their journey. Bohemond, even though a pious man, looked toward conquest and occupation to solidify his standing and legitimize the secular position of land ownership that avoided him. Count Raymond's main concern was the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and the capture of Jerusalem. It seems he had little or no interest in conquest for personal gain swearing that he would never again return to the Midi.³⁴ The poor and landless followed suit, their main goal and purpose was to fulfill the vow they had taken, as the evidence shows that most of those who did survive to complete the crusade dropped their weapons and headed home. In the face of personal motivations it is a wonder that the crusade was a success. Success hinged on a common binding force of public humility through the sacrament of penance.

This is where the private nature of the sacrament of penance became public. For the participants of the expedition the act of penance became an affair of the community in

³⁴ Hill 2, 4. Count Raymond never returned to his home in southwestern France. His fighting ventures cost him the sight of one eye and, later he would lose his life in the flaming timbers of Mount Pilgrim, a haven for travelers to the Holy Land.

which religious duty became a social obligation for all participants in the crusade.³⁵ Every participant had sworn the same oath and received the same promise of indulgence: the immediate remission of sins given for all who died whether by land or sea or in battle.³⁶ Essentially, the crusaders through the act of public penance turned their spiritual and physical well being over to a higher power. They invested in a higher power of a transcendent nature, one without form or dimension oblivious to temporal time that transfixed the crusaders in their ritual journey. In doing so they entered into a spiritual contract of the deepest religiosity that leveled the political and social playing field between nobility and peasant. This makes it important to first look within the spatial confines of the penitential expedition in relation to the story of the Lance. It is the idea that social change took place during the journey that had direct affect on the outcome of the ritual that takes place at Antioch.

From its inception on November 27, 1095 in a field in Claremont to the capitulation of Jerusalem, the First Crusade stood as a liminal moment in itself. Once an individual took the cross and left their property, escaping the enticing allures of their wives charms and proceeded on their penitential journey they stepped into the liminality of ritual.³⁷ The circumstances of the long pilgrimage would give the ordinary members a common purpose and organization that the lower class did not normally possess emerging

³⁵ Sigmund Freud, *The Freud Reader*, edited by Peter Gay (New York W.W. Norton Press, 1989), 496

³⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, *The Crusades A Reader*, edited by S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt. (New York: Broadview Press, 2000), 40

³⁷ Baldric of Dol, 45

as an important political influence.³⁸ Therefore the Lance and the First Crusade must both be characterized as two particular unifiers in two separate but totally joined liminal moments. These moments of liminality represent neither past nor present, but yet is a place that juggles the factors of existence.³⁹ Much like the slack tide of the sea when it is neither moving towards high tide nor ebbing to the low tide, it is betwixt the two. It is a spatial transition, the state between the past and present, the fresh water and the salty, the neither here nor there. The realm of ritual surrounding the Holy Lance then must be looked upon as a liminal moment, a spatial context, especially when it comes to the socio-political ramifications that took place within the First Crusade.

The ritual of the Holy Lance and the larger crusading ritual it takes place in, places the crusaders in a realm that renders them ambiguous to their past and coming state. It is a place of spatiotemporally. They stood at a point suspended in ritual observance constituting the transition between states with nothing to loose from the past and everything to gain from the future.⁴⁰ The Holy Lance provided the crusaders with a bridge of passage from the before to what was to become of the First Crusade. As ritual the multiplicity of elements in the First Crusade allowed for a flexibility that gave it capacity to portray, interpret, and master several radical novelties making the expedition

³⁸ Colin Morris, "Policy and Vision: the case of the Holy Lance at Antioch," in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich*, edited by John Gillingham and J.C. Holt. (New Jersey: Boydell Press, 1984), 34

³⁹ Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage," in *The Forest Of Symbols* (London: Cornell University Press, 1967), 106

⁴⁰ Turner, 93

a nerve center of cultural sensitivity.⁴¹ And the obvious rather than the hidden aspects of the crusading ritual, those of its features that are most apparent, lead to identify transformational instances of cultural events within the expedition. Their meanings and effects were evident and intrinsic to the very structure of the ritual, and imposed a logical necessity to the events of the expedition and the Holy Lance.

The cultural transformation of the pilgrimage as a whole that would affect the events of the Lance was the newfound *communitas* that developed within the ritual journey of pilgrimage. The expedition itself up until the capitulation of Antioch and the ordeal of the Holy Lance was a time of in which limited and temporary reconstruction of social ordering took place. The crusade was a large group of various people in process together on a penitential ritual illustrating a *communitas* character that developed by participation in the expedition. It was the construction of *communitas* constituted by certain characteristics in social bonding among and between the pilgrims with the spiritual aspects of their liminality exhibiting their social relations in the quality of a new *communitas*.⁴² Pilgrimages were a liminal phenomenon in the spatiotemporal. The First Crusade was no different, and this quality of *communitas* in long established pilgrimages was articulated in some measure with the social structure through social organization

The First Crusade was voluntary and to consider sacred travel to Palestine was an act of serious devotion; it was the frosting on the cake of piety a pilgrimage of real and

⁴¹ Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, edited by Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Amsterdam: 1977), 40. To be referred to as *Ritual*.

⁴² Victor Turner, "Pilgrimages as Social Progress" in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors Symbolic Action in Human Society* (London: Cornell University Press, 1974), 166. To be referred to as *Drama*.

efficient penance.⁴³ Essentially all who took to pilgrimage had entered a contract. It was a different kind of contract than the feudal norm. Each individual who joined the pilgrimage had sworn to the same goal and been promised the same reward. In their purpose was equality stretching across social hierarchal structure of serf, lord, and ecclesiastic. The crusaders became transients between their home and the ultimate Christian symbol, Jerusalem. Just the mention of the name Jerusalem had a glittering and magic splendor for the eleventh century western European Christians.⁴⁴ Jerusalem was the place at the end of time to which they would ascend to the resting place of righteous the city of paradise.⁴⁵ Within this ritual the crusaders, from the time they left on pilgrimage to the capitulation of Jerusalem, were encompassed in a rite of passage. This transitional passage was based on the Christian principles of penance, the vehicle to forgiveness the transition from stained soul to the state of defined grace.

For people of the eleventh century penance, self imposed punishment for sins, meant that the pain and suffering, voluntarily accepted, could out weigh the punishments God would impose in this world or in the after-life for sin.⁴⁶ Remissions of their sins were granted if their lives were to end either on land or in crossing the sea, or struggling against the heathen.⁴⁷ It was the idea of reward through suffering that was latent in the

⁴³ *Drama*, 175

⁴⁴ Mayer, 11

⁴⁵ Mayer, 11

⁴⁶ Riley Smith, 9

⁴⁷ Fulcher, 30. It is fortuitous that there is a large quantity of available primary resources; the main four main sources were all written by be used all were participants in the First Crusade and of these three were eyewitness to the discovery of the Lance. Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain to Baldwin of Edessa, lord of Edessa, from 1098 to 1100, and the First Crusader king of Jerusalem. Fulcher was an ardent supporter of Bohemond and the detachments loyal to him, which is evident from his near neglect of the Provincial forces in his accounts. He was away with Baldwin in Edessa from May 1097, to August 1099 and did not

crusading indulgence. The pilgrims gave up everything. They stripped themselves bare of their homeland, property and loved ones entering into penitential ritual. Those who wished to save their souls did not hesitate to take up the way of the cross even if they lacked sufficient money, divine mercy would give them enough.⁴⁸

In these actions the crusaders bonded together at a certain level of social life, large numbers of men and women, who would have otherwise never come together, due to feudal localism and rural decentralization of economic and political life.⁴⁹ By no means though was there a sudden explosive change of social ordering. Only under the influence of time, mobilization and the need to somewhat organize resources to keep such a large group alive and in reasonable fighting condition was a different social control exhibited among the pilgrims in search of their collective goal.⁵⁰ Their main intended purpose set the standard for cohesiveness because to split apart would mean failure in the eyes of God. It was a brotherhood and fellowship in which the group was trying to preserve by its religious and secular ethical codes, legal and political statutes, and

witness the siege of Antioch and the finding of the Holy Lance. Fulcher relied heavily on the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond d'Aguilers for the events that took place at Antioch during his absence, but his insight into the condition and demeanor of the crusading forces before and after the siege and occupation are invaluable.

⁴⁸ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, 6. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* rode in the contingent under the Norman commander Bohemond of Taranto. In contrast to the clerics, the author of the *Gesta* saw the crusades from a completely different perspective than his counterparts Raymond d'Aguilers, Ralph of Caen, and Fulcher of Chartres for several reasons. First, he was a layman and a fighter of ordinary status. Secondly, through the first nine books of the *Gesta* he calls Bohemond 'dominus' in the feudal sense of 'overlord' usually describes him after the manner of an epic hero and was one of the band picked by Bohemond to enter the city of Antioch at night, xii. But the anonymous author took the serious step of cutting himself off from Bohemond. From here we see a devout man acquiescing to pious conduct in leaving Bohemond and continuing on to the Holy Sepulchre. Unlike Fulcher and Ralph, who supported Bohemond's intentions, the author of the *Gesta* and Raymond d'Aguilers realized that Bohemond was more inclined on the founding of the principality of Antioch than a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre.

⁴⁹ *Drama*, 178

⁵⁰ *Drama*, 169

regulations.⁵¹

The mere demographic and geographic facts of such a large number of people coming at a set time considerable distance from their homes for the same goal of reaching the sacred city of Jerusalem compelled a certain amount of organization and discipline that formed a social system founded on religious beliefs, polarized between fixity and travel, secular and sacred a social structure and *communitas*.⁵² The crusading pilgrims were obligated to perform in a manner proper for a sacramental procession. Indeed they suffered as a group, worshiped as a group, and held counsel as a group. Their social norm had transformed into a new *communitas* and by the time they entered the city of Antioch the characters in the ritual surrounding the Lance had become transitional beings in. They had become the creatures of ambiguity and paradox they had become the prototype of sacred poverty.⁵³ Thus, by the time the siege of Antioch would get underway, the noncombatants - the sick, crippled, and destitute, the women, children, and clergy - would capture and maintain an absolute and overwhelming majority.

⁵¹ *Drama*, 169

⁵² *Drama*, 171

⁵³ Turner, 97

Chapter 2

COMMUNITAS

It would not be fair to even begin to suspect the sense of *communitas* that developed before the finding of the Lance, during the First Crusade, as equalitarian in nature. The fact of the matter is there was hardly anything equal about it. Lines of social stratification especially those imbedded in the late eleventh century social caste did not disappear in some sudden manifestation of brotherly love. The counts, princes, and wealthy knights formed only a single social stratum, and a small one at that.⁵⁴ To view these professional men-of-arms as the bulk of the crusading fighting force would overstep the boundaries of who could be considered a soldier, when those with little or no aristocratic attachments delivered service necessitated by their cause. Most were individuals that could not be distinguished by what was below them but from only what was above them.⁵⁵ There were low-level nobles that held nothing more than a few hides of land as knights, existing on a totally different social plain of their upper-class counterparts. The majority were unfree vassals who after their service in battle would return back to being un-landed servants.⁵⁶

The forces that drew the pilgrims into a loose coalition were formed out of necessities that were impressed upon the expeditionary forces by the unforeseen events they would encounter. They bonded together at a certain level of social life, large

⁵⁴ Richard P Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Los Angeles: University California Press, 1988.

⁵⁵ Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W.T.H. and Erika Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 1982), 26

⁵⁶ Bumke, 43

numbers of men and women, who would have otherwise never come together, due to feudal localism and rural decentralization of economic and political life.⁵⁷ Already they were submerged in a single psychophysical goal, the release of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens through a ritual journey of public penance. They would further coalesce with a mutual growing distain for the Greeks that would come with no discount to the hardships of their coming journey to the walls of Antioch. The penitential journeys multiplicity of elements allowed for a flexibility that gave it a capacity to portray, interpret, and master radical novelties making the crusading ritual a nerve center of cultural sensitivity.⁵⁸ In the events of pilgrimage they would experience a time out of time, between the before and after, that the crusading ritual distinguishes so clearly. The penitential expedition was a time of continuous highly effective performance in which social boundaries and distinctions were obliterated, rather than clarified.⁵⁹

Their social boundaries and the distinctions began to wear down long before they reached the walls of Antioch. The march just to reach Antioch would cost the crusaders dearly and would solidify a communal hatred of the Greeks, especially noticeable in the crowd of noncombatants. This would lead to a binding Latin resentment that ran through the core of the crusading army starting before and continuing on past Constantinople. In their passage through Slovenia, Raymond's contingent had suffered badly. This meant that the poor bore the brunt of the suffering since most followed the Count. The natives

⁵⁷ *Drama*, 178

⁵⁸ *Ritual*, 40

⁵⁹ Roy A Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. (Richmond: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 186-7

slew the old men and women, the poor and the sick like cattle at the slaughterhouse.⁶⁰ Mercenary forces of the Emperor Alexius harassed and routed the expedition numerous times before and after Raymond arrived, not far outside of Constantinople, in the town of Rodosto.⁶¹ He feared their incursion for he had previously experienced the savage fury of their attacks, their fickleness of mind, and their readiness to approach anything with violence. Alexius held Bohemond in distrust remembering all too well the Normans lust for Eastern lands.⁶² Hence, Bohemond's contingent was not allowed free entry into Constantinople, they could only buy their supplies outside of the wall and they could only enter the city five or six at a time each hour to pray in the cities churches.⁶³

By the time the crusading armies crossed the Bosphorus Straits and stepped onto the plains of Nicomedia, their feelings towards the Greeks and Emperor Alexius were less than cordial.⁶⁴ If their animosity towards the Greek ruler was overwhelmingly strong then the sight they witnessed would further validate their distrust. Near the sea, on the move to Nicaea the landscape of the plains were littered with the severed heads and bones of the past years preceding crusade.⁶⁵ This encounter could have only bolstered

⁶⁰ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 16

⁶¹ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 22

⁶² Anna Commena, "Anna Comena's *Alexidad*," in *The Crusades A Reader*, edited by S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt. (New York: Broadview Press, 2000), 57. Anna was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor of Alexis.

⁶³ Fulcher, 41; Raymond de Aguiliers, 22. The distrust of the Normans by Alexius no doubt stems from past dealings with the Normans. Bohemond and his father Robert Guiscard had fought the Greeks before the First Crusade and had been a constant thorn in the emperor's side. With the loss of his patrimony to his brother Roger Borsa, Bohemond had turned to the crusade in hope of winning a state in the East. A point Alexius was well aware of.

⁶⁴ Fulcher, 42

⁶⁵ Fulcher, 42. Anna Comnena in her *Alexiad* delivers a sense of the slaughter that took place, "so great a multitude of Gauls and Normans were cut down by Turkish swords that when the dead bodies of the killed were gathered together they made a very large mound, lofty as a mountain. So high did that mound tower,

their belief that Alexius had betrayed Peter the Hermit, and his followers, by sending the unknowing pilgrims across the straits with no defense and where they subsequently butchered by the Turks.⁶⁶ Approaching the city of Nicaea the crusaders were about to reach another communal milestone that would further bind them together beyond their commitment to the penitential journey.

By May 16, 1097 all the crusading armies had gathered outside the walls of Nicaea. They harassed the city for five weeks with force and cleverness terrifying the besieged Turks who secretly parlayed with the Emperor.⁶⁷ The Turks inside of Nicaea were disheartened after seeing their relief force retreat and surrendered to the Byzantines to avoid a Frankish slaughter. Unfortunately, for the crusaders, on June 19, 1097 Byzantine standards flew over Nicaea when the inhabitants surrendered to imperial forces, and Alexius, aware of the Western Europeans penchant for looting, again only permitted small numbers of pilgrims to enter the city. Many crusaders, especially the masses who expected to kill the enemies of God and seize booty, began to further despise the ‘vain and evil thinking’ emperor even after the crusading princes had given their word to the emperor to return all former Greek lands back to him.⁶⁸

that some barbarians of the same race as the dead later used the bones instead of stones for constructing a wall, making a fortress a sort of sepulcher for them,” 58

⁶⁶ Raymond de Aguilers, 27

⁶⁷ Fulcher, 44

⁶⁸ Gesta, xx. Most of the crusading princes took oaths demanded by Alexius. The first was to hand back to the empire any lands liberated that had once belonged to the empire. The second was an oath of homage and fealty. Bohemond, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois agreed to both. Raymond of St. Gilles would not swear fealty to Alexius. Riley-Smith, 25. When confronted about swearing fealty Raymond responded that he had not taken the Cross-to pay allegiance to another lord or to be in the service of any other than the One (God) for whom he had abandoned his native land and his paternal goods. Raymond de Aguilers, 23.

In total contrast, on the point of returning Byzantine lands Count Raymond stood apart, and even if he had every intention of honoring his word the Count he still fostered no love for the Byzantines.⁶⁹ For the rest of the pilgrims their rationale was one filled with contempt in the idea of having besieged Nicaea only to have the city's garrison surrender to the Greeks betraying them of a sure to be brutal sack of the city and its inhabitants. To offset their ill will Alexius distributed coins among the common soldiers.⁷⁰ Nonetheless they were severely disappointed at being denied what they believed to be their right to plundering the city of Nicaea even if Alexius distributed lavish presents in compensation to the Frankish princes.⁷¹ This would be the last and only city of any true significance they would return to Greek hands for a long while. To further their dislike for the Greeks the Emperor had earlier in Constantinople promised the princes all the booty taken from Nicaea and to found a Latin monastery and hostel there. His failure to do so caused even more bitterness.⁷² The bitter taste of their denial lingered and drew them closer together as a cohesive unit on what they thought they deserved.⁷³

Swallowing their disappointment at the loss of Nicaea to the Greeks the crusaders began their march to Antioch on June 28, 1097. Traveling north, across the Anatolian wasteland they were continually harassed by the Turks. The arid desert heat decimated their horses and beasts of burden to less than a quarter of what they had and left knights

⁶⁹ As for Count Raymond's juxtaposed stance of returning conquered lands back to the Byzantine Emperor it can only attest to his piety and single-minded commitment in reaching Jerusalem.

⁷⁰ Fulcher, 42

⁷¹ Mayer, 46

⁷² Runciman, 182

⁷³ Raymond of Aguilers, 26

walking on foot, their armor carried in sacks.⁷⁴ The crossing of the high passes of the Anti-Taurus range, just before their arrival in Antioch in the fall, seems to have been almost the last straw for the heavily armed knights and the mixed bag of followers encumbered with a good deal of baggage.⁷⁵ Traversing the mountains, which were high and so steep that one man dared not pass another, horses fell over precipices and if one beast of burden stumbled it would drag another down with it.⁷⁶ Knights, who were frightened and miserable from the oppressive Middle Eastern sun, tried to sell their armor and those that found no buyers threw his arms away and continued on.⁷⁷ The noncombatants, too, suffered serious losses all along the way, but their numbers were swelled by the steady influx from the dwindling ranks of the fighters. In addition the sturdy poor, of some military value, sank into miserable condition. Most of them were not called upon to fight except in great emergencies, and constituted a standing burden upon the army as their numbers grew. They had very little armor and no horses. They were equipped with the tools of war by the cunning and generosity of their masters.⁷⁸ By the time they reached the mouth of the Orontes River outside Antioch only one sixth of the army was equipped to do battle.⁷⁹ It must have been a haggard and destitute group of

⁷⁴ Riley-Smith, 28

⁷⁵ Hill, 31

⁷⁶ Gesta, 27

⁷⁷ Gesta, 27

⁷⁸ Gesta, 30

⁷⁹ Porges, 3

pilgrims that stood on the plain of Antioch whose hopes were now based on gift, capture, or luck.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, there were more than enough noncombatants left over to swell the ranks of the main army. The knights that sold or discarded all they had melded in with the stragglers poor to become noncombatants also dependent on the graces of their lords. It was a position that left the regulars and non-combatants, who had coalesced as near social equals into a combined fighting force, with more influence. Now the princes had to rely, not only on what few equipped combatants were left but, also on the now mixed bag of combatants.⁸¹ Out of necessity in their combined goal the poor became infantry putting them in the novel situation of having a sway on political affairs. On their public penitential expedition the crusaders had fostered new socio-political associations volatile and replete with the novel and unexpected that developed into a *communitas* of secular fellowship, and sacred community.⁸² A social system founded on religious beliefs, polarized between fixity and travel, secular and sacred a social structure and *communitas*.⁸³ The crusaders had transcended into a liminal phenomena. With the spiritual aspects of their liminality exhibited in their social relations through the quality of their *communitas*.

And this quality of *communitas* common in long established pilgrimages was

⁸⁰ Jean Schmell, "The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights, and Gentry, 1066-1300," in *The Speculum* 68, no. 3 (July, 1913), 596

⁸¹ Porges, 4

⁸² *Drama*, 183

⁸³ *Drama*, 171

articulated in some measure with the social structure through social reorganization.⁸⁴ It was a *communitas* constituted by certain characteristics in social bonding among and between the pilgrims.⁸⁵ In this expedition, the mere demographic and geological facts of such a large number of people coming at this set time a considerable distance from their homes towards the sacred city of Jerusalem compelled a certain amount of organization and discipline. The discipline could not and did not come from one dominating figure. The crusaders had transcended much too far into their own religiosity. Under the influence of time, mobilization and the need to somewhat organize resources to keep such a large group alive and in reasonable fighting condition the pilgrims exhibited the social control needed to attain their reward.⁸⁶ They were submerged in the crusading ritual engrossed in communal public penance that by necessity had them fighting, hating, and above all suffering for a common goal, the delivery of Jerusalem. It was a brotherhood of and fellowship in attaining their defined objective, which was trying to preserve its religious and ethical codes, and legal and political statutes and regulations.⁸⁷ Even if the fellowship was less than homogenous the crusading horde had reinvented itself in the “in-between” of their ritual journey. Bound by their hatred of the Greeks and the social reconstruction of the crusading force, the lines of social construct had been blurred in a spatiotemporal frame between the past and the coming present. Now the crusading princes looked upon the stragglers and poor as an essential fighting force necessary to their own separate goals. Bohemond and Count Raymond had no choice but to take into

⁸⁴ *Drama*, 166

⁸⁵ *Drama*, 169

⁸⁶ *Drama*, 169

⁸⁷ *Drama*, 169

deep consideration the wishes of their crusading subordinates. The sense of this dynamic could not have been far from the minds of the new infantry with their newfound ability to exert some control over their destiny and this would become more apparent in the events surrounding the Holy Lance.

Chapter 3

OUTSIDE ANTIOCH

The Christian armies finally arrived before the walls of Antioch on October 20, 1097 and would besiege the city until the following June 3, of 1098.⁸⁸ The journey from Constantinople, with the loss of Nicaea, had become barley more than disillusionment and took much longer than expected. Stephen of Blois, encamped outside the walls of Antioch, had written his wife Adelide in March 1098 prematurely professing that the crusaders would be in Jerusalem in five weeks time.⁸⁹ He could not have been more wrong. It had taken a total of four months under the intense heat of the Anatolian sun just to get from the city of Nicaea to the walls of the city. Then another seven and a half months would be needed to conquer the city of Antioch.⁹⁰ Reward for their penance would not come easy. From the highest, to those in the middle to the lowest in the social stratum all would suffer badly, from hunger, from the movement of the earth, from various terrors of the sky and from attacks from the outpouring sky, and persistent military attacks.⁹¹ For the better part of that time they would suffer the predictable famine and death from starvation, illness and disease.

⁸⁸ Clive Foss, "Antioch," in Dictionary of the Middle Ages, edited by Joseph R. Strayer. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982), 309. The city of Antioch is now known as Antakya. It lies in Turkey to the south of the Gulf of Alexandretta, only a short distance from the Syrian border.

⁸⁹ Mayer, 50. Stephen of Blois enjoys a less than reputable reputation when it comes to the First Crusade. Besides being terribly wrong about the future of the crusaders progress he fled back to his home at the most desperate time of the siege of Antioch. Unfortunately for Stephen his wife Adelide, probably shamed by his cowardly behavior, persuaded him to participate in another crusade where he lost his life.

⁹⁰ Riley-Smith, 29

⁹¹ Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 79. To be referred to as *Gesta*. Ralph of Caen a Norman cleric accompanied Robert II, Duke of Normandy and authored the *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitanai*. They joined Bohemond's entourage in 1107

The estimated forty thousand men and women encamped, around Antioch just prior to the ensuing winter. They would to suffer further in the upcoming siege because they arrived with no system for maintaining provisions.⁹² They had taken full advantage when they first entered the plain of Antioch, they found the plain full of provisions and they fed well, evidently to well, neglecting to lay supplies down for winter.⁹³ Torrential rain and exclusive cold caused the crusaders to suffer the whole winter before the city for their lord Jesus Christ. They had broiled in the heat of the Syrian Desert to only experience a cold wet winter, similar to their own in the west, in front of an almost impenetrable objective.

Furthering their troubles the pilgrims found Antioch very extensive, fortified with incredible strength and looking to be almost impenetrable.⁹⁴ The city was situated in the Lebanon Mountains, twelve miles from the sea, on the Southeastern bank of the Orontes River.⁹⁵ Antioch was over two miles in length surrounded by cliffs and marshes protected by walls, some 400 towers, and breastworks leading one chronicler to state “it dreads neither the attack by machine or assault by man even if all of mankind gathered to besiege it.”⁹⁶ Inside five thousand Turkish soldiers were encamped in the city, not

on the prince’s return journey to the eastern Mediterranean. He did not reach Antioch until after Bohemond’s defeat, just prior to 1111 at Durazzo, where he entered the service of Bohemond’s nephew Tancred. Therefore, his accounts of the events leading up to and in the city Antioch were written after the fact and with an evident Norman bias. Ralph, like a majority of the other chroniclers relied heavily on the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, but with his fastidious reliance on eyewitness accounts he offers incredible details on the conditions and their effects on the crusading forces. *Gesta*, 1-17.

⁹² Riley-Smith, 29

⁹³ Runciman, 219

⁹⁴ Stephen of Blois, “Letter of Stephen of Blois,” in *The Crusades A Reader*, edited by S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt. (New York: Broadview Press, 2000), 64

⁹⁵ Raymond de Aguiliers, 30

⁹⁶ Raymond de Aguiliers, 31

counting the Saracens, Publicans, Arabs, Turcopolitans, Syrians, and Armenians with a multitude of others.⁹⁷ Antioch without doubt posed an intimidating obstacle to a hungry wet and demoralized crusading army. It must have been clear to the pilgrims they were bound to suffer punishment for their avarice during the previous times of plenty.

The situation would only lead the crusading leaders to reach farther into the ranks of the fighting poor to supplement their dwindling population of knights. Along with this came the responsibility of feeding the masses. It would take very little time for such a large group to decimate the surrounding countryside in search of victuals. By the third month of their siege food was being bought at too high a price. Armenians and Syrians brought were selling a single assload of supplies for eight *perpre*, which is worth one hundred and twenty solidi of *denarii*.⁹⁸ This left many men to die because they did not have any means to buy at such a high price. Upon holding council, the princes decided how they might supply the destitute fighting force that was beginning to talk of desertion. The princes concluded in council that one part of the force would go out to collect food and to guard their position while the other part would remain to watch the enemy. Bohemond and the Count of Flanders were chosen to search for supplies while Count Raymond accompanied by Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, would be left to guard the camp.⁹⁹ After, the services of the Nativity had been celebrated on Monday, December 28, 1097, Raymond, Bohemond, and Adhemar turned to the eclectic fighting force consisting of a community of once well to do knights and soldiers, now outnumbered considerably by

⁹⁷ Stephen, 64

⁹⁸ August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: 1921), 185

⁹⁹ Krey, 132

the fighting poor. Of the twenty thousand Bohemond took with him, most were foot soldiers consisting of the fighting poor. The Count and the Bishop relied on the same soldiers to shore up their position outside the city walls.¹⁰⁰

When the enemy saw Bohemond and his large force leave they decided to continue their customary assaults. Raymond, moreover, was compelled to attack them in his usual manner. He had after all been the one and only of the crusading princes upon arriving at Antioch to advocate for an immediate assault upon the city. Bohemond overruled the Count. The Norman feared a rape of the city and, Raymond laying claim to the city he intended on possessing, and pressed for the delay they now suffered. After forming the ranks of the foot soldiers, Raymond, with some knights, pursued the assailants.¹⁰¹ The pilgrims did attack and nearly gained access to the city until confusion set in and the Turks killed those who fled.¹⁰² Bohemond, upon hearing of the Count's near achievement, returned with little success in procuring victuals for the forces and he and thus found them in the same predicament as before.

Near the middle of January 1098 dissertation had become the norm. A point Bohemond used to his advantage by threatening departure.¹⁰³ He would now take his private desire to become the eventual ruler of Antioch into the public sphere. With Count

¹⁰⁰ Krey, 132

¹⁰¹ Raymond de Aguiliers, 33

¹⁰² Raymond de Aguiliers, 33. Near the gate to the city a knight was thrown from his horse. The crowd of undisciplined foot soldiers took this as a sign of retreat that turned into a slaughter carried out by the Turks. "Even if the knights of the Franks wished to resist and fight, they were caught by the crowd of fleeing footmen, by their arms, and by the manes and tails of the horses, and were either thrown from their horses or, out of compassion and regard for the safety of their people, were brought to flight. The enemy, indeed, without delay, without pity, slaughtered and pursued the living and despoiled the bodies of the dead. Moreover, it was not enough for our men to leave their arms, take flight, despise shame, but they rushed into the river to be overwhelmed with stones or arrows of the enemy."

¹⁰³ Raymond de Aguiliers, 35

Raymond ill and bedridden, Bohemond, now famous for his military prowess, knew that at this moment his threat would terrify the army. Bohemond was finally persuaded to stay with the understanding that he would gain mastery over the principality of Antioch.¹⁰⁴ Raymond and Bohemond's relationship had always been uneasy but this radical breach of Bohemond's oath to return captured lands back to Constantinople was more than the pious and honorable count could hardly bare. Raymond took drastic measures to counter Bohemond's claim. Arising from his sick bed, Bohemond called council of the princes and announced he would give the outrageous sum of five hundred marks of silver to the crusading cause.¹⁰⁵ Raymond was to be disappointed when all the chiefs, beside himself, promised Bohemond possession of Antioch.¹⁰⁶ Bohemond's plan of securing Antioch for himself was indeed taking shape, but the without the approval of the church or in this case Adhemar, the ecclesiastic authority of the pilgrimage, little could be claimed.

Nonetheless, ensuing famine once again had driven the prices beyond affordability. The desertions began in earnest and, of those that stayed; the majority can only be cited for their spiritual strength. Solid determination on rescuing Jerusalem from Saracen hands drew a great number of the pilgrims into a tighter single spiritual force caught in the transcendence of the liminality in their ritual under the penance they suffered. The First Crusade then can be seen as a ritual observance that created an atmosphere for communal restructuring through intense religiosity that thrust unforeseen events on the entire expeditionary force. The pilgrims had coalesced into a single uneasy

¹⁰⁴ Runciman, 225

¹⁰⁵ Hill, 71

¹⁰⁶ Hill, 72

communitas of princes, down on their luck petty nobles, and an extremely diverse throng of stragglers and hangers-on bent on fulfilling their mission as true warriors of Christ.

They had suffered the long winter and now stood desperate as the holy days of Lent approached. With their morale low, it is reasonable to say that the pilgrims were ripe for any sign that reassured their holy cause. Reassurance would not be long in coming as they entered into the penitential season of Lent. The effects of this holy season would not be down played on its effect on the pilgrims. Lent justified their suffering. Just as Christ had fasted for forty days and nights in self-imposed penance so would the crusaders in the desert. It was another ritual observance that defined their journey in Christ like terms. And in these terms Lent would pose itself as the ritual observance in the beginning of a series of events that would determine the coming direction of the First Crusade.

Chapter 4

INTO THE ETHER

Up to this point the concentration of this paper has focused on the transformative nature of the First Crusade as a ritual. Like most rituals it was marked by three distinct phases, two of which have been discussed. First, the symbolic behavior signifying the separation of the crusaders from their earlier fixed point.¹⁰⁷ Second, the moment of spatiotemporality the liminal moment that was essential to the creation of their *communitas*. In the third phase they will complete the passage of the critical point of transition back to their previous spatial continuum to freeing Jerusalem from Muslim control.¹⁰⁸ The necessity to establish the transformative nature of the First Crusade hinges on the condition the expeditionary force was in mentally and physically when entering into a separate liminal moment within the second phase of another ritual. As we turn to the ritual manifestations, that begin to take place in mid-February 1098, we can see with certain detail the ritual of the Lance as the pilgrims enter into a spatiotemporal continuum within the liminality, which encompassed them. This moment must be looked on as an interlude of symbolic worship necessary for their emergence from Antioch back into the spatial continuum of the First Crusade, and their continued march to the Holy Sepulcher.

Rituals tend to occur at special places and times fixed by the clock, calendar, or under special circumstances. Antioch was just that special place. Founded in 300B.C. by

¹⁰⁷ Turner, 94

¹⁰⁸ Turner, 94

Seleucus I of Syria and later under Roman rule it was considered the third main city in the world.¹⁰⁹ To the Christians it was especially holy; for there they had been given the name of Christian; and it was the first bishopric of St. Peter.¹¹⁰ Antioch itself was a relic and, it would further provide to the crusaders a sanctuary for an interlude of liminality in a ritual beyond the one they had already transcended into. Their slide into the ritual observances leading to the events of the discovery of the Holy Lance could, not have been better fixed in time as well as place. These events would culminate with the finding of the Holy Lance divulging the deepest spiritual emotions, and the true motivations of certain men, as a play on religiosity and politics.

To further draw them in through religious manifestations and further define political reality, the pilgrims needed a symbolic gesture to divert them from their fixed point within the spatial continuum of the First Crusade, and into the separate moment of spatiotemporality where they would be transformed in a separate point of liminality. They were coming to Lent, the symbolic beginning of the holy season, and from here on out through out the holy season and beyond symbolic events would guide them to the Lance. The symbolic events to set the ritual in motion would come from a display of geologic and astronomical happenings. On the third day before the Kalends of January, they experienced an earthquake of sizable proportions and a very marvelous sign in the sky.¹¹¹ The night sky turned red to their north when the aurora borealis illuminated the sky, and must have seemed to the pilgrims as if a new dawn had arisen to announce the

¹⁰⁹ Runciman, 213

¹¹⁰ Runciman, 213

¹¹¹ Raymond de Aguiliers, 36. The actual dating of these events is given as December 29, 1097.

beginning of a new day.¹¹² In their belief God, was chastising his army for their avarice and rape of the surrounding countryside, which illuminated light, over their rising darkness.¹¹³

These two symbolic occurrences, of extreme eschatological significance in close combination no less, underlie and constitute what the crusaders conceived as their immediate reality.¹¹⁴ The nature and properties of these two ritual symbols, and their interpretation by the crusaders, give clues not only to the values of people that perform rituals but also to the nature of the crusaders sociality that transcend their usual cultural forms.¹¹⁵ Spiritually bound by scripture they associated the earthquake and the lights of the aurora borealis as a signal for the coming of the final judgment signaled by unwonted and terrifying disturbances of the physical universe.¹¹⁶ Their religious information from this moment on would rest ultimately with symbolic ritual.¹¹⁷ This information transmitted the nature of their journey up to this point. Their pilgrimage from the moment they left their homes in the past consisted of what they understood as the calamities of the last days: war, pestilence, famine, and earthquakes.¹¹⁸ The effects on the pilgrims from these geologic and astronomical events returned them to a point of reference of their

¹¹² Raymond de Aguiliers, 36. Raymond de Aguiliers does not speculate on the cause of this light except as a manifestation of the supernatural. Runciman refers to the luminescent spectacle as the aurora borealis, 221

¹¹³ Raymond de Aguiliers, 36

¹¹⁴ Turner, 107

¹¹⁵ *Ritual*, 38

¹¹⁶ Matthew 24:29; Luke 21:25-26

¹¹⁷ Rappaport, 182

¹¹⁸ Matthew 24:6

immediate goal, ethical ideals and new social norm characterized by the formality of ritual in all its symbolism.¹¹⁹

The necessity of formality that defines ritual occurrence was not far, not with the clergy near at hand. In a world that did not understand the nature of astronomical and geologic events the pilgrims needed definition of, validation of, and reassurance to their understanding of the situation.¹²⁰ In religious ritual almost all of the ritual performance is specified, and the opportunities for variation are few and narrowly defined with more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances performed in specific contexts.¹²¹ Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy almost immediately seized the opportunity to prescribe formal ritual observance. Adhemar prescribed a fast of three days of prayers and alms giving, together with a procession, commanding the priests to devote themselves to masses and prayers, and the clerics to sing psalms.¹²² The Bishop had guided his flock onto the field of ritual performance formalized by prescribed penance. Once again, they were drawn into the liminality of a public communal penitential ritual as they reminded God in their plea for his compassion trying to convince him to put off the punishment of his children through devote religiosity.¹²³ With his forgiveness the crusaders had detached themselves from their fixed point within the larger crusading ritual. From this moment until they continued their journey to Jerusalem they would transcend into similar spatiotemporal events that surrounded the finding the Holy Lance in the city of Antioch.

¹¹⁹ Rappaport, 176

¹²⁰ Douglas A. Marshall, "Behavior, Belonging, and Belief: A Theory of Ritual Practice," in *Sociological Theory* 20, no. 3 (Nov., 2002): 362.

¹²¹ Rappaport, 176

¹²² Raymond de Aguiliers, 36

¹²³ Raymond de Aguiliers, 36

In a private moment, in this new spatial continuum, on the same day as the earthquake Peter Bartholomew, a poor Provençal cleric of dubious reputation praying in fear, had his first of several revelations that would eventually lead to the Lance's discovery.¹²⁴ Peter's visions would be both representative and symbolic. His visions would be representative, presenting the image, of the very symbol to be made known.¹²⁵ Not only would his visions reveal the location of the Lance, but also relay a specific set of instructions, of both political and religious importance, that formalized the ritual to surround the Lance as separate from the before and after with absolute clarity.¹²⁶ Saint Andrew, and a companion who appeared to be Christ, appeared in Peter's dream vision conducting him to the church of St. Peter where he revealed the Lance that had pierced Christ's side to the cleric. He instructed the weeping Peter who swore he would carry it to the Count of Toulouse as the saint had told him to give it to the Count because God had set it aside for him at birth.¹²⁷ Saint Andrew further professed that twelve men would find it buried after the city had fallen.¹²⁸

Peter neglected to approach the Count possibly because of his low status or the fear of the Bishop of Le Puy. Besides instructions on the Holy Lance, St. Andrew ordered for Peter to admonish Adhemar for not preaching and exhorting and blessing the pilgrims

¹²⁴ Runciman, 241. Peter had come as the servant of a Provincial pilgrim called William-Peter. He was not entirely illiterate, despite humble origins. He was known as a rather disreputable character, interested only in the pursuit of earthly pleasures. Raymond de Aguilers, in the *Gesta Francorum* describes him only as a "Provençal peasant," 51. Ralph of Caen in *Gesta Tancredi* says he frequented drinking stall, scurried about in the market places, was a friend of loafers and had a reputation for nonsense, 120.

¹²⁵ Roure, Lucien. "Visions and Apparitions." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. 29 Sept. 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15477a.htm>>.

¹²⁶ Rappaport, 186

¹²⁷ Raymond de Aguilers, 52

¹²⁸ Hill2, 86

with the cross he carried.¹²⁹ And there was also no doubt that the chaplain would pose some hard questions to the validity of his story. Then again on the first day of Lent while in the castle at Edessa, St. Andrew appeared to Peter chastising him for not carrying the saint's message to the crusading leaders.¹³⁰ Still Peter hesitated due to illness.¹³¹ On March 20, again the saint with his companion upbraided the cleric, and further instructed him to tell Count Raymond that he was to cross the River Jordan, dress in linen shirt and breeches, and be sprinkled with water from the river. He was to then dry his clothes and lay them beside the Holy Lance.

This third vision was extremely powerful, and through the veneer of its spiritual message political predictions became visible. Flowing from the Dead Sea the River Jordan forms the eastern border of the land of the Israelites. In the Christian tradition this is where Jesus Christ was baptized and in this sense portrays the pious Raymond of St Gilles as Christ like lying dressed in linen, prostrate on his back next to the River Jordan.¹³² This vision, coupled with his two previous visions, completes the political connotations of the prophetic visions with the inclusion of twelve men akin to the twelve apostles that would accompany the count to the chapel of St. Peter. In these visions Raymond has been approved if not ordained to find the Lance and use it to its full potential for his control of the continuing expedition. With the most holy relic in hand wrapped in a white shirt, the predominate color of the Church then baptized in the very

¹²⁹ Raymond de Aguilers, 52

¹³⁰ February 10, 1098

¹³¹ Raymond de Aguilers, 55

¹³² Matthew 13:7, Then came Jesus Christ from Galilee to the Jordan, to John, to be baptized by him. Ezechial 44:17, and when they shall enter the gates of the inner court they shall be clothed in linen garments.

waters of his savior, Raymond would be the Sheppard that would guide the crusading flock towards Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher. But, Peter's visions cut two ways, as in all political confrontations there is always another side. If Raymond was to guide the pilgrims to Jerusalem as the visions predicted, then Bohemond was equally ordained to control Antioch. The political predictions associated with the Lance in Peter's prophecies on the outcome of the political arguments over Antioch defined the situation. Raymond needed the Lance and Bohemond wanted the city. Both would attain their eventual goals, Bohemond through cunning and military prowess and Raymond through pious credibility invested in him by the Lance.

At some point Bohemond had established a connection with the Armenian, Captain Firouz a high-ranking official from the city.¹³³ Bohemond plied him with honeyed words, and tempted him with many promises and thus persuaded him to betray the city to him.¹³⁴ The Armenian agreed to betray the entrance to the city, at the most opportune day, hour and place for the Normans to enter.¹³⁵ As the day drew near Bohemond invited the princes to come see him. In this meeting he revealed his plot to gain access to the city to the approval of his colleagues and most importantly that of the papal legat Adhemar.¹³⁶ Everyone agreed, with the bishop's reasoning, to act as if the ambition is not to rule, but rather the completion of a journey being better for the city to

¹³³ Runciman, 230. Firouz had risen to high position in Yaghi-Siyan's government. Outwardly loyal he was angered that his master had fined him for hoarding grain and associating with his former co-religionist.

¹³⁴ Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, edited and trans. Elizabeth A. Dawes. (London: Routledge, Kegan, Paul, 1928), 278

¹³⁵ Ralph, 88

¹³⁶ Runciman, 233

fall as a prize to one, if it is in his ability to take it.¹³⁷ Therefore, the entire council held favor that the city should go to who ever might gain entry first. On Bohemond's insistence, they sealed it with an oath essentially giving Bohemond the city.¹³⁸ Bohemond entrusted his plan to Duke Godfrey, the Count of Flanders, and the Count of St. Gilles with the Bishop of Puy further approving, that the grace of God favored Antioch, which would that night be surrendered to the crusaders.¹³⁹

If there were any complaints from Raymond, even though this would not indicate a change in his original objections the previous December, they remain mute in the sources.¹⁴⁰ He alone was not bound by an explicit oath to the emperor, but he had left Constantinople on honorable terms with the Alexius, and he hated and suspected Bohemond as his chief rival for military leadership on the expedition, and since this was a mission sanctioned by Rome of which Adhemar was the leading representative the church should be able to allot territory.¹⁴¹ Bohemond was an astute judge of the Count of St. Gilles he apparently had no fear on that score of his possession of Antioch.¹⁴² He no doubt relied on the obvious fact that Raymond would never detour from his journey to the Holy Sepulcher. The Norman leader recognized that the true question at stake was the interpretations of their individual commitments to the Emperor Alexius.¹⁴³ If the

¹³⁷ Ralph, 90

¹³⁸ Riley-Smith, 29

¹³⁹ Gesta, 152

¹⁴⁰ Ralph, 90. The sources available to Ralph of Caen.

¹⁴¹ Runciman, 231

¹⁴² Hill, 98

¹⁴³ Hill, 98

emperor arrived before Antioch fell, or if Alexis aided them in anyway then, it would be almost impossible not to restore the city to the emperor.¹⁴⁴

Finally four months after Peter's third vision on June 3, 1098 Antioch capitulated. The Armenian captain held true to his word. Sixty knights from Bohemond's forces breeched the walls under the traitor's guidance with the traditional Frankish slaughter to follow after throwing open the gates.¹⁴⁵ The long siege had taken nine hard months and the Franks did not deny themselves. The Christians rushed into the palace, battered the captured city seizing gold small children, women, young girls and anything else they could find.¹⁴⁶ They killed all the Turks and Saracens except those who had fled into the citadel. A few Turks fled through the gates, and escaped alive.¹⁴⁷ Countless Turks and Saracens perished by means too cruel, diverse and various to explain.¹⁴⁸

After pillaging the city the army turned to the realization that they had invaded a city with a food shortage. What little they had plundered in foodstuff would dwindle to nothing in mere days. To make matters worse, on the very next day, after they took Antioch a large Muslim force, commanded by Kerbhoga with 400,000 troops, to late to act as reinforcements instead laid siege to the city. The crusaders were shut in and suffered relentlessly from the bombardment of arrows.¹⁴⁹ The walls hedged in the counts, dukes, and their crusading army feared hunger and lack of water were dysentery,

¹⁴⁴ Runciman, 230

¹⁴⁵ Riley-Smith, 29-30

¹⁴⁶ Ralph, 92

¹⁴⁷ Gesta, 153

¹⁴⁸ Raymond de Aguiliers, 48

¹⁴⁹ Ralph, 97

fever and plague there with no solace, brought death everywhere they looked.¹⁵⁰ The crusading forces had been almost continuously bound together through suffering, since they left Nicaea. They sat in a liminal moment of military peril that stood between their success and failure. The crusaders were confined in the true sense of liminality, and again see themselves, joined in an uneasy equalitarian group within a *communitas* of extreme hardship. Their goal to free Jerusalem was truly in jeopardy, when before they could have readily passed the city, now they were trapped in the spatiotemporal. What was at stake now was existence itself.¹⁵¹ More importantly, they sat now between success and total failure in crossing from the past into their future.

¹⁵⁰ Ralph, 102

¹⁵¹ Hill, 88

Chapter 5

THE HOLY LANCE

With the pilgrims in a panic and on the verge of despair, divine mercy was at hand. God chastising them when they were wanton would console them at their worst hour. The crusaders were tired, hungry and anxious. Their suffering created the perfect atmosphere for dreams and visions to thrive.¹⁵² It was now that Peter Bartholomew made his move. Approaching Count Raymond, who was in the company of Adhemar, Peter related the story of his visions. Prophetic visions had instructed him to recover the Lance of Longinus.¹⁵³ The bishop considered the story a hoax, he considered Peter to be an unreliable character, but the count immediately believed it.¹⁵⁴ This doubt not only stemmed from the bishop's dislike of Peter, Adhemar probably had his doubts about the authenticity of the Lance as he had probably seen another while in Constantinople. He had probably seen the Holy Lance, clearly identified by its owners as that used by Longinus, in the possession of Byzantine Emperors.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand it is safe to presume though that the count, whose piety was simpler and more enthusiastic, would be greatly influenced by the possibility of controlling the Lance.¹⁵⁶ With such a relic in hand he would certainly claim the legitimacy he wanted as the secular leader of the pilgrimage.

The Bishop would remained in doubt until the following night when a priest named Stephen bore Adhemar and the princes a message he envisioned from Jesus

¹⁵² Runciman, 240

¹⁵³ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 14

¹⁵⁴ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 54. Ralph of Caen in the *Gesta Tancredi* calls Peter a shrewd speaker of lies, 118.

¹⁵⁵ Barber, 127

¹⁵⁶ Runciman, 243

Christ, “these people have put me far from them by their evil doing and speak to them as follows return to me and I will return to you and when they enter battle tell them if they do as I command even for five days I will show them my mercy.”¹⁵⁷ With the promise of a sign of divine favor and the protective qualities of the Lance, coming after five days, gave support to Peter Bartholomew’s claim. Adhemar accepted Stephen of Valence’s vision as genuine; he was a reputable cleric and moreover Stephen swore on the gospel that he told the truth.¹⁵⁸ In the armies near hopeless condition Raymond gave his complete support to this manifestation of divine intervention, and so now did the Bishop of Le Puy.¹⁵⁹ The count announced he would organize a party that would search for the Lance in the prescribed five days time.

Expectations ran high in the crusader camp especially when another astronomical event made a timely appearance. That night a meteor divided into three parts and seemed to fall into the camp of the Turks.¹⁶⁰ To the crusaders, with God as their bombardier, there could be no better symbol to comfort the pilgrims than a representation of the Holy Trinity bombarding the enemy with eschatological intentions directed at the Turks.¹⁶¹ After five days of ritual fasting and penance prescribed by the bishop, in the late spring on June 14, 1098, eleven days after the capture of Antioch, inside the Church of St. Peter, Peter Bartholomew removed his shoes, stripped off his thread bare shirt, and descended

¹⁵⁷ Raymond d’ Aguiliers, 56

¹⁵⁸ Runciman, 245

¹⁵⁹ Hill2, 89

¹⁶⁰ Runciman, 244

¹⁶¹ The meteor can be seen as God the whole dividing into three distinct separate parts that constitute his omnipotence: the father, the son and the Holy Spirit

into a hole dug in the floor of the chapel by the prescribed twelve men.¹⁶² Peter's direction and finding of the relic came at a most prescribed and timely moment. The Franks journey from Western Europe had been harsh, and obviously much longer than expected, and the prospect of their current situation within the walls of Antioch and the thought of the coming summer played hard on their morale. Fortunately, with thanks to the help of divine intervention, Peter crawled into the bottom of the exposed pit brushed away the dirt from Lance's point and kissing the tip.¹⁶³ From that moment forward the discovery of the Lance would not only boost the army's morale, but also stand as the centerpiece to a wide variety of happenings.¹⁶⁴

Naturally, the Lance or even a piece of it carried the stamp of venerated status. Relics mapped the fluctuations of the boundaries of the medieval mentality physically linking the supernatural and the natural world. The Christianized populace, of the late eleventh century, all looked to the one judge with the notion that He, God, would provide in human affairs with resulting miracles being of natural consequence to the physical world. Supernatural and religious considerations of the time period that flourished provided powerful influence. The Lance then must be considered through its veneration, as a totem with spatiotemporal qualities with temporal authority in a tangible physical representation of the spiritual. This alone was part of the supernatural world, and through

¹⁶² Raymond d' Aguiliers, 5; Anselm of Ribemont, "Anselm of Ribemont on Events at Antioch," in *The Crusades A Reader*, edited by S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt. (New York: Broadview Press, 2000). Anselm reported the Lance was buried to a depth of two men's stature beneath the floor in the church of St. Peter, 67

¹⁶³ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 5

¹⁶⁴ Morris, 33

oaths sworn on his relics it would continue to reside and serve among the people.¹⁶⁵ The Lance was the symbolic that drew the attention of the participants as an object of thought and feeling which they held in special significance.¹⁶⁶ Almost immediately the Lance stood as totem. The ritual around the Lance operated as a public accounting and ordering device. Bohemond and Raymond quickly swore oaths on the Lance not to abandon the city in the face of Kerbogah.¹⁶⁷ The feuding princes bound themselves together through a solemn oath on a symbol of the crucifixion for a single cause ultimately submitting the decisions of the future to that of the totem.¹⁶⁸

Clerics also gave wholehearted support to this manifestation of divine intervention ready to help guide their fellow practitioners in ritual behaviors. With the crusaders in such tribulation, God had stretched out his right hand in aid and mercifully revealed the Lance with which the body of Christ was pierced.¹⁶⁹ When the precious gem was revealed all the pilgrims spirits were revived.¹⁷⁰ The Holy Lance was a natural physical symbol substituting for God. Religious messages concerned with things not present and not material are founded upon symbols and none better can be found to support this than the Holy Lance.¹⁷¹ As a relic it linked the supernatural and the natural world. The pilgrims were yet again faced with another moment of liminality. The Lance

¹⁶⁵ Geary, 136

¹⁶⁶ Karen Jolly, Catharina Raudvere, Edward Peters. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 110

¹⁶⁷ Hill, 89

¹⁶⁸ Freud, 484

¹⁶⁹ Anselm, 67

¹⁷⁰ Anselm, 67

¹⁷¹ Rappaport, 180

represented a connection with the deity the infinite, the timeless.¹⁷² The Lance was a tangible, physical force of authority and power, a sure point in a world of changing fortunes¹⁷³ As long as they possessed the Lance, and behaved accordingly to the status of its representation, their actions would be guided in accord with Christian tradition identified through the presence of the Holy Lance. As long as the Lance went unquestioned, every crusader was on equal ground in its presence.

As a Christian symbol the Lance was considered one of the most impressive on the previous point. Only the chalice of the Last Supper and the actual cross Christ died upon could be considered equal. The Lance was a physical reminder venerated as a memorial of sacrifice for the faith.¹⁷⁴ It acted as a direct conduit in acquiring intercession between man and God through the help of symbolic representation.¹⁷⁵ For the pilgrims in city of Antioch the Lance was looked upon as an object of intrinsic power and prestige that could only be associated with the Passion.¹⁷⁶ The Lance did not just represent the intercession of any saint; it offered a direct link to God himself through his only son. When the crusaders deposited their souls in the symbolic holiness of the Lance they avoided doing any injury to the receptacle of their souls.¹⁷⁷ As objects of attack by evil

¹⁷² Turner, 98

¹⁷³ Geary, 136

¹⁷⁴ Barber, 124

¹⁷⁵ Richard Barber, 124-125. In the Christian Church relics were physical reminders of the saint with Christian martyrs being venerated as memorials of their sacrifices for the faith. There was the belief of spiritual power emanated from this belief from attributing spiritual power to relics; it was a short step to endowing them with miraculous power. Relics of the saints became focal points dispensing favors of healing the sick, granting intercession with the Lord to settling disputes of law and politics while striking down those who disobeyed or challenged their authority. Relics were looked upon not only as objects of intrinsic power but also for the prestige they could bring especially those associated with the Passion.

¹⁷⁶ Barber, 125

¹⁷⁷ Freud, 487

they looked for help from the good. And this good emulated itself concretely in the form of the Lance, and it was Adhemar's place to test its authenticity, and with his sanction the pilgrims needed to have no further doubts.¹⁷⁸ The crusading armies' relationship to the Lance as representation to God like a surrogate father allied their burning sensations of guilt and brought about reconciliation with the omnipotent in which he would deliver them everything that they could expect from his father- protection care and indulgence.¹⁷⁹ The Holy Lance represented a safe place of liminal refuge in which their souls could be in the supernatural world, a resident of the Passion that would serve among the people. To men of the Middle Ages the supernatural was not considered unnatural. Dreams and visions came from God resulting in the symbolism the Holy Lance emanated.

¹⁷⁸ Hill, 89

¹⁷⁹ Freud, 502

Chapter 6

DECISION AND INSPIRATION

The finding of the relic gave hope to the Christians. Swept up in religiosity the army's moral was raised and all were united, under the influence of the Lance, in determination to break the blockade and destroy the approaching enemy.¹⁸⁰ With their well-developed medieval conception of a relic's ability to offer supernatural interference in temporal affairs the Franks, with Peter's find, gained the spiritual inspiration needed to give them the martial strength to overcome their oppressive predicament. Further St. Andrew had again visited Peter Bartholomew urging the pilgrims not to delay in their attack on the Turks. The power of God had been disclosed, commanded through the mouth of Peter, comforting the crusaders. The phenomenon of social reordering that had taken place on the expedition and during siege of Antioch accompanied by ritual aid of the Lance transmuted information between peasant, lesser knights, and professional soldiers of lower status.

They had become a whole each through faith and hope presented through the visions, dreams and miracles surrounding the event of the Holy Lance making each ready to triumph over the enemy. It is easy to look at the entire ritual of the Lance as auto-communicative communication.¹⁸¹ These people of diverse languages were brothers in the love of God and very close to being of one mind, and this was fit and proper for those

¹⁸⁰ Mayer, 52

¹⁸¹ Rappaport, 178

who suffered the pilgrimage in the right penitential spirit.¹⁸² Acting parts of the crusaders psychophysical were reaffirmed brought into touch with each other under the protection of the Lance strengthening their communitas. The ritual surrounding the Lance articulated the political aspirations of a few and brought together the lesser social units.¹⁸³ The princes encouraged one another, and in urging regained courage for fighting while the poor made use of their necessity to the overall success of their predicament and the crusade itself. The past days had been consumed with want and fright, and they reproached the princes for their petty squabbling and complained of the delay of the battle.¹⁸⁴ Raymond and Bohemond had no choice but to listen to the masses and have respect for their power; they depended on the array of stragglers and hanger-on's.

Bolstered by this renewed confidence the crusaders sent an insulting message to Kerbogha telling him to go away, Kerbogha steadfastly refused. The following morning June 28, 1098 all the pilgrims partook of communion. Foot soldiers and knights were arranged and prepared in order of battle all renewed in courage and strength from behind the Holy Lance.¹⁸⁵ The bishop carried the Lance into battle accompanied by spiritual aid with priests in white garments present, and with the belief that God multiplied the crusading army so that it outnumbered the enemy.¹⁸⁶ Sixty thousand crusaders marched

¹⁸² Fulcher, 49

¹⁸³ Nicholas L. Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 85, no 3 (January 2010): 556

¹⁸⁴ Raymond de Aguilers, 59

¹⁸⁵ Fulcher, 67. Raymond de Aguilers says that it was he who bent down and kissed the tip of the Lance after it's unearthing. He also lays claim to carrying the Lance into battle against Kerbogha and his troops. Raymond de Aguilers, 57

¹⁸⁶ Raymond de Aguilers, 63

out of the city utterly defeating the Muslim forces in the Great Battle of Antioch.¹⁸⁷ They were now free to plunder the defeated Turks and the surrounding countryside unimpeded for food supplies. Celestial aid had come and the success of the battle was attributed to the saving powers of the Lance.¹⁸⁸ It was the turning point of the crusade.

Now for pretty much the first time since leaving Western Europe they sat unmolested with wide control of the immediate area. With little pressure from outside forces and their belly's again feeling the pangs of hunger the equalitarian nature of their *communitas* began to shift. The question of political maneuvering would now come to the forefront. In the aftermath of the battle the expedition fell into division, bickering and indecision that lasted for five months.¹⁸⁹ The leaders had sensibly agreed to postpone the march until the first day of November, to continue in the summer heat would invite disaster. First in question was who would control Antioch. The debate had intensified after Bohemond seized the citadel when the Norman prince subsequently offered the Genoese a charter to conduct trade from the city. Raymond and the Provincials controlled the Bridge Gate gatehouse, but on the most basic level the charter acknowledged Bohemond's supremacy in terms of how much land his troops could occupy in Antioch.¹⁹⁰

The most significant blow came when Adhemar of Le Puy died on August 1, 1098. The papal legit was the one forceful and objective leader and the crusade was

¹⁸⁷ Hill, 34

¹⁸⁸ Hill, 93

¹⁸⁹ Paul, 554.

¹⁹⁰ Paul, 556

without any centralized leadership.¹⁹¹ As long he lived, the racial and religious intolerance of the Franks could be kept in check, and the selfish ambitions and quarrels of the princes restrained from doing harm to the crusade. Not only did Adhemar control the crusading forces on the physical front but his loss would also be felt on the spiritual end. As Jeremiah gave Judas Macabbeus the sword of gold to save Jerusalem, so in Antioch while Adhemar lived, the Holy Lance portrayed the divine symbol of leadership for Count Raymond.¹⁹² Adhemar had given the Lance his approval and even if Raymond had it in his possession, without the chaplain's authority the crusaders had no temporal guide. With Adhemar's death there was no religious authority to assist the pilgrims through ritualistic behavior and symbolic events. In consequence, indiscipline and lawlessness began to intercede, and the poor feared anarchy and starvation if they stayed in one place to long.¹⁹³

Fortunately, ritual is standardized behavior in which the relationship between means and ends is not intrinsic.¹⁹⁴ If an immediate guidance were needed as a replacement for Adhemar it would quickly appear through St. Andrew and his earthly emcee. Two days after the death of the chaplain, Peter Bartholomew, reported St. Andrew, accompanied by a humbled Adhemar, appeared to him. Adhemar had paid dearly for his first doubts in the Lance. Immediately upon its discovery and acceptance the Lance began disposing favors granting intercession as the father-figure it symbolized, capable of settling disputes of law and politics, while also able to strike down those who

¹⁹¹ Runciman, 33

¹⁹² Hill, 90

¹⁹³ Runciman, 33

¹⁹⁴ Rappaport, 179

disobeyed or challenged it's authority.¹⁹⁵ In his own words the Bishop confessed that he had sinned deeply in his doubt and was drawn down to hell for an hour whipped most severely his head and face burned by fire.¹⁹⁶ He further instructed Raymond to hand Antioch over to Bohemond and further confirmed Raymond as the standard-bearer of the army. God had granted Raymond what he sought; God had delivered him the Lance.¹⁹⁷ With the utterance of these words Bohemond and Raymond's fate and the crusades immediate destiny had been confirmed. Bohemond would get Antioch and the count would become the sanctioned leader of the crusade.

All the princes met in counsel on November 5, but the political decisions that would result from it were already a mute point.¹⁹⁸ The ritual happenings of the Lance had already determined the meetings outcome, while most of the princes in previous councils had already given their approval to Bohemond's control of the city. Revolution was

¹⁹⁵ Barber, 125. Two popes both swore purgatory oaths on relics to protect their legitimacy to the papal throne. Earlier in the mid-sixth century Pope Pelagius I, absolved himself from the charge of participating in the events that led to the exile and death of his predecessor Vigilius by swearing on cross and Bible. Leo III, just days before he placed the royal crown on Charlemagne's head, took an oath on the papal altar to clear himself from adultery and perjury charges. Richard P. McBrien. *Lives of the Popes* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997). In these two cases the spiritual directly resolved the political bickering and political maneuvering of both secular and ecclesiastical offices. For just one of many examples of petty disputes being settled by spiritual intercession turn to Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh Century Flanders," in *The Peace of God Social Violence and Religious response in France around the Year 1000* ed Thomas Head and Richard Landes, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca 1992), 239-58. Gregory of Tours in his *De Gloria Martyrum* gives account of a woman in Aries whose husband accused her of the crime of adultery. Although the accusation was not proven at all, a judge decided that she be submerged in water a huge stone was tied around her neck with ropes, and she was thrown from the boat into the Rhone River. But she begged for the assistance of the blessed martyr, invoked on his name and said, "St. Genesius, glorious martyr, you have sanctified these waters with the stroke of your swimming, rescue me because of my innocence!" Immediately she began to float on the waters. When people saw this, they took her in the boat and brought her alive to the church of the saint. Neither her husband nor the judge investigated her any further.

¹⁹⁶ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 66

¹⁹⁷ Raymond d' Aguiliers, 66-69

¹⁹⁸ Mayer, 53

breaking out in the ranks against the dilatory behavior, of the leaders, and the pilgrims had been told they were continuing their journey on November 1 and they were impatient with the delay.¹⁹⁹ The crusading armies overall sense of *communitas*, between Norman and Provençal, became severed after Bohemond began a systematic campaign to discredit the Lance.²⁰⁰ Without Adhemar around Bohemond was free to attack the credibility of the Lance citing the reputation of its founder and Adhemar's self-admitted doubts. Even if the Lance gave Raymond authority, the credibility of the Lance sprang from his long association with Adhemar. Count Raymond seeing that he had little chance of establishing any claim against Bohemond put himself at the front in the continuing journey to Jerusalem.²⁰¹ Besides, Raymond had to relinquish in the face of the armies demand to continue the expedition. The bulk of the crusading forces insisted that Raymond be their leader as was condoned by St. Andrew, and confirmed by Adhemar, through the symbolic nature of the Lance, even threatening that if he refused they would confiscate the Lance and continue under Christ's leadership.²⁰² Through the symbolic guidance of the Lance, the poor transmitted information that concerned their own current physical, psychic, and social state to themselves separate from the wishes of the princes.²⁰³ At this point most of the crusaders were more than ready to exit this certain liminal moment of ritual. The months between the finding of the Lance in mid-June and November 1098 may have been fraught with political turmoil, but they had taken control

¹⁹⁹ Hill, 36

²⁰⁰ Mayer, 53

²⁰¹ Hill, 36

²⁰² Raymond d' Aguiliers, 80

²⁰³ Rappaport, 179

of the greater area and fed well. Still for the bulk of the pilgrims the struggle of Antioch had become part of the penance served towards their reward of Jerusalem. Held together by this single goal those that still believed surrounded the Lance and reenter the spatiotemporal continuum of their penitential trek to Jerusalem and the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher. Around Christmas 1098, a large part of the Christian army recognized Raymond, now sixty years old, as commander and chief. Raymond officially accepted complete command and the march to Jerusalem continued on January 13, 1099.²⁰⁴ Bohemond would not reach the Holy Sepulcher for another five months.

The Lance had acted as a wedge splitting apart the two feuding factions. Ritual surrounding it articulated the individuals involved psychophysical needs to complete their journey while at the same moment defining their social system.²⁰⁵ With the settlement of earthly political ambitions, the ritual observances presented in Antioch with the discovery of the Holy Lance had transitioned the crusaders into defined order, something that had been lacking up to the Lances discovery. In the spatiotemporal time frame of the before Antioch they had coalesced into single unit a *communitas* with a single psychophysical determination to that of the journey itself. The *communitas* continued to exist in the sense that Jerusalem remained the pilgrims' main goal, but the Lance had exposed and defined the personal and public ambitions of every crusader. Bohemond had attained Antioch with the authority to command and capitalize on the legitimacy it gave him as a ruler. Raymond of Toulouse possessed the Holy Lance that approved his piety as the sole

²⁰⁴ Mayer, 53

²⁰⁵ Rappaport, 187

authority over the remainder of the expedition. The ritual also detailed the power the fighting poor. The great majority would continue the journey, but some would stay to create the first crusader state. As a much needed entity to the success of the mission they had focused on the Lance as decision maker. The fact that some were to stay in Antioch while others continued was not looked upon as detriment by either group. God had acted as the intercessor in their time of need and indecision through the relic and they could not deviate from his sweeping restrictions and instructions. Ritual had defined each participants place and motivation for the continuing journey. The Lance in the liminality of ritual had effectively transitioned the entire expedition into a present more stable state needed to cross back into the liminality of the larger ritual journey. And even if there were a shadow of doubt attached to the validity of the Holy Lance it would be hard for Bohemond and the others who decided to stay to deny that they did not benefit from its discovery.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Just as a slowly rising sun, the crusader's moment in the liminal confines of the ritual surrounding the Lance at Antioch had reached the end of a passing dawn. They had survived the in-between, the spatiotemporal by adhering to the demands of the relic. Now in mid January 1099, like the light of a new day the pilgrims disembarked from the ritual within, to continue the larger penitential ritual of the First Crusade under the protection of the Holy Lance. The Lance had directed their psychophysical focus back towards Jerusalem, and on the appointed day Count Raymond, his clerks, and the Bishop of Albara departed trudging along barefoot, dressed like pilgrims all the while calling out for God's mercy and protection.²⁰⁶ Day by day the poor gained health, the knights became stronger, and the farther they marched the greater were Gods benefits under the protection of the Lance.²⁰⁷ The march was relatively incident free as the local emirs were much too weak to put up any resistance.²⁰⁸ The Franks systematically confiscated their animals and Arab authorities allowed them to enter the towns to make purchases.²⁰⁹ Reaching Tripoli, they came to an accord with the emir of the city. The king of Tripoli offered Raymond gold and silver to his hearts content if he laid siege to Araqh.²¹⁰ The

²⁰⁶ Raymond de Aguiliers, 83

²⁰⁷ Raymond de Aguiliers, 84

²⁰⁸ Mayer, 55

²⁰⁹ Runciman, 268

²¹⁰ Raymond de Aguiliers, 87 Araqh or Irqah situated on a plain at the foot of Mt. Lebanon two miles from the sea is referenced in Genesis and believed to be settled by Aracaeus, the son of Canaan, the nephew of Noah, Genisi 10:15-17; Ralph, 123. It was of strategic importance as it controlled the routes to Syria, Latakia the classical port city of Laodicea, and Homs with their safe harbors and markets.

city of Araqh was strongly defended, and would prove to be unconquerable by human force.²¹¹

The siege opened on February 14, 1099. Arrows, javelins, stones and all matter of things flew between the two sides but nature favored this place and after laboring for five weeks they accomplished nothing.²¹² It is probable to presume that the pilgrims made no great effort. The land around them was fertile and they were receiving a constant stream of supplies. After all they had been through since Nicaea the pilgrims were pleased to rest a while.²¹³ Exhausted they realized from their recent past experience that sometimes rest could bring victory when their labors went in vain. They agreed to wait and starve the town into submission.²¹⁴

During their time of rest Peter Bartholomew would experience his last vision. Visited by Christ, in the company of Adhemar, the apostles Peter and Andrew once again chastised the crusading force, ordering a full-blown assault on Araqh.²¹⁵ The resulting reaction from the crusading army was one of skepticism. They suspected Peter and the count's motives as political maneuvering. Raymond did not want to relinquish the siege of Araqh in face of the army's contrary wishes. They now accused him of controlling the utterance of the visionary for purposes of his own aggrandizement.²¹⁶ Onward progress to Jerusalem was not to be halted for any extended length of time as it was in Antioch. There was a belief in the camp that God would not relinquish the crusaders the city

²¹¹ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 87

²¹² Fulcher, 69

²¹³ Runciman, 271

²¹⁴ Ralph, 125

²¹⁵ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 95-100

²¹⁶ Hill, 124

because they sought it for earthly monetary gain. The majority of the pilgrims had no intention of repeating the prolonged suffering experienced at Antioch, and it was clear they had no desire to repeat the effort at Araqh. As a result a schism formed between the people with some praising what the Lance had done and others condemning it.²¹⁷ It was decided then that the initiator of the error, Peter Bartholomew should be the one to settle the quarrel, in a trial by fire.²¹⁸

Ritual had led to the discovery and validation of the Lance. Naturally, and without hesitation, the crusaders would seamlessly enter into a final liminal phase of ritual. To settle an argument that would again clarify the private wants of some and the public demands of the many. Ritual centered on the Lance would be called on to reaffirm the psychophysical intent of the crusade as it had during the crusaders indecisions at Antioch. The pilgrims would immerse themselves in another moment of liminality and take refuge in the spatiotemporal of the Holy Lance. The expedition was in another moment of in-between. Stuck in the spatiotemporal between decision and indecision, and called on the frill and decoration an ordeal to communicate something through the performance about the performer.²¹⁹

God could answer immediately through the ritual theater of an ordeal.²²⁰ Ordeal by fire would align the pilgrim's private psychophysical processes by articulating the

²¹⁷ Ralph, 125

²¹⁸ Ralph, 125

²¹⁹ Rappaport, 177

²²⁰ Charles M. Radding, "Ordeals," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* V.9 ed. Joseph Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner and Son's. 1987), 960-965 The assumption of the ordeal was that the will of God guided events in the world, and nature was an instrument of God's revelation. The conclusion being that physical law does not exist away from God's will. All events were miraculous because they express God's will. God

situation of public decision-making.²²¹ It is important to note that the ordeal was not necessarily called upon as a test on the validity of the Lance as a true relic, but a trial on the truthfulness of the participants' intent. The ordeal of the Lance would not only communicate a decision on that intent but also take those performing it to be actually proving something.²²² In the minds of the pilgrims, Peter needed to put more on the line than just his words. The crusaders wanted hard physical evidence.

Ritual takes place at the most opportune time surrounded by specific ceremony. The ordeal by fire would be no exception. The date set for the ceremony was April 8, 1099 dignified by being held on the Friday of Jesus' wounding with the Lance and the end of the holy season of Lent. Three witnesses were present to correspond to the witnesses against Christ. Peter would contemplate and fast for three days which was traditional in judicial ordeals giving the accused time to recant. Four days later, on Good Friday Dry, olive branches were stacked in two piles, four feet high about one foot apart, thirteen feet long and lit on fire.²²³ At midday, some sixty thousand noblemen and people crowded around with barefooted churchman in sacerdotal gowns.²²⁴ The crusaders were drawn together in a space and time where every person was on equal standing awaiting

already is everywhere; his intervention in conflicts of judgment could be counted on. Participation in ordeal was nothing out of the ordinary, and in fact that interaction gives the ordeal a rational place in cases of divine judgment. Genuine error was deemed impossible, and there could be no appeal to a higher authority, 960-965.

²²¹ Rapport, 188

²²² Rappaport, 177

²²³ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 100; Ralph of Caen, 126. In the Christian faith the olive branch is an allegory to peace. In the case of the ordeal of the Holy Lance the olive branches represent peace and camaraderie between the opposing factions with the outcome of the decision of the trial. The olive branch also signifies transition as it does in the Old Testament when, the dove came to Noah in the evening; and in it's mouth was an olive leaf plucked off so he knew that the waters were abated from off the earth; Genesis 8:11

²²⁴ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 100

the judgment of the ordeal. If the omnipotent through St Andrew had talked to Peter, and reveled the Holy Lance to him he would walk through the fire, but if it were lies he would be consumed by fire.²²⁵ Peter came out and on his knees took God as his witness. Bishop Albara handed him the Lance, Peter made the sign of the cross, and walked into the flaming pile undaunted.²²⁶

The Lance would survive the fire but Peter would not, but he would be well accompanied by symbolic gestures. The three witnesses claimed to see a bird flying over Peter's head before he emerged, circle and dive into the fire, while a man dressed in priestly garments entered the fire just before the accused.²²⁷ In the Christian tradition the bird has always been direct physical representation of the Holy Spirit, while the man dressed in priestly garments could be construed as Adhemar. Two conflicting eyewitnesses recorded the account. One, a Norman declares him a fraud, and That Peter, wearing nothing but a tunic and trousers, passed through the burning fire, and fell down at the exit after being burned dieing the next day.²²⁸ The other, of Count Raymond's entourage, claims that Peter and the Lance passed through the burning embers unscathed only to be with the cleric being crushed to death by the frenzied crowd. In either case the liminality of ritual had rendered its decision. The bird and the man in priestly garments had obviously interceded on behalf of the Holy Lance and not Peter. The interlude surrounding the ordeal had harnessed their psychophysical directive to the Holy

²²⁵ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 100

²²⁶ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 101

²²⁷ Raymond d'Aguiliers, 101 The three witnesses were Ebrard a priest with Provencal leanings, Guillelmus Bono a knight of Arles, and Guillelmus Malus Puer, both also loyal to Count Raymond.

²²⁸ Ralph, 126; Raymond d'Aguiliers, 101

Sepulcher. The bulk of the army was demoralized by the outcome of the ordeal, and the death of Peter Bartholomew.²²⁹ While the rest regretted their error in believing Peter's clever words, and with visions that had become so eccentric he had antagonized a large section of the army. The army quickly gave up the siege. The Provincials tucked the Lance away for safekeeping and the crusaders raised the hopeless siege and took to the road south on 13 May.²³⁰

After leaving the liminality of ritual of the Lance behind, and the pilgrims securely entrenched in the spatiotemporal of the First Crusade, the relic gets little mention from the sources. Had their not been such a considerable need for divine intervention at the time of its discovery, the Holy Lance would probably not hold near the prominence it does today among historians. At the time of the Lance's discovery, possession of Antioch was of minor consideration and Araqh of even less consequence, in the face of the crusaders main objective of Jerusalem. Before the rituals surrounding the Lance, in both Antioch and Araqh, the crusaders were submerged in entangled political feuding accompanied by low moral encouraged by little if any true direction. The purpose of the crusade seems to have been lost in surrounding events.

The symbolism of the Holy Lance rendered prescribed answers and rendered decisions to questions of the pilgrim's psychophysical state. It was guide in the spatiotemporal of the pilgrims' liminal frame in the larger penitential ritual of the First Crusade. The ritual occurrences of the Lance transitioned and defined changes in the

²²⁹ Riley-Smith, 33

²³⁰ Riley-Smith, 33

expedition's makeup with guidance through the Lance as intercessor. God had performed miracles, spectacular manifestations of his power through the actions of their belief.²³¹

Through symbolic representations accompanied by visions the Lance gave voice to the fighting poor to press their influence on the political bickering between the two warring princes. It put the stamp of approval on Bohemond's ownership of Antioch and subsequent ruler of the first crusader state. Raymond was confirmed as leader of the crusade and protector of the poor.

²³¹ Thomas Head, "Relics," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* V.10. Ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 296-299

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