

L'Ystoire de li Normant

By Amatus of Montecassino
Translated by Will Dowling

DEDICATION

To the Most Holy and Reverend Master Desiderius, Servant of His Servants

I see in two men, in Richard and in Robert, princes of Normandy, the fulfillment of God's words to King Cyrus of Persia: "To Christ, Cyrus," – that is, to King Cyrus; in much of Scripture kings and priests are called Christ, after their chrismation with holy oil – and then God said through the prophet Isaiah: "To King Cyrus, whose right hand I have taken that he might subdue nations before his face, and to turn the backs of kings; I will go before him, and will humble the most glorious on earth: I will destroy the gate of brass and break the chains of iron; before him I will open the gates and none will be closed before him." And so I see, my Father, most benign Abbot, this word and those that follow are fulfilled in these two princes, and so I have set my will and my heart to write their story. And trust that I tell not only the deeds of men, but also what was conceived by the dispensation of God acting through men. I may be chastised by some who will say: it is not fitting for a monk to write of the battles of laymen. But I am reminded of Paul, a deacon and monk of this monastery from which I come, who wrote the deeds of the Lombards, when they came and remained in Italy; and he was a man learned in life, in science, and in doctrine. And I am reminded too that these great men are generous and devoted to our monastery, and thus merit that someone of this monastery write their deeds into perpetual memory. And yet I am not so bold as to write this without first knowing your will, and only if it pleases you; and that I hear and know that it does not displease you. By your license and blessing, and with all the help of God's grace, I have begun according to what I had in my heart; and the deeds of the Normans, worthy of remembrance, I have recorded in eight distinct volumes. And so that those who seek to read the particulars within this history do not find it burdensome, I have noted chapters within each volume; in all this, Father, I wish your judgment on what I have written. And for myself, to proclaim the grace of God, without whom nothing perfect might be done, before all else, I shall write some verses to seek the aid of His right hand. And know, every man, that nothing is impossible if God is sought with a good heart and righteous prayer; for thus says Jesus Christ, who is truth: whatever you ask in prayer, believe, and it will be given to you.

O God, eternal father, in harmony with the Son and with the Holy Spirit, equal in splendor and glory upon your divine throne; you know the thoughts of men, you command the spring's waters to flow, and the steadfast earth to flower; the sun obeys you, and the moon, which the poets call the sun's sister for it is illuminated by the sun. The vastness of the heavens obey you, and all things upon the earth, all things that fly through the air, and all things that swim in the water. And the dead too obey you, and it is manifest to all men that all temporal things obey you. Spring makes the flower from which all things are born; summer commands men to harvest their fields; autumn brings the harvest; and in winter men sow; and thus is governed the world made by Your hand. You, O holy one! Look upon our actions and see that we do things by which we may be loved, and have merit, and not through harsh deeds do evil that condemns us to Hell. May Your hand strengthen us against so great a weight; I, cast down to the ground for my sins, call upon Your sovereign power.

For, as it is said in the Gospel: the thief, which is sin, has robbed me of good grace, and has wounded my soul, weakening my virtue. Then you carried me to the inn, that is, to the merit of the Holy Church, and took care of me lest I die; and grant me what I ask of you, and make me speak what is true; and make me write what is just.

For you, King, preserve and govern the order of your kingdom, and cast down the proud and raise up the humble; for without you, nothing is worthy, nothing is good in this world. And now, since it is time that I may finish what I have begun, I pray that you bless me, and make me speak such things that your grace may always remain with me. Amen.

This concludes the verse of the Invocation.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIRST BOOK

1. Of the Norman lands, and why they are called Normans.
2. How the Normans spread across the world, and how they treated the people of those lands.
3. How Count William conquered England – and how he vanquished the great multitude sent by the great King of the Danes to the King of England.
4. How the comet star appeared.
5. How by consent of the nobility Robert Crispin was sent to Spain with many diverse peoples, and how he triumphed.
6. How the city of Barbastro was conquered and given to Robert Crispin.
7. How the Christians lost the city and were destroyed.
8. How Robert went to Italy, and then to Constantinople, where he died.
9. How Roussel went to Constantinople.
10. How by the Emperor's actions his mother became a nun, and his wife imprisoned Roussel.
11. How the emperor gave the King of Turkey's daughter to his son and was freed alongside Roussel.
12. How the emperor was captured and ransomed for great riches.
13. How, at Caesar's command, his father's eyes were put out, from which he died.
14. How the emperor's wife was forcibly freed from prison.
15. How Roussel was given as prisoner from the Turks to the Greeks.
16. A defense from the monk who wrote this History regarding how it is ordered.
17. How Salerno was delivered from the Saracens by the Normans who came from prayer at the Holy Sepulchre.
18. How the prince begged the Normans to remain, and offered them money and service – and their answer, that they could not.
19. How the prince sent gifts to Normandy, and asked the Normans to come live in his lands.
20. On the sedition of Gilbert and William, and how Gilbert and his brothers came to Capua.
21. How they entered Apulia and fought five times against the Greeks.
22. How the emperor bought many men with his coin, and how a few Normans fought against them.
23. How later many Normans came to fight and defeated all their enemies.
24. How Melus went to the emperor, and asked him to come to Italy, and there he died.

25. How the emperor entered Italy and went to Troia; and Pilgrim was summoned to take the prince of Capua and the city of Salerno, and how it was delivered and the prince taken.
26. Why the emperor's fury fell on Pandulf.
27. How Abbot Atenolf, while in Constantinople, was drowned at sea – How the emperor made another Pandulf prince of Capua.
28. How he made Theobald abbot of Monte Cassino, and gave him many possessions, and brought back the treasure of the Holy Church.
29. How he had recompense from God for the good he had done – How the emperor fulfilled his promise to Melus through his nephews.
30. How the Normans, seeking to fulfill the king's command, sent Peter and Melus to Marquis Renier.
31. How the Normans conquered a great multitude led by Peter.
32. How the prince of Salerno sent great gifts to Pandulf, and gave him the principality.
33. How Pandulf turned to every evil.
34. How Abbot Theobald fled and lived in the cell of the Holy Liberator, and died there.
35. How Basil was made abbot of Monte Cassino.
36. How he imprisoned Abbot Hilairion of Saint Vincent and Archbishop Anulf.
37. How Hildebrand bastard of the Prince was made an archbishop, and how the ring and crozier were rendered unto him.
38. How Pandulf did evil to the city and to his kin.
39. How he drove Duke Sergius from his own city, and how Sergius reclaimed it. And what was done in Aversa, and how Sergius ceded that city to Rainulf and gave him his sister as a wife.
42. How the honour of the Normans grew, and how Rainulf's wife died.
43. How Rainulf and Pandulf met to talk.
44. How Rainulf took Pandulf's niece in marriage, and made him duke.

Here end the chapter headings and here begins the First Book of the History of the Normans.

BOOK I

1. At the end of France is a plain full of woods and fruits; in this narrow place lived a great multitude of very robust and strong people, which first inhabited an isle called Nora, and for this reason were called Normans, men of Nora; “man” is in the German tongue what we call “homme” in the French. So great was the multitude of people here that neither fields nor trees sufficed for so many people to provide their necessities and thus live.

2. Thus through various parts of the world they spread here and there, into diverse places and countries, for according to the various dispositions of the sky are various regions, which are called climes. And these people departed, leaving behind few to acquire more, and did not follow the custom of many who travel the world, who then serve others; but rather, like the cavalry of ancient times, they wished to have all people in their subjection and lordship. And they took up arms, broke the bonds of peace, and performed great feats of arms and horsemanship; and for this reason we tell you how they spread across the world, and how they made their lives.

3. From this formidable company came Count William, and assembled with him 100,000 horsemen, 10,000 crossbowmen and other foot soldiers beyond number, and took his fleet and sailed to England in the year 1066. And Harold who sat upon the royal seat and throne of England, who had reigned since the death of Edward, the lawful king, was a cursed man. Against him first went William, whose army fought against him, and pierced one of Harold’s eyes with an arrow. They killed many English. And then this aforementioned William was elevated to the royal seat and received a victorious crown; and two years later the king of the Danes, to avenge the king of England, summoned a great multitude of men beyond number; but the Normans vanquished them all.

4. In that year (1066) appeared a marvelous sign for this great adventure and battle that was to come: for the star that is called a comet appeared for many nights, and so bright was its light it shone like the moon. Briefly: this favoured the Normans in battle.

5. And so that the Christian faith might be upheld, and the detestable superstitions of the Saracens might be overcome by the inspiration of God, the king, the count, and the prince agreed in one council. Thus assembled a great multitude, the great knights of the French and Burgundians and others, accompanied by the most formidable Normans. They pledged to go and fight in Spain, so that the Saracen host assembled there would be occupied and subjugated by the Christians. And for this purpose a man was chosen called Robert Crispin; and when chosen, he prepared to go to the battle where he was commanded to go; and they clamored for God’s aid, and God was present to aid those who had demanded it. Thus the faithful of God had victory in battle, for a great part of the Saracens were dead; and they gave thanks to God for the victory that He granted to His people.

6. And so (1063) they took the city called Barbastro, a very great land, filled with great riches and strongly fortified. And all the host willed that Robert Crispin would guard it, so that in the following year he might return with the same army or one even larger, to take other cities of Spain.

7. And the devil, burdened with malice and spite for the good beginning the faith had made, thought to counteract this, and placed in the minds of Christ’s knights the flames of desire,

such that those who rose high would fall; for such things Christ condemned them, for these knights gave themselves to their lust for women. And so for their sin they lost what they had acquired, and were pursued by the Saracens, and the city was lost; some were killed, some imprisoned, and some were delivered and found safe passage.

8. Crispin, out of shame, did not want to return to his country; but he came to Italy with others of his country, and there remained for some years; and to serve as a knight under the emperor's command, he went to Constantinople where he had many triumphs and many victories, and there he died.

9. And after he had died, so it was that many went from various parts of the world to the emperor's service; and among those from Normandy who hired themselves to the emperor, Roussel, an honest knight and true and faithful, after he had conquered the lands of Slavonia, went to aid the emperor's people, who were obligated to fight. The emperor saw that he was ready to fight and a man to prove himself, and summoned him against the Turks to aid the army. But by the just judgment of God, the Turks had the victory and a great many Christians died. And Augustus and Roussel were imprisoned, and thus these two and all their knights were taken to prison; and the Duke of the Turks received them honourably.

But another thing must be understood, that one man is called Augustus and another is called Caesar: Augustus and emperor are one and the same as has been said before; but Caesar is another and lesser. In this time there were two emperors or Augusti; the ones who fought the Turks were kin to another who was Caesar, so then there were in truth two emperors and two Caesars.

10. Thus Augustus and Roussel awaited the emperor's aid, which was denied them by the advice of his uncle, who was Caesar; and hearing from his mother, who was the wife of the wise Caesar, she tore her hair and beat her chest for her husband, and became a nun; and the wife of Roussel, a very noble woman, he put in prison. But God's counsel does not fail to help those whose malice man seeks to destroy.

11. The emperor, who was imprisoned, gave his son in marriage to the daughter of the King of the Turks, who was baptized and made a Christian, for which reason he and Roussel were freed and sent away honourably. And they reclaimed no small part of the empire with the help of the Turks.

12. And Caesar, who had opposed Augustus his uncle, fell into the pit he had dug for another. He was imprisoned not by the emperor but by another man; and much gold and silver he gave to be freed from prison.

13. And for this reason he suffered greatly by the intervention of the Caesar's stepson. By order of the other emperor, his uncle the Caesar's eyes were put out, and he died from the pain.

14. And Roussel, a man of great courage and a fierce fighter, at this time conquered Armenia, and forced it to pay tribute, and came to Constantinople to liberate his wife. He laid siege to the city and caused much damage as he plundered, killed, and burned whatever he found; and so great was his anger against the Greeks that the emperor was forced to return Roussel's wife, though this was against his will.

15. And as the Greeks often, through malicious argument and subtle maneuvering, used these means to vanquish their enemies, wrote to the Turks. With these men were Roussel's men, who turned traitor against him, and by force of arms they ordered that Roussel be imprisoned by the Turks and bound in strong chains. Whoever carefully studies the writings and histories especially of Troy, will find that the Greeks more often conquered through malice and treachery than through valour.

16. He who reads this book must not think that this monk, its author, proceeds badly in his account because he undertakes to tell from one part and another, for it is all of one story, and all is for the victor of one people, that is the Normans. And so we should not marvel when he tells one story of Roussel and another of the Lombards. The author states that he wishes to tell how the Normans came to Italy and the Kingdom of Sicily, and what people they vanquished, and how they defeated the pride of the infidel.

17. Before a thousand years had passed since Christ our Lord became flesh within the Virgin Mary, there appeared in the world forty valiant pilgrims; they came from the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem to worship Jesus Christ. And they came to Salerno, which was besieged by the Saracens, and so badly mistreated that they wished to surrender. And Salerno was made tributary to the Saracens; but they were slow to pay their tribute each year on time, and immediately the Saracens came with many ships, and they hewed and killed, and ravaged the land. And the pilgrims from Normandy came there, but could not endure such injustice from the Saracen lords, nor that the Christians should be subject to the Saracens. These pilgrims went to the most serene Prince Guaimar, who governed Salerno with true justice, and begged that they be given arms and horses, for they wished to fight against the Saracens: not for the sake of money, but because they could not withstand such pride and disrespect from the Saracens; and they asked for horses. And when they had taken arms and horses, they attacked the Saracens and killed many of them. Many fled towards the sea, and the others fled through the camp; thus the valiant Normans were victorious, and Salerno's people were delivered from servitude under the pagans.

18. And when this great victory was thus achieved through the valor of these forty Normans, the prince, and all the people of Salerno greatly thanked them, offered them gifts, and promised to repay them handsomely. They begged them to remain in defense of the Christians. But the Normans refused to accept any financial compensation for what they had done for the love of God, and excused themselves by saying they could not remain.

19. After this, the Normans advised that all the princes of Normandy should come there; and they visited them; and some of them gave themselves good will and courage to hold out in those parts of the kingdom, because of the wealth that was there. And they sent messengers with these victorious Normans, and sent them citrus, almonds, candied walnuts, imperial silks, iron instruments adorned with gold, and thus proclaimed to them that they should come to the land that yields milk and honey and so many beautiful things. These victorious Normans returned to Normandy and testified that these messengers spoke truthfully.

20. And at that time there was rumor and hatred between two princes of Normandy, namely Gilbert and William. And Gilbert, whose name was called Buatere, took up his will and courage against William, who opposed him, and threw him from a very high place from which he died. And when he died, he held the dignity of viscount of all the land. And Richard, Count of the land, was very angry at the injustice of this, and plotted to kill the one who had committed this homicide; for if this offense were not punished, it would seem that

everyone would have license to kill the viscount. And Gilbert had three brothers, namely Rainolfe, Asclettin, Osmund, and Rodolf. I believe that these men did not bear the guilt of William's death. Yet they went with their brother and with the messenger of the Prince of Salerno, and came armed not as enemies, but as angels, and were received throughout Italy. The necessary things to eat and drink were given to them by the lord and good people of Italy, and they passed through the city of Rome and came to Capua and found that one of Apulia, who called himself Melus, was there imprisoned, and was being chased because he had been rebellious against the emperor of Constantinople.

21. These men came to Melus' aid and entered with him into Apulia's borders, and began to fight against the Greeks, and saw that they were like women. And through the plains of Apulia they laid their enemies low and lifeless. The death of these men was cause for great sorrow, and all the more reason to fight. When the emperor heard that his land was attacked by the boldness of these knights, he summoned against the Normans the strongest men he could find, and then, upon the arrival of these others, ordered a second battle. But the Greeks lost and the Normans remained steadfast, and this caused the emperor great sorrow, and he summoned a great multitude of men, and ordered a third battle, and a fourth, and at the fifth, all the Normans were defeated. But Melus, by the strength of the Normans, was seated on the throne of a lord.

22. After this the emperor sent lords and called for tribute in all parts, and opened his treasury and found knights for money, and fought against the strong Normans; but the Normans defeated them without number. And so many people came without number, and the field was full of the multitude of the emperor's army, and the narrow lances were seen as the canes were in the fields where they grow, and coming against these few Norman who served Melus; and the multitude of the emperor's people went through the camp like birds when they leave their place when it is full. And what can I tell you? The Normans were prepared to die before they could even leave. And so the battle was very fierce, and on each side there was great danger of death. Many of the Normans died at the hands of their enemies, and the battle was so fierce that a thousand Normans did not leave the field; but on the other side, there were so many that their number is unknown (in the year 1019). And some came to the aid of Melus, and the others went with the messenger of the Prince of Salerno. When it was known at Salerno that the Normans who had fought to aid Melus were dead, those Normans came from Salerno, and a great army of Normans came, and they filled the region with very strong knights. And Melus took another battle against the Greeks, and the Normans met the Greeks at a place called Vaccarizza, that is, in Apulia at Melfi, where now there are nobles who call themselves Vaccaro. And the Greeks, as soon as they had recovered from the other battle, were dead. And of the Normans, there had been three thousand; not five hundred remained; and of the six chieftains among the Normans, only two survived. They remained with Atenulf, abbot of Monte Cassino, and the others with their own knights to ride with the Prince of Salerno.

23. And when Melus felt abandoned by the knights, he went to the court of the German emperor and begged for mercy, and the benevolent emperor promised to do as Melus requested. And the emperor, supported by the German Princes, prepared knights to go and restore Melo to his own honor. Death cruelly laughed at this covenant, for Melo died (1020), and was buried in the church of Bamberg, which had been built by this emperor, and in the nobleman's tomb he was placed; and the emperor and all his office mourned.

24. The virtuous emperor would not change his commitment to march on Italy, and then to the city of Troia, because the Greeks had built this fortress to subdue the territory of Benevento. And at that time he summoned the warlike archbishop of Cologne to capture the Prince of Capua, and then he was to go and take Salerno. The Prince of Capua was captured; and for forty days Salerno was besieged. But because the city was difficult to take, he took hostage the son of the Prince of Salerno, and in triumph returned to the court of the emperor. And then, by examination of just judgment, Pandulf, Prince of Capua, was sentenced to death. But, through the intercession of the Archbishop of Cologne, he was delivered from this sentence; instead, he was carried beyond the Alps bound by a chain around his neck. And the son of the Prince of Salerno, whose name was Guaimar, was commended to Pope Benedict.

25. Here is the reason why the emperor was furious against Prince Pandulf of Capua: the brother of the wife of Melus, of whom we have spoken before, who was called Dattus, and by command of the Pope he was given the tower of Garigliano near the river; and Pandulf, desiring his death, came among the Greeks, and overcame the tower, and gave the innocent Dattus to the Greeks, who, by command of the emperor of the Greeks, was drowned in the sea. And for this cause Pandulf was sent from the German emperor to the Pope. Briefly enough, the reason why the German emperor was enraged against this Pandulf; the emperor came to Italy to restore Melus to his estates, because Melus had rebelled against the emperor of Constantinople; and Pandulf at all times was opposed to Melus, brother to his wife. After these things were done, Atenulf, brother of Pandulf, for fear of what had been done to his brother, went to see, and desired to flee to Constantinople from the German emperor who had gone to Italy; but by pestilence he died at sea; and in these diverse ways these brothers met tragic and painful deaths.

26. And Troia, by weakness of those who besieged it, not by the fortitude of those who dwelled within, but for the strong place it was, could not be taken: when Troia was in its ancient fortifications, and not where it is now, which is in a lower place.

27. And the pious emperor went from here to Monte Cassino; and the brethren who were there received him, and with diligence and service made their obedience to him. And at the prayers of all the congregation of the monks, he confirmed Abbot Theobald, a man of noble lineage and even moreso in his conduct, and gave him the crozier, that is, the ecclesiastical staff.

28. Jesus Christ, who is the giver of all good things and is glorious among all his saints, rewarded this emperor on behalf of St Benedict. One day he felt great pain in the flank and more direly than usual, for he was accustomed to having such pain. And in this pain he confessed the secrets of his heart to those who continually showed him compassion, and said "As the Roman Empire, which is subject to us among the other kingdoms of the world, is bound by the key of St Peter the Apostle and by the doctrine of St Paul; thus, by the order of the holy father Benedict, we believe that the empire will grow, if we presently are presented with his body; for, by the pronouncements of these two apostles, all the world is joined by the Faith; but by the mastery of the Father Benedict the Faith was given a new beginning in this order and gives all monks a manner of life." And when he had said this he fell asleep. St Benedict appeared to him, and touched him, and cured him, and said: "O emperor, why do you desire the presence of my body; believe you that I desire to leave the place where I was brought by the angels, where I wrote the rule of monks, where the mass of my body is interred?" And by this speech it was shown that when the bones of one saint are translated from one place to another, the place where first the flesh became one with the earth must be

revered by men; more as will be shown by what follows. The emperor, feared by kings, feared this monk. And the saint told him that “with no doubt you know my body desires to rest here, and of this I will give you a sign with my shepherd’s staff which will be made manifest,” by this meaning the crozier which the saint held in his hand, and he made the sign of the cross at the emperor’s side where he felt pain, and told him: “Awaken safe and sound, and now this infirmity will trouble you no more.” And now the emperor awoke safe and sound. And as the saint had promised him, he never again suffered this infirmity nor this pain: and for this miracle he was forever greatly devoted to this monastery, and he even said that he wished to leave his imperial dignities, and live at this monastery as a monk.

29. And after the emperor had recovered his health, he remembered the promise he had made to Melus, wanted to fulfill it to his nephews, and as he could not recover their things, gave him of his own land which is called the Comino, with the castle that belonged to them. He gave them also the support of twenty-four Normans led by Turstin, and the other Normans stayed to defend the faith and oppose the Saracens; and then he went down the mountain with his knights.

30. Because the Normans were firm in their fidelity to the imperial Church, they strove to do the command of the emperor, and came to the land which was meant to belong to the nephews of Melus, and entered the castle of Gallinaro and frightened all who lived nearby. But this land was a paltry thing, and they desired to conquer the nearby castles, and so requested aid from the Marquis Rainier, who sent them two of his brothers, Peter and Melus, and Stephen remained with the Normans, and the brothers brought to Rainier the command of the emperor who said that if the Normans required help they should not harm them; and the marquis did the command of the emperor most faithfully.

31. And the pride of another Peter, son of Gastald Rainier, was not at ease. Because among those of that land he was held to be the best, he wanted to contend against the imperial majesty, and he gathered and assembled his people and his friends. And he said that he did not want to pass the inheritance of his ancestors to these strange people; and he measured the people whom he had gathered, and waited for those whom he had asked to help him. And they assembled to kill the Normans, who had deprived their people of life and land alike. And he sent out a small party of scouts, and kept many forces to guard him. And the Normans did not think, but pursued the scouts, who were plundering, and came to the other [forces] which surprised them. And when they saw so great a congregation and multitude they marvelled much, they spoke of peace, and Peter promised them death. The Normans showed their unarmed hands, and showed their necks, and willingly fled; but they had no one to receive them. And when they saw that they could have no other help, they clamoured for God’s help, with which one might pursue a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; they implored Stephen to request the help of God, and cried out. The other party trusted in their virtues, and did not seek help; and so, of these twenty-five Normans, only their standard-bearer was killed, and no others. And on the other side, of two hundred and fifty there remained only one hundred and ninety, and the others fled through the camp, abandoning weapons and horses, and hid themselves in caves and ditches to escape with their lives. And from the arms of their enemies, and their garments, the Normans were made rich. And the Lombards, who had escaped with their lives, were greatly ashamed. And the victorious Normans were granted such grace in this battle that though the field was filled with two thousand and five hundred soldiers, none would strike the Normans. And afterward came the triumphant battle of the Marquis Rainier, and there was great joy in the victory of his Norman friends, to whom they gave aid, and subjugated the castle for those three brothers, as was right.

32. After this was done, the Normans gathered themselves from all parts and became eager to serve as knights under the great Prince of Salerno, Guiamar, who at that time, by the wisdom and prayers of his wife who was Pandulf's sister, sent gifts to the imperial majesty and all the great men of the court. And he sent to him prayers that it might please him to release Pandulf, deprived of his lands. And the prince obtained from the German emperor the grace which he had requested; and thereafter Pandulf returned. Guaimar appeased the Greeks with money, and gathered to himself the army of the Normans, and laid siege to Capua, which he took more by the efforts of the townsmen than by force of arms. And Pandulf, who had been delivered to him by the emperor, he expelled from the principality, and made prince the brother of Pandulf, who was then small and young.

33. And after this, Pandulf lost all fear of God, and the misery he had felt in prison, when he recovered the greatness of his principality. And by the counsel of the wicked he followed the ways of sin, and sat upon a seat of sin and pestilence. First, he began to fight against God and against the saints (1027), and removed the abbot of Monte Cassino, Abbot Theobald, who was chosen by the brothers and vested in dignity by the emperor, and confirmed by the pope. He ordered that he should dwell in the cell of St Benedict, which was called Capusita. And by his iniquity he committed the care of the abbey to one of his own, Basil, who was made abbot. And the abbey was obliged to do all that this Basil commanded, who was beholden to the prince; and the number of brothers was decimated, that is to say reduced by the tenth part. And in the monastery of Monte Cassino so few monks remained, for his iniquity chased them off, that there were hardly enough to say the twelve lessons; and of the brothers that left, two said that the office and those who remained were vilely treated; the possessions of the Church were taken as he pleased for his own use, and of the things of God he and his were satisfied. The land and the offerings of the altar were given to the priest of the prince; the servants of the monastery were at his service; and he and those who were with him put into the vice of luxury the young people who lived there. All the beasts of the abbey were made his, and the brothers who were there were wasted and feeble. And when they were at the service of God they were not given to eat when they came to the refectory according to custom, but after the prince's servants had eaten they were brought food. And they had filled the citadel with food, salt, many gifts, and bolts of linen. But I shall tell you later to what end came these things which were badly acquired. And in this office they had elected a perverse official of the monastery; he was prelate over the poverty of the servants of God, and for this reason he was a very powerful master in this monastery, and said that as he was the lord so should they be his servants.

34. And the worthy Abbot, unable to endure the shame of the holy Monastery, departed into the March, to the monastery of Saint Liberator. And the Count of that land did him great honor. And all the noblemen obeyed him as a father, and the others as a lord. And because he went there, he did as our Lord commanded, who said: "If you are driven out of one city, flee into another." And because he did what God had commanded, he received what God had promised. For he went without purse or scrip, and nothing was lacking to him; for he lived with God and with the brethren who were under his care. And though he could not see them face to face, he comforted them very often by letter and stirred them up to the service of God. And after some years the Abbot died, and his people and his brethren were greatly grieved. But Pandulf was very glad and joyful of it, for he believed that all the evil which he had done to the Monastery and elsewhere was now brought to an end.

35. But in order that his perversity and wickedness might appear to be without fault, and that he might not seem ashamed that the monastery of Monte Cassino should remain without an abbot, which monastery was the head of all the other abbeys, he wished to make an abbot according to his own will and command. And then that Basil, of whom we have spoken before, was made abbot of this holy Monastery. And this abbot was esteemed as though he had been the true and rightful Abbot. And when the solemn feast of Capua came, where he dwelt, the Monastery and all the lands of Saint Benedict were not provided with the things necessary, nor were those who went with him served.

36. And likewise he at once deposed the religious Hilarion, abbot of Saint Vincent the Martyr. And thus the perverse prince gloried himself, so that God might heap iniquity upon iniquity against him. But what he sought, he shall find. This arch-pope, that is, one who places himself above the pope, which thing it is not lawful to name, exalted himself so greatly that it seemed he would rise above the power of Heaven, for he did far worse. His bastard son, who was called Hildebrand, he caused to be made a clerk, though he was accustomed to deeds of knighthood; and the Archbishop of Capua, a religious man named Atenulf, he cast into prison, with iron shackles fastened strongly upon his feet and hands.

37. On that day when the Redeemer of the world redeemed mankind and exalted the flesh which He had taken from the Virgin Mary above the angels, that is, on the day of the Ascension, the devil gave counsel to Pandulf. His aforesaid son Hildebrand caused himself to be elected and was made Archbishop, he whom he had made a clerk. And he caused to be sung, as is customary, a hymn which begins Te Deum laudamus. And the perverse company had great joy of it, and the poor of God were grieved.

And he was set in the seat and upon the throne of the Archbishop. The Archbishop who was in prison was loosed from the irons that bound him and was brought forth; and the son of Pandulf sat in the seat, and the father stood before the tribunal of the devil's justice. The Archbishop was before him on his knees and awaited judgment with great fear. And it was commanded him that he should give him the ring and the crozier, and afterwards kiss both his feet. And at last he was led back again into prison.

38. And then the rage of a most formidable wolf appeared to those of the city: Pandulf gnashed his teeth like a madman. And men and women alike were arrested, they were taken. And thus the people were tormented with prison and endless hardship. He did not hear the preaching of priests, and had closed his ears so as not to hear the word of the Gospel, as the asp does not hear the voice of the one who seeks to charm it. And in every way he showed his iniquity. He waged war against his relatives; for he sought to drive his kinsman from the honor of Benevento, and the brother of the one who had placed him in high office. But, when God is with man, no one can harm or do him evil

39. Then this wicked man, the Prince of Capua, Pandulf, chased Duke Sergius, who commanded the great city of Naples, from his city, and with the help of those in the city, placed Naples under his authority. But, a short time later, Sergius honorably returned to his city. And, so that the malice of this Pandulf could not harm him, Sergius went to Rainulf, a man endowed with all the virtues befitting a knight, and gave him his sister as a bride, who was recently left without husband by the death of the Count of Gaita; and he asked him to stand against the pride of Prince Pandulf. And to counter the ferocity of this enemy, he had Aversa surrounded by ditches and high palisades; and a very rich part of Terra di Lavoro was given to him as tribute. And this he gave to his brother-in-law, Count Rainulf. And this part of Aversa contained many villages to pay tribute.

40. The lands held by the Normans increased each day, and their powerful knights multiplied each day. And Pandulf could hardly restrain or counteract their power; and so he took from others. But one thing came to pass: that Rainulf's wife died; hence the concord of peace was shaken. And Rainulf was very saddened by the lady's death. But even more sad was Duke Sergius. But Pandulfe was happy and joyful, seeking the division and enmity of these two friends.

41. This Prince Pandulf sent messages to Count Rainulf, that he greatly desired to parley. And in speaking made it known that he wanted to give him a woman from his among kin for a wife. And so they agreed.

42. The Count took away the daughter of the Patrician of Amalfi, who was the niece of Prince Pandulf, as the wife of the Patrician was sister to the Prince. And so the joy of the Duke of Naples turned into tears; and the faction of the Prince of Capua exalted themselves; for the city, which Duke Sergius had built in his own land, was in the power of the Prince, his enemy. Sergius fell ill, and twice became a monk, and then died.

END OF BOOK I