

BADER

the only One, the everlasting, the knife into his own body." tyard they found some of the c ben Moses. He stretched out hers, wrapped in their fringed rd, eager to do the will of their iber to save themselves for this on themselves the sentence of on them, but they did not care ith slaughter, and destruction" by found there. When those in es, how the enemy had already iem: "There is nothing better

ength and slew their sons and , too, plucked up courage and e tender and delicate mother them, men and women, arose the young brides and grooms cried: "Look and see, O our great name in order not to "

ne Jews of Mainz, tried with naniah, Mishael, and Azariah tied Isaac his son, and they yoke of the fear of God, the l be he, rather than deny and d offshoot [that is, Jesus] . . ." the slaughter and they deliv-Righteous and pious women e-sacrificed for the unity of ther, a brother to his sister, a eighbor or a friend, a groom would be killed, and blood ith their wives', the blood of rothers with their sisters', the od of the grooms with their , the blood of the judges with s with their mothers'. For the e they killed and slaughtered.

TWO: THE FIRST CRUSADE

The ears of him who hears these things will tingle, for who has ever heard anything like this? Inquire now and look about: was there ever such an abundant sacrifice as this since the days of the primeval Adam? Were there ever 1,100 offerings on one day, each one of them like the sacrifice of Isaac, the son of Abraham?

For the sake of Isaac who was ready to be sacrificed on Mount Moriah, the world shook, as it is said: "Behold their valiant ones cry without" [Isaiah 33:7]; and "the heavens grow dark" [Jeremiah 4:28]. Yet see what these martyrs did! Why did the heavens not grow dark and the stars not withdraw their brightness? Why did not the moon and the sun grow dark in their heavens when on one day, on the third of Siwan, on a Tuesday, 1,100 souls were killed and slaughtered, among them so many infants and sucklings who had not transgressed nor sinned, so many poor, innocent souls?

Wilt thou, despite this, still restrain thyself, O Lord? For thy sake it was that these numberless souls were killed. Avenge quickly the blood of thy servants which was spilt in our days and in our sight. Amen.

Questions: Compare Solomon bar Samson's account with Albert of Aachen's (doc. 13). Why did the Jews react as they did to the coming attack? How did they interpret the massacre? What Jewish values are evident in this account?

15. ANNA COMNENA'S *ALEXIAD*

Anna Comnena (1083–1148) was the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I. Her book, The Alexiad, a biography of her father, is an important source for the First Crusade, offering a Byzantine Greek view of the western crusaders. Here she describes the fate of the Peasants' Crusade (the size of which she greatly overestimates) and the arrival of Urban's official crusading force in the winter and spring of 1096–97. Bohemond of Taranto was a member of the Norman Hauteville family of Sicily—a family that had been engaged in warfare against the Byzantine Empire before the First Crusade.

Source: trans. A.C. Krey, The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-witnesses and Participants (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1921), pp. 70-71, 76-78, 94-97.

... [Emperor] Alexius was not yet, or very slightly, rested from his labors when he heard rumors of the arrival of innumerable Frankish armies. He feared the incursions of these people, for he had already experienced the savage fury of their attack, their fickleness of mind, and their readiness to approach anything with violence. . . .

And finally, he kept ever in mind this information, which was often repeated and most true—that they were known to be always immoderately covetous of anything they strove after and to break very easily, for any reason whatsoever, treaties which they had made. Accordingly, he did not indulge in any rest, but made ready his forces in every way, so that when occasion should demand he would be ready for battle. For it was a matter greater and more terrible than famine which was then reported. Forsooth, the whole West, and as much of the land of barbarian peoples as lies beyond the Adriatic Sea . . .—all this, changing its seat, was bursting forth into Asia in a solid mass, with all its belongings, taking its march through the intervening portion of Europe.

A certain Gaul [that is, a Frank, or person from France], Peter by name, surnamed Kuku-Peter, had set out from his home to adore the Holy Sepulcher. After suffering many dangers and wrongs from the Turks and Saracens, who were devastating all Asia, he returned to his own country most sorrowfully. He could not bear to see himself thus cut off from his proposed pilgrimage and intended to undertake the expedition a second time. . . .

After Peter had promoted the expedition, he, with 80,000 footsoldiers and 100,000 knights, was the first of all to cross the Lombard strait. Then passing through the territory of Hungary, he arrived at the queenly city. For, as anyone may conjecture from the outcome, the race of the Gauls is not only very passionate and impetuous in other ways, but, also, when urged on by an impulse, cannot thereafter be checked. Our emperor, aware of what Peter had suffered from the Turks before, urged him to await the arrival of the other counts. . . . But relying on the multitude of those who followed him, Peter did not heed the warning and, after crossing the strait, pitched camp at a little town called Helenopolis.

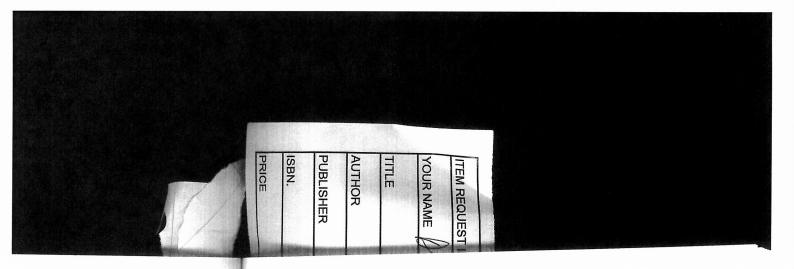
But since there were also Normans in his army, estimated at about 10,000 men, these, separating themselves from the rest of the body, devastated the region lying around the [Christian] city of Nicaea, rioting most cruelly in every way. For they tore some of the children apart limb from limb and, piercing others through with wooden stakes, roasted them in fire; likewise, upon those advanced in years they inflicted every kind of torture. When those in the city saw this being done, they opened the gates and went out against them. As a result, a fierce battle took place, in which, since the Normans fought ferociously, the citizens were hurled back into the fortress. The Normans, after gathering up all the plunder, again returned to Helenopolis. There a quarrel arose between themselves and the other pilgrims who had not gone off with them, a thing which usually happens in an affair of this kind, envy inflaming the wrath of those left behind, and a riotous fight followed the quarrel. The fierce Normans again separated [from the others] and captured Xerogord on their way at the first attack.

When this was learned, the [a suitable number of troops. W killed some of the Normans wit planning at the same time, also Kuku-Peter. And he set ambus left for Nicaea, they would unex the avarice of the Gauls, he had them to go to the camp of Ku captured Nicaea and were now to the camp of Peter, excited all riches was heard, they straight to Nicaea, forgetful of their m going out to battle. For the Lat above, but when they give the also no longer obedient to reasc were neither keeping order not of the Turks around Draco and a multitude of Gauls and Norn Arab] sword that when the de about in the place, were broug or hill, or look-out place, loft conspicuous for its width and d that some barbarians of the san slain instead of stones in constr of sepulcher for them. It stands mixed rocks and bones.

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When this was learned, the [Turkish] sultan sent Elchanes against them with a suitable number of troops. When he reached them, he recaptured Xerogord, killed some of the Normans with the sword, and carried off the rest as captives, planning at the same time, also, an attack upon those who had remained with Kuku-Peter. And he set ambushes at opportune places into which, when they left for Nicaea, they would unexpectedly fall and be killed. But knowing also of the avarice of the Gauls, he had summoned two men of bold spirit and ordered them to go to the camp of Kuku-Peter to announce that the Normans had captured Nicaea and were now sacking it to the utmost. This report, brought to the camp of Peter, excited all violently; for when the mention of plunder and riches was heard, they straightway set out in tumult on the road which leads to Nicaea, forgetful of their military training and of observing discipline in going out to battle. For the Latins are not only most fond of riches, as we said above, but when they give themselves to raiding any region for plunder, are also no longer obedient to reason, or any other check. Accordingly, since they were neither keeping order nor forming into lines, they fell into the ambush of the Turks around Draco and were wretchedly cut to pieces. Indeed, so great a multitude of Gauls and Normans were cut down by the Ishmaelite [that is, Arab] sword that when the dead bodies of the killed, which were lying all about in the place, were brought together, they made a very great mound, or hill, or look-out place, lofty as a mountain, and occupying a space very conspicuous for its width and depth. So high did that mound of bones tower, that some barbarians of the same race as the killed later used the bones of the slain instead of stones in constructing a wall, thus making that fortress a sort of sepulcher for them. It stands to this day, an enclosure of walls built with mixed rocks and bones.

And thus, after all had been wiped out in the slaughter, Peter returned with only a few to Helenopolis. The Turks, in their desire to get him into their power, again beset him with an ambush. But when the emperor heard of the whole affair and learned how great was the slaughter of men, he held it very wrong that Peter should also be taken. Immediately, therefore, he summoned Catacalon Constantine Euphorbenus, of whom mention has often been made in this history, and sent him with suitable forces on war-vessels across the sea as a succor to Peter. When the Turks saw him approach, they fled. . . .

[After the demise of Peter's force, there followed the official crusade army, one of whose leaders was Bohemond of Taranto.]

But when Bohemond had arrived at Apri with his companions, realizing both that he was not of noble birth, and that for lack of money he had not brought with him a large enough army, he hastened, with only ten Gauls, ahead of the other counts and arrived at Constantinople. He did this to win the favor of the emperor for himself, and to conceal more safely the plans which he

was concocting against him. Indeed, the emperor, to whom the schemes of the man were known, for he had long since become acquainted with the hidden and deceitful dealings of this same Bohemond, took great pains to arrange it so that before the other counts should come he would speak with him alone. Thus having heard what Bohemond had to say, he hoped to persuade him to cross before the others came, lest, joined with them after their coming, he might pervert their minds.

When Bohemond had come to him, the emperor greeted him with gladness and inquired anxiously about the journey and where he had left his companions. Bohemond responded to all these things as he thought best for his own interests, affably and in a friendly way, while the emperor recalled in a familiar talk his bold undertakings long ago around Durazzo and Larissa and the hostilities between them at that time. Bohemond answered, "Then I confess I was your enemy; then I was hostile. But, behold I now stand before you like a deserter to the ranks of the enemy! I am a friend of your majesty." The emperor proceeded to scrutinize the man, considering him cautiously and carefully and drawing out what was in his mind. As soon as he saw that Bohemond was ready to consent to swear an oath of fealty to him, he said, "You must be tired from the journey and should retire to rest. We will talk tomorrow about anything else."

So Bohemond departed to Cosmidion, where hospitality was prepared for him, and he found a table richly laden with an abundance of food and condiments of all kinds. Then the cooks came and showed him the uncooked flesh of animals and birds, saying: "We have prepared this food which you see on the table according to our skill and the custom of this region; but if, perchance, these please you less, here is food, still uncooked, which can be prepared just as you order." The emperor, because of his almost incredible tact in handling men, had commanded that this be done and said by them. For, since he was especially expert in penetrating the secrets of minds and in discovering the disposition of a man, he very readily understood that Bohemond was of a shrewd and suspicious nature; and he foresaw what happened. For, lest Bohemond should conceive any suspicion against him, the emperor had ordered that raw meats be placed before him, together with the cooked, thus easily removing suspicion. Neither did his conjecture fail, for the very shrewd Bohemond took the prepared food without even touching it with the tips of his fingers, or tasting it, and immediately turned around, concealing, nevertheless, the suspicion which occurred to him by the following ostentatious show of liberality. For under the pretext of courtesy he distributed all the food to those standing around; in reality, if one understood rightly, he was dividing the cup of death among them. Nor did he conceal his cunning, so much did he hold his subjects in contempt; for he this day used the raw meat which had been offered to him

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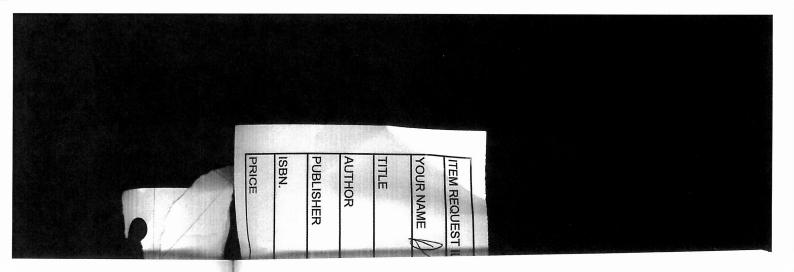
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and had it prepared by his own cooks after the manner of his country. On the next day he asked his men whether they were well. Upon their answering in the affirmative, that they were indeed very well, that not even one felt even the least indisposed, he disclosed his secret in his reply: "Remembering a war, once carried on by me against the emperor, and that strife, I feared lest perchance he had intended to kill me by putting deadly poison in my food."

Such a man was Bohemond. Never, indeed, have I seen a man so dishonest. In everything, in his words as well as in his deeds, he never chose the right path; and when anyone deviates from the moderation of virtue, it makes little difference to whatsoever extreme he goes, for he is always far from honesty.

For the rest, the emperor then summoned Bohemond and exacted from him the usual oath of the Latins. The latter, knowing well his own resources, and realizing that he was neither of noble birth nor well supplied by fortune with wealth, for he had no great force, but only a moderate number of Gauls with him, and being, besides, dishonest in character, readily submitted himself to the will of the emperor. . . .

Moreover, the emperor, who understood fully his wicked intention and perverse mind, skillfully managed carefully to remove whatever might further Bohemond's ambitious designs. Wherefore, Bohemond, seeking a home for himself in the East and using Cretan scheming against Cretans, did not obtain it. For the emperor feared lest, after obtaining power, he would use it to place the Latin counts under obligation to him, finally thus accomplishing easily what he wished. But since he did not want Bohemond to surmise that he was already discovered, the emperor misled him by this hope: "Not yet," he said, "has the time come for the thing which you say; but after a little it shall come about by your fortitude and trust in me."

After the emperor had bestowed upon the Gauls promises, gifts, and honors of every kind, the next day he solemnly took his seat on the imperial throne. Summoning Bohemond and all the counts, he talked about the things which would happen to them on the journey. He wanted, likewise, to show what methods and means of warfare the Turks were wont to employ, and to give directions how the line of battle should be drawn up against them, how ambushes should be set, and how they ought not to follow the fleeing Turks too far. And so, both by gifts of money and by flattering speeches, he soothed the rude nature of the people, and, after giving useful advice, he persuaded them to pass over the sea.

Questions: What was the Byzantine reaction to the Peasants' Crusade? Why did this venture fail? What did the Byzantines think of the official crusaders? What accounts for the mistrust and misunderstanding between the Byzantines and the westerners? What did Alexius want? What is his daughter's intent in writing her book?