

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.

³ *fiducialiter concedens*, the phrase implies a lease or temporary possession, not ownership.

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 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.

⁴ *Genesis xxx.33-6.*

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 allowed 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 agreed 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 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'.
