

PAPAL SOURCES:

① Anonymous Entry in Papal Catalogue of Leo IX

With his admonition and preaching, Leo removed all of the Normans and the Franks who dwelled in the region of Apulia so as to destroy their pride, for their pride had grown to such an extent that they placed all of that region under their dominion, leaving the vicars of blessed Peter with nothing there under their own jurisdiction or dominion. *After the victory had been won* and all of the land had been handed over to Leo's dominion, the confessor of Christ returned to the city [of Rome] and passed on to Christ.¹

② Letter by Pope Leo IX to the Emperor on the Norman Threat

an undisciplined and alien people with incredible and unheard of rage, rise up in every direction against the church of God with more than pagan impiety; killing Christians and afflicting many with novel and horrible tortures leading to the very expiration of their lives; sparing, with respect for the fragility of humanity, not infants, old people, or women; despoiling, burning, and tearing down the churches of the saints, recognizing no distinction between the holy and the profane.

③ Wilbert commenting on the Battle of Civitate's aftermath

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tions, and miracles that graced these holy bodies, that they "dispensed with their cruelty and henceforth treated the peoples with whom they lived amicably as compatriots and served the venerable pope faithfully in complete subjection as long as he lived."

④ Bishop Bongio of Sutrin

You will not be able to persuade me to arm myself against the pope. It is evil to believe that the pope could be deposed through your treacheries or those of any others, when he was enthroned by the election of the clerics and acclamation of the Roman people, after the papal throne had become vacant, and was consecrated to the altar of St. Peter by the cardinal bishops.³³

⑤ Oath sworn by Robert Guiscard to Pope Nicholas II

I, Robert, by grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria and, once both of these are subdued, future duke of Sicily, from this hour on will be faithful to the holy Roman church and to you, lord Pope Nicholas. I will not be part of any plan or action from which you might lose either life or limb or be captured with evil deceit. I will not divulge to your injury any counsel with which you have entrusted me and which you have forbidden me to reveal. I will assist the holy Roman church in holding and acquiring the *regalia* of St. Peter and his possessions in so much as I am able against all men. I will help you so that you may securely and honorably hold the Roman papacy and the land and principate of St. Peter, and I will not seek to invade or acquire it, nor will I presume to plunder without your explicit approval or that of your successors, except that which you concede to me or is conceded to me by your successors. I will, with good faith, be diligent about the *pensio* with regard to the land of St. Peter which I hold or will hold, as it has been established, so that the Roman church will have it annually. And I will hand over to your jurisdiction all of the churches that remain under my dominion along with their possessions, and I will be their defender in fidelity to the holy Roman church. And if you or your successors should leave this life before me, I will assist, as I am instructed by the greater cardinals, Roman clerics and laymen, so that a pope can be elected and ordained to the honor of St. Peter. I will observe all of the above written to the holy Roman church and to yourself with good faith, and I will observe this fidelity to your successors, ordained to the honor of St. Peter, who will invest me with what was conceded to me by you. Thus may God and these holy gospels assist me.⁷

⑥ Opening comments at start of Willbert's Life of Leo IX.

It is said that . . . there was a dog in the territory of Apulia that was in the habit of barking out the human words, "*Deus meus*." But is it really so incredible that a brute animal in that region should be invoking the mercy of God in this way, when the religion of Christ has almost perished there and its inhabitants have been subjected to the power of an alien land?⁴⁴

SOURCES from MONTECASSINO:

⑦ Leo, the monastery's librarian, in his 'Chronica monasterii

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A few days later, the count [of the Normans] by the name of Rodulf came to the abbot's *curia* [in San Germano] accompanied by not a few of his soldiers, and, depositing his arms outside the church, he entered it along with his men to pray. Then the men of the

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monastery, seizing the horses and arms [of the Normans], closed the doors of the church and began to ring all the bells at once. Hearing this all the men of the land were frightened, not knowing what had happened and thinking that the Normans had come to capture or kill the abbot. They rushed [to the church] armed with various weapons and, having opened its doors, they entered and attacked the Normans who were armed only with swords. The Normans fled toward the altar, as they tried to defend themselves, imploring in vain the faith of God which they, by demeaning it, had broken. Fifteen of [the Normans] were killed and the rest fled. The count was the only one they took alive. They ordered him confined to the monastery.³⁸

⑧ Amatus of Montecassino, 'Historia Normannorum'

But the devil, armed with subtle malice, was envious of this good beginning of the [Christian] faith and began to consider how to respond to it. And he introduced into the minds of the Christian knights the fire of love [of fame]. And those who had become proud fell. Christ was angered because the knights gave themselves over to the love of fame. Therefore, because of their sins, they lost what they had acquired and were chased out by the Saracens.²⁰

⑨ Amatus recounts a vision experienced by the archbishop of Salerno on the eve of the battle of Civitate

For it has been ordained in the presence of God that whosoever shall oppose the Normans will be put to flight by them; either they will all die or they will suffer great affliction. For this land has been given to the Normans by God. Because of the perversity of those who used to hold it and the paternal ties that God has with the Normans, the just will of God turned the land over to them. For both the law of God and the law of the empire command that the son succeed to the patrimony of the father.⁷⁷

⑩ Anathus describes Richard's visit to Montecassino

He was received with a procession as if he were a king. The church was decorated as if it were Easter. The lamps were lit and the court resounded with songs in praise of the prince. He was led into the chapter and put in place of the abbot, even though he did not want to do this. His feet were washed many times by the abbot who committed to him the care and defense of the monastery. And he was asked by the abbot and by all of the monks to permit no man or enemy to do injury [to the monastery]. He granted peace to the church and promised to wage war against its enemies. He said that he would never be at peace with those who sought to take church property.⁹⁰

⑪ Anathus comments on Robert Guiscard's success:

After taking control of Apulia and Calabria, Robert's honor grew continually. The hand of God aided him in all things. Duke Robert wept for the sins that he had committed in the past and guarded against sinning in either the present or the future. He began to love the church of God and to have reverence for its priests. Now that he was rich, he made amends and satisfaction for those things that he had done while he was poor.¹⁰²

WILLIAM of APULIA

⑫ William offers a warning to Byzantines facing Norman attack:

Be mindful of your ancestors, by whose vigor the entire world was subdued. The arms of Achilles killed mighty Hector. Troy fell, burned with the fire of Mycenaean fury. India knew the magnitude of Philip's vigor. Did not his son, Alexander, subject the strongest kingdoms to the Greeks? In the western regions the fame of the Greeks used to be the terror of the entire world. What people, hearing the name of the Greeks, would dare to stand before them on the battlefield when they could scarcely secure their towns, fortresses, and cities from the power of their armies? Stand strong, I beseech you. Be mindful of your ancestral courage.⁵⁶

⑬ William describes Robert Guiscard in action at Civitate

audaciously rushed with great courage into the very midst of the enemy. He pierced them with his lance, he butchered them with his sword, he struck terrible blows with his strong hands. He fought with both arms, neither his lance nor his sword remaining bloodless, no matter where he directed them. Three times he was knocked off his horse, three times he gathered his strength and returned to the fighting more effectively than before. His furor spurred him on. When a lion, gnashing its teeth and fiercely attacking weaker animals, finds something in his path, it becomes enraged and its kindled anger rouses it against beasts greater in number and size so that it permits none to pass by unhurt, dragging down one, eating another, and scattering those that it is unable to eat, thus afflicting every beast to the point of death. So too Robert did not cease to lay low the Swabians that he met with various forms of slaughter.

⑭ William describes Robert's zeal on the battlefield:

He severed the feet of some, the hands of others; he decapitated one body, and cut open the stomach of another all the way up to the chest; he impaled one opponent through the ribs after cutting off his head; and he rendered large bodies equal in magnitude to smaller ones by cutting them down to size. With his bravery he showed that the palm of victory can be won not only by big men but by small ones as well. In the wake of the battle it was clear that no one there, whether among the victors or the vanquished, had dealt out such great blows.⁷⁷

⑮ Robert's wife grieves following his death:

When she realized that Robert, in whom she as his wife had placed all her hope, was suffering from a fever, she wept, rent her garments, and quickly made her way to him. Seeing that her husband was wasting away and that he had come to the end of his life, she scratched her cheeks with her nails and tore at her disheveled hair, shouting, "O what pain is in store for me, wretched one that I am; where shall I, who am so unfortunate, go? Will not the Pelasgians, having learned of your death, now attack me, your son, and your people, whose only glory, hope, and strength was you, your presence protecting us even when far from home? With you present, no one of your people feared the threats of your enemy, no one feared their attacks. Your encouragement made them safe, no matter how great the number of troops in the opposing battle line. They were unafraid to wage war, having already seen that no earthly power couldly resist you. Behold your son, your wife, and your people, allowed to be seized by wolves, never being safe without you. You were the courage of our people and without you our people cannot be brave."⁸¹