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Book IV

If it was the case that a new and more elegant poetic style ought to be employed for a new duke: that the account of recent events be made more fluent, as is the custom in this age, and thus rendered more attractive to a young man, then by this new style one would obtain new favours as a reward. But lest, by changing the style one was alleged to be changing the account into a sort of panegyric, we shall keep the original poetic style and follow the course of our narrative.

(1) Count Roger was preoccupied with the affairs of his nephew, with the intention of placing him firmly and fully in control of the Duchy of Calabria, and also of the Principality and as ruler of Apulia, despite the opposition of his jealous opponents. Because of this, Benarvet prepared ships at Syracuse and sailed with his fleet to Nicotera, which he sacked and reduced to rubble. He took away everything which he possibly could and carried off all the men and women as prisoners. He then went to Reggio, destroyed the church built not far from there in honour of St. Nicholas and also one at another site in honour of St. George, trampling the holy images under foot and defiling them, and carrying away the vestments and sacred vessels to use as his own. He then went further and attacked a nunnery which had been dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, at a place called Rocca Asini near Squillace. He ravished the kidnapped nuns and wickedly defiled them.

(2) When the count heard about this, he was more than usually angry, and took the most energetic measures to avenge such an injury done to God. He began preparation of the fleet through which he might more easily do this (by going around the enemy) on 1st October, he finished it on 20th May. When he was ready to strike, he went in procession to a number of churches, barefoot and with the utmost devotion, to the sound of litanies, and gave many generous gifts to the poor; he then entrusted himself to the perils of the deep and set sail towards Syracuse. He ordered his son Jordan to make his way to meet him there with a mounted force. He saw that the ships were fulfilling the will of God, for they sailed over the fast-moving waves of the sea on a direct course without help from the wind or use of the oars, so that one could easily discern that this expedition had been granted God's approval and ought to prevail over its enemies. Thus the count, even more certain of obtaining

victory because of this sign, landed at Taormina on the first night, Lognina on the second, and *Rasesalix* [*Rat-es-Saliba*] on the third.

His son Jordan met him there with the mounted troops, and they had a long discussion between them as what ought to be done. After taking counsel, they ordered Philip, son of Gregory the *patricius*, to set out for Syracuse as fast as possible to reconnoitre the whole area. He carried out their instructions faithfully, and sailed at night into the Saracen fleet as though he was one of them, for both he and all the sailors who were with him were skilled in their language as well as Greek. Carefully inspecting everything there, he returned and announced that battle was imminent. He encouraged them to advance bravely on the enemy, for with God's favour they were not in danger. It was then Saturday.

Encouraging his men in this way, at dawn on Sunday the count heard the morning hymns and the holy celebration of Mass. Trusting in their priests, they were initiated into the holy mysteries. For the whole day they remained there. In the middle of the next night they weighed anchor and sailed silently by moonlight to Syracuse where Benarvet and his fleet were waiting resolutely for them. Battle was joined and both sides engaged. On the promptings of the Devil, who wished him now to end his life with a shameful death, Benarvet spotted the count's ship from some way off and launched an immediate and fierce attack upon it. He fought fiercely but the defence was ferocious too. Benarvet was first hit by a javelin thrown by a certain Lupinus, and was then faced with the threat of the count's sword as the latter boarded his ship, but as he sought to save himself by leaping onto the nearest of his other ships he fell into the sea and, weighed down by his armour, sank. Thus Divine justice meted out condign vengeance, and he suffered the penalty due for the injury he had so arrogantly inflicted upon God. The rest of his men tried to flee, but our forces rowed quickly in pursuit and slaughtered them, so securing the victory. If Jordan had in the meanwhile attacked the city, he would easily have conquered it. But his father had unwisely forbidden him to do this.

The city was besieged from May through to September, and resisted stoutly and both sides suffered heavy losses. The citizens held many Christian prisoners captive within the town whom they freed and sent out, thinking that by doing this they would naturally get our

men to withdraw. But when they saw them nonetheless persist, Benarvet's wife and son, along with the chief citizens, boarded two ships, escaped though the midst of our ships at night by some fast rowing, and went to Noto. Those left behind made a treaty and surrendered themselves and their city. [This happened] in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1085.

(3) While this was occurring, the Pisans who had travelled to Africa for trade suffered a number of injuries. Gathering an army they attacked the capital of King Temin and captured all of it except the main citadel which the king himself was defending. Since, because of his courage, they were not numerous enough to hold the city they had stormed as their own, they sent envoys to the Count of Sicily, whom they knew to be very powerful and well-supplied for such enterprises, asking if he wished to receive it. However, since he had previously made peace with King Temin and pledged to stick to this agreement, he observed the treaty and declined this proposal which would have been to Temin's detriment.

King Temin was eventually unable to continue his resistance, and so, when recourse to arms was unavailing, he purchased a peace. His money made the fleet leave his lands. However he promised, in accordance with his law, that he would in future not send his fleet to attack any Christian land, and he was also forced to release the captives of that faith whom he held.

(4) Duke Roger meanwhile made wise dispositions in Apulia and Calabria, behaving both vigorously and sensibly in all matters; and although he was young in age, if you were to judge him by his actions, they seemed to be not those of a youth but of a man of experience. He was active in military matters, enjoyed knightly company, was affable in speech, generous with gifts, untiring in his endeavours and his watchfulness, a protector of churches, the consolation of the the poor and needy, a shield to his men and a spear against the enemy, judging all cases justly, except insofar as the influence of his piety made him a little remiss in the rigour of his justice. As these qualities developed in him, so in very brief time he won the esteem of all good men.

His brother Bohemond was led by his ambition for the ducal honour to rebel against him, and he gained the city of Oria through the treachery of the citizens. From here he secured accomplices from all sides and launched plundering expeditions into the province of Taranto and Otranto. Roger saw that he could do little to stop him, not because he was not an accomplished knight but rather because his finances were insufficient to resolve the matter, and so, moved by his brotherly love, he went to him and they were reconciled. Roger gave him part of the hereditary portion he had received from his father, granting him the city of Oria which he had seized, and in addition Taranto, Otranto and Gallipoli, with all that pertained to them, and what Geoffrey of Conversano held from him, along with the latter's service. Anybody else who opposed him, he most valiantly defeated. When his courage alone was insufficient, he used the Count of Sicily as a rod to subjugate them, and since many were terrified of the count's power, they did not dare to resist him further.

(5) Count Roger rejoiced in the defeat of all the more powerful men of Sicily, for nobody except Hamûd continued to resist him. The count prepared his plans with great care, with the intention of outflanking and defeating him, and thus obtaining all the rest of Sicily for himself. Hence, while Hamûd was at Castrogiovanni, he set his army on the march and went to besiege Agrigento where the former's wife and children were. His forces surrounded it on 1st April 1086, and thereafter launched daily attacks upon it. Through his energy and because of the machines prepared for its capture, finally on 25th July, with its forces exhausted and its enemies ever more menacing, the city surrendered. Hamût's wife and children were captured by the count. With the city in his power, the count decided to have Hamût's wife carefully guarded by his men, and forbade anyone to molest her, for he knew that Hamût would be more easily reconciled with him if he knew that she had been well-treated by our men and not dishonoured.

Meanwhile he arranged matters in the city as he chose, furnished it with a very strong citadel [*castellum*], and surrounded it with a rampart which he strengthened with towers and bastions. He launched raids against the neighbouring *castra* and forced them to surrender [too]. Thus in a brief space of time he obtained for himself by conquest some eleven places, whose names are Platani, Muxaro, Guastanella, Sutera, Raselbifar, Micolusa, Naro,

Caltanisetta (which name can be translated in our language as 'the castle of women', Licata and Ravanusa.

(6) The count realised that all this success had happened through the mercy of God. He now directed his attention towards the capture of Castrogiovanni, either by force or at least through cunning, by making some sort of agreement. To this end he rode out at dawn one day towards Castrogiovanni with one hundred knights and, having arranged a truce, asked Hamût to speak with him. Approaching the issue in a roundabout way, he urged him to surrender the fortress and to convert through the regeneration of Christian baptism. Hamût knew from what had happened to other people that when the count intended to do something he never attempted it in vain, for fortune favoured him, and he was even a little bit inwardly and quietly moved by the thought of conversion to our faith. Keeping his plans a secret from his own people, he arranged that on a particular day the count and his army would arrive before the *castrum* and that he himself would then desert to him, bringing with him all his personal possessions. He feared however that if he let it be known openly that he intended to surrender the *castrum* and convert to the Catholic faith then he would be slain by his own men.

The count returned to Agrigento, very pleased by this promise. On the agreed day he quietly gathered his troops and secretly laid an ambush at a place not far from Castrogiovanni, upon which the two of them had previously agreed. Hamût mounted all his men on mules or horses as though they were going on a journey somewhere and left the city. He then quite deliberately ran into our men's ambush and was captured by them. Once this had happened, Castrogiovanni was attacked by our troops. With their forces gravely weakened by this deed, the citizens were terrified, and as a result of what had happened and their situation, they took counsel amongst themselves. They then made a treaty, were reconciled with the count, and the fortress had to surrender. On gaining this *castrum* the count was overjoyed, and he assigned the guard over the strongest towers to our people.

Hamût became a Christian, as did his wife and children, though he did so on one condition: that his wife, to whom he was related by a degree of consanguinity, would not in future be forbidden to him. He was however reluctant, and even fearful, to dwell any longer

among his own people, in case the count might be misled into thinking him suspect and not trust him, and so he asked the count for land in Calabria in the Mileto district that would be sufficient for his maintenance. The count willingly granted this and he moved there. And thereafter, during the course of a long lifetime, he showed irreproachale conduct, free from any treachery towards our people.

(7) The count saw that through God's favour the whole of Sicily, except for Butera and Noto, had yielded and placed itself under his rule, and lest he show himself ungrateful for all the benefits which God had granted him, he began to show his devotion to God: to cherish just judgements and to follow [the way of] justice, to embrace the truth, devotedly to frequent churches, to be present at the services, granting tithes from all his revenues to the holy churches, and acting with discretion to relieve widows, orphans and the needy. He ordered churches to be built all over Sicily; and he himself assigned funds from his own property to many of them, to assist in their construction.

He erected a cathedral for a bishop in the city of Agrigento: and he endowed it in perpetuity by a chirograph document with lands, tithes and various riches which were suitably calculated to be enough for the bishop and clergy, granting it also vessels sufficient for the holy altar. He appointed to this church to be ordained as bishop Gerlandus, from the nation of the Allobroges *[i.e. Savoy]*, who was, so they say, a man of great charity and very learned in ecclesiastical matters. He did the same thing at Mazara, providing absolutely everything which was customarily needed for a bishop and clergy, and there he appointed as bishop a man of most virtuous life from Rouen, called Stephen. Similarly, for Syracuse he chose Roger, the dean of Troina, a man well-versed in clerical affairs, of good conduct and fluent of speech, who had been born in Provence; and he granted him the rank of bishop. The people of Troina were not a little sad at losing him, since he had always set them a shining example both through his teaching and his life, and they had [also] leaned upon his advice and eloquence in secular matters, as though he was a staff to support them. Since they lacked a bishop they had relied upon him for such duties, for he behaved with great wisdom and good sense.

Meanwhile, when the count heard that there was a Breton monk at Sant'Euphemia who had fulfilled the post of abbot in this great church with prudence and moderation, he decided that, if he could manage this, he would appoint him bishop over the church of Catania. To accomplish this plan he himself went there, and he finally obtained his wish - albeit with some difficulty since the monks did not want to lose their abbot, and the man himself was the most reluctant of them all. So it was that the count solemnly granted the cathedral to him, and assigned to his see, in a chirograph document and before witnesses, the whole city and all its appurtenances to hold in perpetuity, something which is believed had never been done for any other bishop. He received this church which had just been planted in, or as it were forced down the throats of, a populace of unbelievers. At first the bishop cleaved firmly to the study of the law of Martha and thus in a brief space of time he provided the church with all the practical things which it needed. Then he changed his policy and adopted the office of Mary along with that of Martha. Gathering around him a by no means small band of monks, by word and example he made them subject to the precepts of the Rule, as a good pastor should.

(8) At that time Philip, the king of the French, had a legitimate wife of distinguished family called Bertha, from whom he had sired a son named Louis. He had even designated the latter as his successor to the kingdom, right from the time when he was a small child. But, contrary to the true law of marriage, he grew to hate her, and in order to rid himself of her, he tried to draw up a case to justify her repudiation, although he could find no criminal charges against her except for a false accusation of consanguinity. He sent envoys to Sicily, to seek the count's daughter Emma, a very pretty girl whom he had had by his first wife Judith, to be joined to him in marriage. The count knew nothing of his treacherous conduct towards his legitimate wife and allowed her to be betrothed to him, accompanied by much ceremony. Ships were prepared, and at the agreed time he despatched her, along with many valuable treasures as a dowry, on the voyage to St. Gilles where the king had said that he would meet her. He entrusted her to Raymond, the Count of Provence, to hand her over in the proper manner to the king, for Raymond had previously married the count's other daughter.

But the king was misled by evil advice, and strove to trick the count by receiving the treasure and not marrying his daughter. Count Raymond however discovered the scheme, and began to consider a no less deceitful trick of his own. He gave the girl an honourable welcome, and concealed his treachery while he sought to give her in a marriage to another, trustworthy, man, but all the while he intended to seize all the money for himself. However, the experienced men whom the count had sent to accompany his daughter discovered this treacherous plan and, on the girl's own request took the money away. Leaving the young woman with her sister's husband, they raised anchor and set sail, and with a favourable wind blowing they returned to Sicily, bringing the treasures back to the count. With the deceitful scheme which he had been preparing totally foiled, Count Raymond now joined the young woman in lawful marriage to the Count of Clermont. So only through God's disposition was she honourably married, and her father was spared the shameful insult which the king had planned, while she was rescued from an irregular and illegal, even if royal, marriage.

(9) On the death of Duke Robert, Mihera, the son of Hugh Falloc, an accomplished knight but a very untrustworthy man, took the leftward path of evil rather than that of righteousness, [1] and started to launch plundering expeditions against his neighbours and sought to harm them in other ways. For at that time he held the *castra* which had been left to him as an inheritance from his father, namely Catanzaro and Rocca [Falluca]; but seeking to gain more through force of arms, he dared to unleash an attack against the duke. Through the treachery of its citizens he seized a *castrum* called Maida. Then, wishing to secure assistance to augment his own forces, he became the vassal [*homo*] of Bohemond, the duke's brother who had previously broken the treaty and plotted against his brother. He renounced his obedience to the duke, made a sworn alliance with Bohemond, and received from him Maida, which he had seized, and all the land which he had inherited from his father and held from the duke.

(10) Bohemond was ambitious to obtain other towns - by seizing them from the duke - and had secret discussions with the people of Cosenza, promising that, if they helped him to

[1] Literally ‘using the left hand for the right’.

take the city, then he would have the citadel, which the duke had built in their town against their will, razed to the ground. Bohemond's promise persuaded them to this treason and they came to an agreement with him, received him and his forces within the city, and joined themselves to him by oaths. They blockaded the citadel and went to attack it.

When this news was announced to the duke, who was then staying in Apulia, he raised an army and marched there, and he asked his uncle to come to his aid, instructing him to be sure to meet him at Cosenza. For, as we have said, he used him like a whip to terrify all those who opposed him.

The count prepared his troops, both horse and foot, and marched to meet his nephew as he had been asked. But before either of the two armies, the duke's or the count's, could arrive there, the castle which was under attack, and which had fought back as best it could against the siege engines ranged there, came to the end of its strength and surrendered to the enemy. It was then razed to the ground, as Bohemond had promised that it would be. The duke had the count join him and stormed Rossano, which had assisted the men of Cozenza in their treason, putting everything there to the flames. Bohemond left Cosenza, not wishing to be trapped in the town by a siege, and went to Rocca [Falluca], leaving Hugh of Clermont at Cosenza who kept its inhabitants loyal to him. The duke and count thought that he had gone to Maida, and marched there hoping to occupy it first. But when they failed to find him there, they marched towards Rocca and pitched their tents at a place called *lucus Calupnii*. There intermediaries arranged a fifteen day truce between the two sides, during which time they could meet at Sant'Euphemia and be fully reconciled.

Mihera agreed to these terms, but not Bohemond. Unwilling to make peace, he had already retired to Taranto. On the appointed day Mihera sought a safe-conduct which would allow him to go there and then leave unmolested. It was granted. He agreed, and without consulting Bohemond was reconciled with the duke. He surrendered Maida which was restored to the duke to whom it rightfully belonged.

Finally, after two years the brothers were reconciled. The duke, always a most generous man, conceded Cosenza and Maida to Bohemond. But in a very short time, since

Bohemond had sworn to the people of Cosenza that he would not build a castle there, and the duke had done the same to the Bariots, an exchange was made between them. The duke received Cosenza, and in its stead granted Bari to his brother, so that while keeping their oaths, each would be free to do as they wished within their own jurisdiction. They thus confirmed their friendly relationship in a charter and before witnesses, and they each held their independent portion.

(11) Mihera made a thorough nuisance of himself to Count Roger and to Rodulf of Loritello, and remained for a long time in rebellion. Seeing that his offences were too grave to secure pardon, and not wanting to carry on further, he handed all his land over to his son Adam, thinking that the latter, with the help of his mother's relatives, would find it easier to resist his enemies and indeed to be reconciled with them. He himself went to Benevento, took the habit and was tonsured as a monk.

Now neither the duke nor Bohemond remained on good terms with each other, since the truce had been broken and each was doing the other down: because of this the count and Robert of Loritello sought and easily obtained from the duke the land which had previously been given to Adam. The count sent his knights, led by Rodulf of Loritello, against Adam, and although he resisted their frequent attacks for quite some time, in the end he was reduced to penury. He saw that he could not resist them any more, and so, when one night there was another attack, he burned down his palace and all the best houses, abandoned the *castrum* and fled, in the year from the Incarnation of the Word 1088. The count and Rodulf of Loritello divided his land, which had been granted them by the duke, between them, each of them in future holding his own share.

(12) Meanwhile peace had been made, and all of Sicily was quiet and no longer opposed Count Roger, with the exception of the people of Noto, where Benervet's wife and son had fled, and also the people of Butera, who still (as best they could) put up a useless resistance. The count raised an army and went to besiege Butera at the beginning of April in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1088. He carefully surrounded it on all sides with his forces, and in a little while he caused all sorts of problems for the besieged.

(13) However, while siege engines were being prepared to bombard the *castrum*, an envoy of Pope Urban appeared with a sealed letter from him in which the pope announced that he had landed in Sicily, and instructing him to go to Troina for a conference with him. The pope had arrived very tired from his long journey, for he had travelled from Terracina, and because of his bodily weakness, and the high mountains which lay between them, he did not wish to go any further. The count was anxious to do what was best, for on the one hand he held it damnable to desert the field of battle, but as a good Catholic he thought it wrong not to journey the short distance between them to meet the pope who had travelled from so far away to see him. Finally, like a sensible man, he took advice, and he decided neither to desert the field of battle nor to show himself disobedient to the pope by not meeting him. Thus he delegated command of his army to trustworthy men who were wise and experienced in such matters and he ordered them to harass the enemy; he himself travelled to Troina with a small escort to meet the pope as he had been asked. Both were overjoyed, and they greeted each other with great respect. He received Apostolic Blessing from the pope, who followed the way of Mary, and the latter received from him, serving as Martha did, what was necessary for his bodily sustenance. Early next day they met to talk about the business which had made the pope come there.

For the same pope had a few months earlier, through Abbot Nicholas of Grottaferrata and the deacon Roger, gently and with fatherly rebuke warned Alexius, the Emperor of Constantinople, because he had forbidden to the Latin Christians who dwelt in his dominions to make sacrifice with unleavened bread, and ordered them to use leavened bread in the Greek manner, which is something not done by our religion. The emperor had indeed received this rebuke humbly, and had requested him, in a parchment written in letters of gold sent back with these same legates, that he and [other] learned Catholic men should come to Constantinople where a council would be held at which there would be a discussion between the Greeks and Latins to secure a common definition in the Church of God, which had up to that time been torn apart by schism because the Greeks sacrificed with leavened and the Latins with unleavened bread. He said that he would freely assent to a general discussion, and that it should be defined and agreed by a proper verdict, in the presence of both Greeks and Latins, whether sacrifice should be made with unleavened or

leavened bread. He himself would in future observe the decision. He laid down a time limit within which the pope ought to come, namely a year and a half.

The count gave his advice that the pope should go there, in order to rid the Church of God of this great schism. But his journey was prevented through the obstacles created by the enemies of Holy Church who were still attacking him at Rome.

The count then sent the pope away, burdened with many gifts. He himself returned to Butera, attacked his enemies and finally forced them to surrender. So he gained the *castrum* and disposed of it as he wished. He sent its leading men to dwell in future in Calabria, for if they remained there they might plot some treason against him and cause a rising.

(14) Count Roger's wife, Eremburga, the daughter of Count William of Mortain, had died. In the year from the Saviour's Incarnation 1089 he married another, named Adelaide, the niece of the celebrated Marquis of the [North] Italians, Boniface - his brother's daughter - a quite beautiful young woman; the girl's two sisters he joined in matrimony to his two sons, namely Geoffrey and Jordan. But Geoffrey never knew her, for he died before she reached marriageable age, sad to say. Jordan was however solemnly married.

(15) Then the people of Noto, seeing the whole of Sicily obedient to the count, and that for them to resist any further was useless, knowing that 'to struggle in vain, and after wearisome exertion to gain nothing at the end except hatred, is the height of folly', [2] took counsel amongst themselves and thought it best to be reconciled with the count. Thus they chose envoys from their ranks and sent them to him. They met the count at Mileto, where he was then staying, and in the month of February in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1090 they made peace. The count remitted two years census from them, and sent back with them his son Jordan, to whom he had given both land and a wife, to receive the town which they were surrendering. Jordan had been well-taught by his father: he received the city, built a citadel there, and arranged matters as he wished in fealty to his father. Benarvet's wife and son fled to Africa.

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[2] Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, III.3, cf. lib. I, c. 26 (above p. 20).

Hence all Sicily was at peace. Count Roger showed himself not ungrateful for the benefits which God had conferred upon him. Insofar as the worldly matters with which he was occupied permitted, he began to show himself in every way devoted to God, and while he knew how high the earthly honour God had granted him was, so he made his efforts more determined to concentrate on remaining perfectly humble. He thanked his knights with whose help he had been raised to this high estate very kindly and rewarded them for their exertions, some with lands and wide possessions, and some with other sorts of recompense.

(16) So therefore the count wisely arranged all of Sicily as he wished. But, accustomed to military operations, impatient in times of peace, anxious for work and eager for gain, and not allowing his body to grow lazy from lack of its usual exercise, he considered most carefully which overseas kingdom he might first be able to conquer for himself. Because he knew that the island of Malta was closer at hand than others he might recover, he ordered his fleet to sail there and attack it: he instructed his knights to take part in the same operation.

While these matters were underway, Mainerius of Acerenza, who had been ordered by the count to come to speak with him, refused to do this. His reply to the summons, delivered in the presence of the count's messenger, was that he never wished to see him again, unless [by doing so] he could do him some harm. The envoy who had been sent to him returned and reported this, and on hearing the news the count was absolutely furious. He immediately crossed from Sicily into Calabria. He sent Peter of Mortain, to whom he had delegated a number of duties, to raise an army from Sicily and to march after him. The latter fulfilled his instructions to the letter: within eight days he had raised a very large force from all over Sicily, and in the month of May he brought this to the count. The count then marched to Acerenza, and laid fearsome siege to the *castrum*.

Mainerius was terrified by this, and realised that he had spoken and acted foolishly. He came humbly to entreat the count's mercy, seeking pardon and placing at his disposition horses, mules, treasure and all that he had. The count saw that he was sorry for what he had done, and being always a kind-hearted man, forgave him everything, except that - as a

matter of discipline rather than because he wanted it - he took one thousand gold *solidi* from him, to deter him from any further such presumption.

He then travelled through the high mountains around there and came to Cosenza. Since the inhabitants of that district were disobedient to the duke, for three days he ravaged their vines and olive trees, and then went to Arata. There, after consulting his advisers, he released his army for a brief period, ordering that everyone should return home and prepare for the expedition to Malta. In fifteen days time they should meet up with him at Capo Scalambri, where he had ordered his fleet to gather. Nature has made this port different from others, so that if someone experiments by taking a reed or other such hollow vessel one cubit into the sea from the shore, and fixes it into the seabed, to the depth only of a palm, but high enough so that its top is above the waves (indeed as far as one likes), then, although the sea is very salty, you will see absolutely fresh and drinkable water boiling up on high from the vessel. On the appointed day, in the month of July, a great army from all over Sicily and Calabria gathered, and that evening the count hastened to board the ships.

While the fleet was being prepared, the count's son Jordan had thought that his father would not really go to Malta, but would delegate the task of leading the fleet there to him. However when he boarded ship the count summoned him, and ordered that he remain to guard Sicily, along with certain men he had personally chosen. Jordan was not to enter any town or *castrum* until he himself had returned from Malta, but was to live in tented accommodation somewhere in Sicily, and support the invasion by being ready to go to his assistance should this be necessary. Hearing his father telling him to do something very different from what he had thought, he was quite astonished, and tried to dissuade his father from the course of action he had outlined. He proclaimed tearfully that it would rather be better - if it was pleasing to his father - that he, being young, should be given this task, while his father should enjoy the benefits of rest and relax after his many labours like a man receiving the rewards of old age; it would be less harmful if he, a young man of little worth, perished in this very hazardous enterprise than a man of such authority and wisdom. The count was furious at his son's words. He replied that nobody, whether a son or anyone else over whom he ruled, should dare in future to inflict upon him so many public insults, and as

he wished to be first in owning and granting property so it was only right that he should be the foremost in acquiring it.

So, while many remained behind and were then moved to tears by their pious affection, the count took ship. With trumpets sounding on his order and many other sorts of musical instrument playing, depending on the skills of the player, the anchors were raised and after careful preparation they set sail: on the second day, with the help of a favourable wind, they reached Malta. The count's ship had sailed faster than the others and was the first to reach land. He and thirteen knights disembarked, mounted their horses and attacked the great host of the local inhabitants which had come to the shore to meet them and bar their way. The count killed a number of them, the rest fled, and he pursued them for a considerable distance, cutting down the stragglers. Returning from the pursuit in the evening, he lodged that night on the sea shore with the rest of his army.

At daybreak the next morning he marched to the town and laid siege to it, sending out foraging parties all over the island. Neither the Caid who ruled over the town and the island, nor his fellow citizens, were accustomed to military activities, and they were terrified by the presence of their enemies. They requested, of their own free will, a safe conduct so that they might come and discuss matters with the count: he agreed and they came to his tent to ask him for peace terms. [To begin with] they talked around the subject, but finally they realised that they could not deceive this shrewd prince. At the count's request they first of all released the large number of Christian prisoners whom they held within the town, and they offered the count horses and mules, all the weapons they had, and a huge sum of money. They specified what annual payment they would make, promised that the town would be obedient to the count, made oaths according to their law, and bound themselves to him. The Christian prisoners left the city, shedding tears of joy and moved to the depths of their hearts by their freedom, holding crosses in their right hands made of wood or reeds, whatever each of them found first, singing the *Kyrie Eleyson*, and [then] flung themselves at the count's feet. Seeing this, our men were bathed in floods of tears by such a pious sight. Having thus bound the city to himself, the count took the prisoners away and embarking them on the ships made a speedy, if very anxious, return, for the weight of the captives was

such that he was afraid of sinking. But the right hand of God, so we believe, was revealed in this event, supporting the ships on the waves and bearing them a cubit higher in the ocean, as if they weighed less than on the outward journey.

As he hurried home across the sea, he saw away in the distance an island called Gozo, and he turned his sails in that direction with the intention of conquering it. Landing there, he attacked and ravaged it: knowing that by this means he would secure its surrender and place it under his lordship. From there he sailed safely on to Sicily, bringing back with him a huge haul of booty for his faithful subjects who awaited him. He also brought back the prisoners whom he had rescued from their captivity. Gathering them all together, he set them free, and offered those who wished to remain with him in Sicily a village which he would have built at his own expense at a place of their choosing, and for which he would provide everything necessary for its endowment, also at his own expense: it would be called 'Villafranca', that is a free village, which would be exempted from all tribute or servile exaction in perpetuity. Those who wanted to see their own fields and friends once more he gave permission to go where they pleased, allowing them supplies throughout his lands and free passage across the Straits of Messina. The latter joyfully rendered thanks to God and the count for their freedom, and then they all returned home through a number of different countries, depending on where their native lands were, enhancing the count's reputation far and wide.

(17) In the year 1091, enraged with the prolonged rebellion of the inhabitants of Cosenza, Duke Roger raised an army from all over Apulia, and brought his brother Bohemond with him, intending to go there to besiege the town in the month of May. He requested his uncle the Count of Sicily to come there, without fail, to bring him help. Because of his affection for his nephew, the count raised many thousand Saracens from every part of Sicily and, bringing with him a strong force of knights, at once journeyed to the place where he had been asked to go.

Hearing that their enemies were marching against them, the people of Cosenza fortified themselves with a rampart and wall, prepared their weapons and the equipment they needed for its defence, carried foodstuffs into the town, and encouraged each other to

resist rather than to surrender. The duke and count met each other at Cosenza and blockaded the town on every side. The duke set up his siege operations on the plain; the count climbed the mountains, taking the sector where the task was greater and the enemy more threatening, and ordered his men to ring the town with their siege-castles. On the prince's instructions, the people of Cosenza were encircled and cut off by a rampart and palisades, which entirely prevented them from entering or leaving and denied them the chance of bringing anything in. So there was unceasing conflict and a fierce struggle. But the defenders of Cosenza relied principally on slingshots and arrows: they thought it dangerous to get to close quarters and exchange sword thrusts with our men.

The count meanwhile made every conceivable effort both to persuade the enemy to surrender and (more often) to discourage them by force of arms; he devoted himself to his men, encouraged them, went everywhere, left nothing undone that could be done, was at the head of his men in battle and the last to retreat, and by his example and attention to duty he made everyone more zealous. Seeing the count's unslackening determination and losing hope of driving their enemies from their territory, the people of Cosenza discussed the matter among themselves and made plans for the surrender of the town, provided that they could secure pardon from the duke and count for the offence which they had caused by their rebellion. Because they knew the count to be the wiser and more sensible man, on whose instructions everything was organised, they first ventured a humble request to him for his advice, for they knew that nothing would be done without him. They then promised that they would be ruled by that advice, without fraud or doing him any harm where it could be avoided. He heard their petition and, being always a pious man and a lover of peace, he then arranged matters wisely, so that the duke obtained the city to rule as he wished and the people of Cosenza were genuinely reconciled to the duke's grace.

Having acquired the city through the advice and valour [*strenuitas*] of his uncle, and before releasing his army, the duke established a stone citadel within the upper town, to discourage the citizens from any such presumption in future. He also assigned half the town of Cosenza to the count, as a reward for the service which he had rendered to him. So in the

month of July the expedition was dissolved, and the duke went to Apulia while the count left for Sicily.

The count built a citadel in his part too; and so arranged matters that since the city was now held in common, more than half came to the duke, although to begin with he had possessed the revenues from the whole town without sharing them.

(18) After these events, since we promised that we would write down in chronological order everything that was done or happened as it really occurred, the course of events forbids us to omit a dreadful cause of sorrow to Sicily and Calabria; although to many in the present time recalling this same event to their memory might seem burdensome, as though renewing the sorrow. Indeed there are some who were so affected by the fact that we mention, that were what happened to be recounted in their presence they could not refrain from tears, as if what we describe had just occurred.

The count's son Jordan was popular with everyone because of his valour [*strenuitas*] - and many people conjectured that he was the count's heir, since Geoffrey had been afflicted by leprosy [*morbus elephantinus*], and the count had no other male child. But he was struck down by a fever at Syracuse, a city under his jurisdiction. When his father was told about this, he hastened to get there before he died, but the disease grew worse, and Jordan's last moment arrived faster than did his father.

The count entered the city, and as he saw his son's funeral rites he was seized with unbearable sadness. All those who were with him shared his grief and broke into tearful lamentation. Many were moved to tears much more by the father's grief than by Jordan's death. The whole city resounded to tearful wailing, to such an extent that it caused tears even among the Saracens, the enemies of our race, not indeed out of real love, but rather because of kindly emotions stirred when they saw the sadness afflicting our people. The count ordered the proper funeral ceremonies and brought his son's body to Troina, there to be solemnly buried in the portico of the church of St. Nicholas. He conferred many gifts on this church, and on others as well, for the redemption of his soul. This was in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1092.

However, the citizens of Pantalica, a town which had formerly been under Jordan's rule, were vainly filled with joy when they heard the news of his death, for they had feared him greatly, and they insolently rose up in rebellion, trying in vain to throw off the yoke of our race. After burying his son, the count delayed no further and, accompanied only by his household, went to lay siege to them, ordering an army from the whole of Sicily to follow him there. He overcame them by force, hanged the ringleaders of this ridiculous enterprise, imposed various punishments on the others and quelled the mad folly of this town.

(19) Deprived of his son by mortal illness, the bereaved father,
Lest he lament, lacking the joy of parenthood,
Is blessed with an offspring. As if blooming by heavenly provision,
The mother's joyful womb is made fruitful, swells and becomes heavy:
The child grows as the birth approaches.
Father and mother both pray to God that it will be a boy.
While his seed is growing, he makes all sorts of vows.
Let the foetus now be safe within the mother's belly!
After nine months of expectancy, the womb hastens to give fruit.
A child is plucked forth: nobody is sad, all are joyful.
The nurses are happy at the breaking of the waters.
The announcement that a boy is born brings forth new joy!
The mother hears it and rejoices, there is no need for sorrow;
They hasten and announce the joyful news to the happy father!
Who claps his hands, rejoicing that his prayers are answered.
He grants requests, and rewards the messenger with rich presents,
He orders more such gifts, and is pleased to be generous to the poor.
Let the pain of death, once heavy and strong, from the loss of a son
Be softened and forgotten by hope with this joyful birth.
At the font, as his brow is anointed with chrism, he is named Simon,
The count has an heir: a future duke is furnished for Sicily.
The Calabrians choose for themselves to be subject to his sword.
And since it is given to him to be a father, he fulfils his every vow.

(20) Duke Roger, meanwhile, had a wife named Adela, of outstandingly noble birth, the niece of King Philip of the French and the daughter of Robert, marquis of the Flemings, whom they called 'the Frisian'. By her he was the father of two children. In the year from the Incarnation of the Word 1093 he was stricken by fever at Melfi, a town in Apulia, and lay gravely ill. His sickness grew worse, and now his life hung by a thread. The most learned doctors in those parts were present, but he was so far out of his senses, and the case was so unusual, that there was no symptom, neither pulse nor urine nor any other indication, which allowed the doctors to diagnose his illness. Since even the doctors appeared to despair of him, the news of this event, implying that he was already dead, caused mayhem throughout Apulia and Calabria.

At that time Bohemond was dwelling in Calabria. When he heard, and all too easily believed, the rumour that his brother had just died, he seized the *castra* which were under his brother's rule, and persuaded them to join in sworn alliance with him. He realised that if his brother was really dead, something he professed himself reluctant to accept, they would remain faithful subjects to him, saving their fealty to his brother's legal heirs, and until the latter came of age they would acknowledge him as the land's legitimate ruler as the 'faithful' uncle of these heirs. But, hearing that he had done this, Count Roger was moved to anger that he had dared to do such a thing without consulting him, fearing that although he had apparently received this fealty honestly, in fact he was concealing falsehood behind his fancy words and that in the future, driven by ambition, he would try some sort of deceitful scheme against his nephews. Telling his men to pursue him, he drove him right out of Calabria.

(21) Many who heard the rumour of the duke's death brazenly rose up and tried to snatch for themselves property which belonged to the duke. Among these was William de Grantmesnil, who was consumed by greed and fell headlong into insolence by seizing Rossano, a Calabrian town which he said belonged to him, because he had married the duke's sister, Guiscard's daughter Mabilia, and thus ought to have a share in the inheritance. So because of the powerlessness of his heirs, everybody showed how great their loyalty was

to those heirs by taking away and usurping for themselves what was rightfully the property of the duke.

But after being delirious and out of his senses for a long time, the duke recovered consciousness and, quite against the expectation of his doctors, began to get better. He grew stronger every day, and eventually made a full recovery. Bohemond heard of this and with great presence of mind hurried to Melfi, where he knew his brother to be, to congratulate him on the restoration of his health. He returned the *castra* which he had bound to himself, and showed that what he had formerly done had not been done with any evil intentions.

However William de Grantmesnil, shamefully led astray by his greed, made no effort to come, either to congratulate his lord on his recovery or to return the town which he had seized; instead he made a brazen display of his treachery, fortifying the town as best he could and arming himself against the duke, in case the latter tried to attack him. Count Roger was very annoyed about this. However, as a wise man - and since William was married to his niece - he encouraged him, through an envoy he sent, to seek reconciliation with his lord by surrendering the city. But when soft words had no effect his anger knew no bounds, and he swore that not only would he take from him the city which he had so wickedly seized, but he would also confiscate everything which he had up to that time held from the duke, and disinherit him.

(22) So as a result he urged the duke to launch an expedition against William, to take revenge for the injury which had been done to him. An army was raised, and in the year from the Saviour's Incarnation 1094 they both went to besiege Castrovillari. William however claimed against them this excuse for his treachery, that, when he had first been received within the town by its inhabitants, he had undertaken on oath to them, without foreseeing the consequences, that he would never surrender the city to anyone except the duke's son Louis, and since the latter was only a little boy, this [was to be done] in ten years' time. This implied that his breach of the fealty which he had sworn to the duke was a matter of less consequence and shame than the oath which he had sworn to perjured and treacherous men! So greed and ambition, and the evil counsels of his wife, had blinded the young man's mind, and seduced him away from the true and honest path.

The duke raised a large force of cavalry and infantry from all over Apulia, and his brother Bohemund came to help him with the people of Taranto, Otranto and the other places belonging to him, and he then moved into the Val di Crati, towards Castrovillari. The count brought many thousand Saracens from Sicily, together with a large force of Christian cavalry and infantry from Calabria, and made haste to meet his nephew there.

Realising that these men of authority had joined together against him and were threating to besiege him, William de Grandmesnil prepared to defend himself as best he could. But while he strove to secure help from every side, and although it is usual for young men willingly to involve themselves in, and indeed actively to seek out, such activity through a desire to gain a military reputation, they were so afraid of the anger of the count and duke that they were reluctant to join him, despite promises of great rewards. This was especially the case since they very much feared that fortune would be against him because he was at fault, and this would rebound against him to his disgrace.

When the count arrived in the Val di Crati, the duke supported him. He went to the *castrum* called S. Marco and received its surrender, making an agreement with the citizens that they would never, while the count lived, return it to William. Then he went on to Rossano, for since William had caused offence there by taking the sons of the leading citizens as hostages, the inhabitants were by means his supporters. However a year earlier, on the death of the Greek archbishop, the duke had caused a Latin successor to be elected, against the wish of the Greeks who were in the majority in that town. Since the election of the Latin had not yet been confirmed by consecration, it was now quashed, and the duke conceded that they might freely elect an archbishop from heir own Greek race; hence he obtained their support and they surrendered the town to him. But William's supporters defended the citadel against his attacks, and he was unable to capture it.

The count and his army arrived, and the duke, who had already made significant gains, was overjoyed. The count set up his camp next to the *castrum* of Tarsia, above the river which flows on to S. Marco, where the duke had already pitched his tents. William came here on the count's invitation, after being promised a safe conduct to the meeting. He used all sorts of excuses to justify his treacherous conduct and his retention of what he had

seized, but once again was unable to get his own way, faced with the counter-arguments of men of good sense. He was persuaded, on the count's advice, to offer restitution to the duke. The duke however demanded his legal rights, maintaining that before William was reconciled to him he should acknowledge the duke's jurisdiction, which he had for a long time defied, as defined by his oath and promise of fealty, and be judged by the count and the other prudent men who were present. William was aware of his guilt, and afraid that the judgement would weigh heavily upon him. When he refused, he was given permission to leave and returned safely to Castrovillari.

The next morning the duke and count, along with their whole army, followed him and laid siege to the *castrum*, blockading it on every side with their troops and a palisade. By preventing any access or anything being brought in, they made Castrovillari's inhabitants, who had very little food within the walls, suffer. After three weeks of enemy pressure they were in a bad way, having exhausted what they had to eat. William then promised to do what he had been previously asked and acknowledge the duke's jurisdiction, requesting that he might be allowed to do this. In fulfillment of this, since he did not have guarantors for a plea in the duke's court, he placed in pledge the *castra* he held from him, which would remain in the duke's power until the appointed day when the legal case was heard. The count guaranteed that, should he win the case, his *castra* would be returned to him. On the day when the case was to be heard, they foregathered at the chosen place, and the duke outlined his charges against William. The latter was clearly in the wrong, and after a few speeches it was judged by those there that what he held from the duke should be confiscated. While he tried to dispute the verdict, he had very little chance, or law on his side. His lands were confiscated, and he and his wife travelled to the Emperor of Constantinople; there he remained for a while, before finally returning with a large sum of money, and being reconciled with the duke - a gentle and merciful man. He then recovered the land he had lost, except for the *castrum* of S. Marco.

(23) After quarrels had raged between Pope Urban and Henry, the Emperor of the Germans, various disputes arose between Henry's son Conrad and his father, which are too long to discuss in full here. Conrad angrily abandoned his father and went to the pope and

to the Marchioness Matilda, who was the latter's faithful supporter, urgently seeking their assistance for the rebels in Italy. Since he was young and unmarried, and he lacked the financial resources needed for the project he had begun, on the advice of the pope and the said Marchioness Matilda he sent Count Conrad to act as his envoy in asking that a daughter of the Count of Sicily and Calabria be given to him in marriage. The pope also sent a letter to the count, as his *familiaris* and friend, to secure this, urging him to grant the request and saying that it would be to his great honour and future profit if his daughter was to be united in marriage to the king's son; that the young man was a faithful servant of the Roman Church, but lacked the finances to oppose the father who was unjustly fighting against him. Endowed with the resources that a father ought to give to a son, he would be strong enough to defeat the enemies of the Holy Church of God.

On receiving this embassy and having read through the pope's letter in its support, the count consulted his trusted advisers [*fideles*], and particularly Bishop Robert of Troina, from whom he sought all his information about Conrad, for the bishop was an Italian and well-informed about that area. Then he granted what was requested, and had what was to occur confirmed by oaths from both sides. Once the day of the marriage was decided, Count Conrad hurried back whence he had come, weighed down with many gifts from Count Roger; and rushed to announce the results of his embassy to his eager lord, who rejoiced greatly that the marriage had been agreed. After everything had been prepared which was needed for this ceremony, Count Roger then had his daughter, richly endowed with valuable treasures, brought to Pisa by the Bishop of Troina and other barons, accompanied by a substantial fleet; there the king's son met her and gave her a most honourable reception, the dowry was handed over and the marriage celebrated, in the year from the Incarnation of the Word 1095.

(24) Duke Roger was still young and had no suspicions against anybody, but judged the minds of others by the honesty of his own heart. So he treated Lombards equally with Normans, since he himself was from the former people on his mother's side, and believing them faithful to him did not notice their dislike of our race, thus he entrusted castles to them to guard just as he did to Normans. Hence it happened that without thought for himself he

did this at Amalfi, and so the inhabitants did as they liked with the town, and with the castle which Guiscard had built there to restrain their treacherous behaviour. Given every opportunity to exercise their deceit, they threw off the yoke of our race and of the duke, since he was the principal agent of our rule, paid neither the tribute nor the service agreed, and when the duke himelf went to their city they expelled all those faithful to him and arrogantly denied him entry.

Seeing what harm this had brought upon him, Duke Roger now regretted his former trust in them, and sought the advice of the count and of his other advisers as to how to subjugate them. Thus he granted his uncle the count a half share of the city in return for his very substantial help, if they were able to conquer it. An army of knights and a fleet was raised from all over Apulia and Calabria, and he hastened there most eagerly with a large force of infantry, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1096. They laid siege to the city on every side, blockading it from the sea with their ships, and carefully arranging the cavalry and infantry along the steep mountains which surrounded it, doing this on the instructions and through the work of the count. The city was so closely pressed that they would, so we think, have certainly captured it had there not occurred an unfortunate event, details of which we shall outline below.

Bohemond had been summoned by the duke, and gave the appearance of coming to his assistance, although in fact he did him more harm than good. However we do not think that this was on purpose. For in that same year, on the instructions of Pope Urban, an expedition to Jerusalem was recruited on a massive scale from every land. Bohemond had previously, along with his father Guiscard, invaded Romania, and had always wanted to conquer it for himself. Seeing a great multitude of people travelling through Apulia but lacking a leader, he hastened there, and wishing to be the army's leader and to make them his followers, he placed the badge of this expedition, namely the cross, on his garments.

The warlike young men of the whole army, both from the duke's part and the count's, were keen on anything new as is the custom nowadays, and when they saw Bohemond's cross and were summoned by him to follow his example, they eagerly flocked to do so. Hence they assumed the cross, and immediately bound themselves by a vow to make no

further attack on any Christian land until they had reached the land of the pagans. Seeing the greater part of their army desert them in this way, the duke and the count sadly disbanded the expedition; and so the city which had been so weakened as to be close to surrender was saved by this unfortunate occurrence. Bohemond crossed the sea, the duke retired to Apulia, the count returned to Sicily, and the Amalfitans rejoiced at the lifting of the siege.

(25) Meanwhile King Coleman of the Hungarians had heard of the reputation of Roger, the glorious count of the Sicilians, and sent envoys requesting that he might be granted his daughter in marriage. Although the men who had come on this mission were respectable enough, the count sent them politely away. But lest the matter miscarry entirely, he sent with them some of his own men with a message that, if the king wished to complete what he had set in motion, he should send to confirm the proposal other men of greater rank and authority, whose words would carry greater conviction. The king was very keen to carry out this project, and so he [now] sent Bishop Arduin of Györ and Count Thomas to negotiate on this issue. The count gave them an honourable reception, keeping them with him while he despatched trustworthy and experienced men from among those at Palermo, to secure sworn confirmation from the most important men of that country that what had been requested would be fulfilled. The king willingly agreed to this, and confirmed through oaths by his duke, Alivus, and all the other men of high rank that all the terms that he had suggested would be fulfilled. He then rewarded the count's envoys and sent them back to announce that the agreement was confirmed. On receiving his men's report, the count detained the king's envoys no further and after rewarding them generously sent them away, informing the king of the date when he would despatch his daughter to him.

So in May of the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1097, when all the preparations needed had been made, he sent Bishop Henry of Nicastro and some of his *fideles*, along with three hundred knights, to Termini, to accompany the girl from there by sea to Palermo. There she and the large wedding party boarded the ships which had been made ready and set sail. A favourable wind blew and they were borne across the sea until they arrived safely at the port of Zara, which is under the rule of the King of Hungary.

There Vincurius, the Count of Belgrade, who had been sent with five thousand armed men, met them. He received the girl and those who accompanied her in the proper manner and escorted them to the king.

The king's marriage was proclaimed throughout Hungary [*Pannonia*], and men flocked in from every region with tribute. It was the king's custom always to be accompanied by a large and numerous following, but the news of the marriage and a wish to see the new queen brought together an even greater crowd than usual. On the chosen day the girl's dowry was publically exhibited, as was the royal custom, and in the presence of archbishops, bishops and persons of every rank the king and queen were betrothed to each other in the catholic manner. The marriage ceremonies were celebrated in tents and huts made from green boughs, for no building was large enough to contain such a multitude. After the nuptials had been performed according to royal custom, the king had the Bishop of Nicastro and those who had come with him remain at his court for some time before they journeyed home, but when he saw that they were anxious to return he generously rewarded them and allowed them to leave. They went to the port and made haste to go home by sea.

They were already close to our people's shores and could see the coast in the distance when the bishop's ship, on which there were virtually no armed men, was attacked by two pirate ships, of the type called galleys. The sailor who steered the ship was hit by a javelin and killed, and with the steering oar unmanned the ship was in danger of sinking. The bishop lacked warriors to protect him but had no intention of surrendering to the enemy, so he prayed for the help of God and encouraged his companions. While he was doing this, he said, among other things, 'God, if because of my sins I do not really deserve a favourable hearing, at least grant me this through the grace which you have so many times in the past shown to Tancred's descendants! For I am in this dangerous situation in the service of his son!' As soon as he had said this, the wind blew, his ship was carried away from the enemy and they were saved, seeing their ship, even though it lacked a helmsman, carried by the speeding waves over the water at high speed on a direct path to a nearby island, going faster than the enemy ships which were following it using their sails and oars. Thus they were guided, so we believe, by the direct intervention of the Almighty, to gain a quiet harbour

safely, even though this harbour has a narrow and dangerous entrance, thick with sandbanks, and allows access to the island only when a ship is guided in by experienced sailors. The disappointed enemy retired, and they sailed on over a favourable sea in the direction they wanted until they came to the count, to whom they recounted what had happened to them.

Who will doubt that this family was divinely endowed with such success, since in all the endeavours which have been described in the present work they had a happy and successful outcome, and this good fortune was not denied to those faithful to them when they were acting on their behalf? Indeed, when this favour was invoked, their ship was rescued from the attacks of their enemies.

(26) The count was now the protector of all his family, excelling everyone in the sea-girt peninsula from Rome to Sicily in his wealth, his intelligence and his wise counsel, thus everyone entrusted their affairs to him, to be restored by the count's wisdom, as iron is by a grindstone, sensibly trusting in his dispositions, and, where necessary, relying on his help. Thus he furnished them with the shield of his protection and counsel, like a hen keeping its chicks under its wing, and as a kindly benefactor he aided them all by both deed and advice in all sorts of matters.

An example of this came when Prince Jordan died, leaving his son Prince Richard the younger of Aversa still a minor. Through the treachery of the Lombards he was unjustly deprived of the city of Capua, but when he had reached the age of majority, knowing the injury which had been done to him and unhappy about this, he determined to exact revenge from those who had caused it. He sent experienced men to his relative the count, humbly entreating him to hasten to his assistance along with those who served him, granting him in return possession [3] of Naples, which had similarly rebelled against him, if he were to be successful. Meanwhile the duke, who looked kindly upon the cause of his relation the prince, sent from his side an envoy of no less importance than his wife Adela, daughter of the Marquis of Flanders, asking him not to delay but to come with his army and bring him as much help as possible. For in order to secure the assistance for which he hoped from the

duke, the prince had become the latter's vassal [*homo*]; something which Guiscard, with all his power and cunning, had never been able to secure from his nephew Prince Jordan either by force or persuasion, even though he was his uncle and he had made a great many efforts to do so.

The count was moved by consideration for his relative the prince, and persuaded by the arguments of the duchess, who as the duke's envoy humbly entreated him at some length. He raised an army from all over Sicily and Calabria, on a scale never previously equalled, crossed the Straits in the first week of April, the second after Easter, and hastened to them. He did however halt for some time in the plain of San Marco to give his army a breather after the sea crossing and the journey through a rocky and mountainous area, realising that the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and goats on the high mountains of Calabria could be used to sustain the Saracens who formed the major part of his army; as one can indeed remember if one reads, or certainly one can learn from anybody, a similar sort of division was made of the flocks of Laban by Jacob. [4] Who could have counted the thousands of armed men when the army was mustered, while their tents, clad in pitch, could have sheltered almost any number? With an even more imposing army than usual, the count then directed his attention towards the frontiers of Apulia, not least because the Apulians had not made any expeditions for quite a few years, and had once again to accustom their bodies to the burdens and to the hard and lengthy work of such expeditions rather than trying to exhaust themselves through the pursuits of leisure, or rather self indulgence. As a result they were disobedient to the duke, as though at that time they had no ruler at all; a number of places had revolted against him, and becoming insolent, they refused to obey his orders. For the very same reason the duke assumed that he would not direct his march into Apulia, although he himself had no more urgent wish, and went in haste to Calabria to persuade him in person to do this. He met him at Lisco, near the *castrum* of Oriolo, as marched towards Apulia, and both of them were very glad to see each other. The duke then force-marched with his army in the direction of Melfi, while to avoid their flocks running short the count took the road to Benevento. Arriving there, he pitched camp on the plain on

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[3] *fiducialiter concedens*, the phrase implies a lease or temporary possession, not ownership.
[4] *Genesis* xxx.33-6.

the bank of the River Calore, next to the bridge of San Valentino. The Beneventans were terrified by his arrival, and for three days came out to meet him seeking peace. The count received six men on foot offering one thousand five hundred gold coins [*aurei*], and knowing that the city belonged to Pope Urban and the Holy Roman Church, he announced that he would spare the town and its crops. He then crossed over the River Sabato, pitched his tents and celebrated Pentecost.

He had already sent some distinguished men as envoys to the Capuans, to advise and persuade them to abandon the course that they had undertaken: he did not wish to do them any harm, rather to look after their interests if he could do so justly, provided that *they* were prepared to follow the dictates of justice towards their prince. But when the envoys returned he heard how the Capuans had been quite unmoved, preferring to remain arrogantly attached to their evil ways. He then moved off and invaded Capuan territory, and going ahead of his army with a thousand men-at-arms he arrived at the city early in the morning; many of the inhabitants were lured outside and overthrown in combat, these he treated with contumely, and he wounded many others, until the dust raised by the horses' hooves, stirred up into a dense cloud by the wind, got in the way. So he returned to his camp, and next morning he and his whole army moved closer to the town, laying siege to it on the south side, blockading it from the eastern arm of the river to the western. With the duke and the prince besieging it with their army from the northern side, they brought the city under heavy pressure. Everyone was guided by the count's advice since he was always most watchful and prudent in arranging matters. He had a wooden bridge built and placed across the river and by making this crossing enabled there to be free communication between his army and that of the duke.

The town was thus so closely hemmed in by the two armies that nothing was alllowed to taken either out or in, either from the land or by water. The count rose every morning before dawn, crossed the bridge and made a tour of inspection around the outposts of both the armies, checking whether they were alert. Finding the duke and the prince still asleep he made fun of them. At this they were filled with embarrassment because they were the young men, and the ones to whom the matter was of particular concern, but they were slothful

while the count showed himself the more vigilant, despite his much greater age, the austere conditions and hard work. For his watchfulness was admired by the whole army, and by his example he rendered everybody more vigilant. This was in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1098.

Here he made Countess Adelaide pregnant with Count Roger.

(27) While these events were taking place, Pope Urban wanted to have a meeting with the duke and the count, and so he travelled from Rome and arrived at Capua as they were busy with the siege. The count set aside six tents to accommodate him and provided supplies and money on a most generous scale. The pope knew the texts: 'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace' (*Romans*, x.15), and 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God' (*Matthew*, v.9); and that elsewhere it is written: 'Live in peace, and the God of love and peace will be with you' (*II Corinthians*, xiii.11). Above all he knew that to his provision had been entrusted care for the whole of Christendom. So he summoned first the duke and the count, along with the prince, and began the discussions about making a peace between them and the Capuans. On the count's advice they made a reasonable reply, conceding that the matter should receive legal judgement in the pope's presence, since as they rightly said he was St. Peter's deputy, provided that the Capuans were prepared to abide by the same terms.

The pope went into the city to request a similar concession from the Capuans, and when it had been agreeed by both parties, announced this, rejoicing in the hope of making peace (though his hopes were to be in vain). The day for the hearing was decided. There each side put forward their arguments and the other replied as they saw fit, but the judges gave their considered legal verdict firmly against the Capuans. Hearing the judgement go against them, the Capuans declared publicly that they were the injured party, using both reasoned argument against the judges and flatly contradicting them, and they announced that they were both unwilling and unable to accept the verdict. Hearing this, and since they refused to abide by this verdict, the pope was rather embarrassed, and threatened them with the sword of St. Peter. He declared himself to be entirely on the side of our men, praised above all the steadfastness of the count in the maintenance of justice, and said that he

needed him for every important matter in Rome and Italy. For fear of the count, rather than enthusiasm for virtue, restrained many people from arrogant behaviour.

The pope was however more concerned with ecclesiastical matters than with military operations. He abandoned these many and distressing disputes, granted the three princes and their whole army his Apostolic blessing and retired to Benevento.

(28) The count, duke and prince continued the siege of the city in a very determined manner, and prepared most ingenious siege-engines to storm it. At first the Capuans made fun of this, encouraging each other through this mockery to continue the defence, although they made offers to surrender the city to either the duke or the count if the latter were prepared to keep it for themselves. But these most noble princes had no intention of being any party to such a deceitful scheme, and would not agree to a surrender unless it was made to the prince. However, when the Capuans saw that the siege-engines, which they had at first ridiculed, were completed and being moved up towards their city, they were horrified. On the count's advice they sent messages offering to surrender the town, and with him as the go-between there was no chance of any deceit being practised. The city of Capua was restored to the prince to do with as he wished, for which he thanked the duke and the count. These two then both left for Salerno, while once he had made the city subject to his will the prince triumphantly took up residence in its highest tower.

(29) Hearing that the city had been surrendered and that peace had been made between the contending parties, the pope rejoiced, both in the crushing of treachery and in the restoration of peace. Since he had also heard that the duke and count had retired to Salerno, and he was anxious to talk to the count before the latter returned to Sicily, he hurried off there. He arrived with the archbishops at [the cathedral of?] St. Matthew, and there waited to be welcomed with the proper honours and procession. However, because he had such a friendly regard for the count, he went first to have an informal meeting with him at his lodging, had a long talk with him, and then went to be formally received by the ceremonial procession which he was expecting.

They met again the next day, and greatly enjoyed a long discussion with each other. Now the pope had previously, and without consulting the count, appointed Bishop Robert of Troina as his legate in Sicily to enforce the law of the Holy Roman Church. Realising that the count was much offended by this action and that there was no way that it could remain in force, and also recognising that the count himself was extraordinarily zealous and devout in dealing with matters ecclesiastical, he cancelled what he had done with regard to the Bishop of Troina and appointed the count to hold the legation of St. Peter over the the whole of Sicily and that part of Calabria which was under his rule, to be held on a hereditary basis. This was done on condition that, during the count's own lifetime or that of any of his heirs who should retain the paternal zeal in addressing Church affairs, no other legate should be appointed by the Roman See without their permission, and that, while they were exercising the authority of the Roman Church, any documents sent by the Roman see to Sicily or Calabria should be examined as to their validity by them, on the advice of the bishops of those same provinces. If these bishops were in future to be invited to a council, the count and his future heirs should decide how many and which bishops should be sent there, except when there was some matter concerning themselves being discussed in this council which could not be decided in Sicily or Calabria in their presence. And he decreed that this privilege granted on his authority should remain inviolate in perpetuity; we give the text of his decree below.

'Bishop Urban, servant of the servants of God to his dearest son Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily, greeting and apostolic benediction. Since Heavenly Majesty has exalted your prudence with many triumphs and honours, and your probity has greatly expanded the church of God in Saracen lands, and has always showed itself, in many ways, devoted to the Apostolic See, we have considered [you] as a special and most dear son of this same Universal church. Thus, trusting in the sincerity of your probity, as we have promised verbally so we now confirm by written authority: that during your lifetime, that of your son Simon or that of any other legitimate heir who shall be left to you, we shall appoint no legate of the Roman Church for the territory under your rule without your advice and consent, nor shall we act through a legate, rather we wish you through your industry to function instead of a legate, on occasions when we shall send word to you from our side,

namely for the safety of those churches which lie under your authority, to the honour of St. Peter and the Apostolic See, to which you have been up to now devotedly obedient, and which you have manfully and faithfully helped in its moments of need. If then a council shall be celebrated, we shall inform you when you should send bishops and abbots from your land to me; [but] you shall send however many and whomsoever you wish, retaining the others for the service and care of [their] churches. May Almighty God direct your deeds for his benefit and lead you freed from your sins to eternal life.

Dated at Salerno by the hand of John, deacon of the Holy Roman Church, 5th July, 7th [year] in the indiction, 11th of the pontificate of Urban II'.