

**The Chronicle of St. Clement, Casauria,
by John Berard**

Translated by G.A. Loud

The abbey of Casauria was founded by the Carolingian Emperor Louis II in 873 as a bastion of imperial power in the Abruzzi region on the border of the kingdom of Italy. It was endowed partly from property recently purchased in the region by the emperor and some of his courtiers, partly through confiscations from local aristocrats whose loyalty was suspect, and partly through a series of purchases undertaken by the first abbot, Romanus (873-884). The abbey was originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but the presence there of what were believed to be the relics of St. Clement, the second pope after St. Peter, led to him becoming the patron of the house, and eventually his name superseded that of the Trinity in the dedication. After a period of some difficulty around c. 1000, which was linked with the growth of incastellamento in the region, the abbey enjoyed a 'golden age' under Abbot Guido (1024-46), in which its property was protected by imperial support, notably in a series of land pleas held under the supervision of Duke Hugh of Tuscany (acting on the instructions of Conrad II) in 1028, and during which it became the major focus of religious benefactions by local landowners. The abbey received nearly 200 donations under Guido's rule. It was also at this period that the abbey began to develop its own clientelia among the local aristocracy. However, although to begin with the contemporary decline in the authority of the Attonid family, who held the counties of Chieti, Penne and Aprutium, benefited Casauria, by weakening its major territorial rival and potential overlord, this ultimately led to a breakdown in local authority, which was exacerbated by the incursions of the Normans from northern Apulia. For a generation after 1070 the abbey was in crisis, donations fell away almost to nothing, and for much of this period Casauria was under the control of Hugh Mamouzet, who was one of the great villains of the later chronicler's account. The eventual collapse of his lordship after his capture by a (presumably Lombard) rival was recounted with relish. Casauria experienced a considerable recovery after conditions in the Abruzzi stabilised in the early 1100s. However, its relations with the Norman Counts of Manopello remained volatile, and the chronicler greeted the extension of King Roger of Sicily's rule into the Abruzzi after 1140 with relief, even

though the king in practice retrospectively sanctioned many previous alienations of abbatial property.

The chartulary-chronicle of Casauria was written c. 1175-80. It concluded with the death of Abbot Leonas in March 1182. Properly speaking, this work is a chartulary rather than a chronicle, since the great bulk of the manuscript (now Paris, B.N., MS. Latin 5411) is composed of more than 2150 charters, dating from the ninth century until the time of writing. Proportionately more of these documents come from the earlier part of this period, many connected either directly with the foundation in 873, or the purchases of property by the early abbots. There are also almost 250 property leases made by the abbey between 960 and 1040, and the pious donations recorded reached a peak in the 1040s, and fell away thereafter. The chronicle was in fact written in the margins of the chartulary, and can thus be seen as subordinate to it in the mind of the author. The first 'book' was indeed entirely composed of charters, and the chronicle properly speaking begins with Book II. Nonetheless, the continuous history of the monastery is our most important narrative source for the history of the early medieval Abruzzi.

The author, the monk John Berard, tells us that he was 'raised in this monastery from boyhood', and can be attested from May 1158 onwards. In the next year he was already a priest (and so presumably over the canonical age of twenty-three).¹ From May 1169 until at least November 1171 he served as the provost of the monastery, that is as the abbot's deputy in charge of its estates and economy,² and so he was the natural choice to edit the chartulary, although the actual writing was entrusted to a certain 'Master Rusticus'. In June 1179 he was the abbey's sacristan (that is in charge of the vessels and furnishings of its church): this was the last time he was mentioned.³ (His manuscript would appear to have been taken to Naples

¹ E.g. BN Ms. Latin, 5411, fol. 254v (August 1159) and 255r (1159, October); both of which read *scripsi ego iohannes berardi presbiter et monachus*. Cf. an earlier charter of May 1158, *ibid.*, fol. 254r, in which he attested the document as the last person on the witness list as *Ego Iohannes Berardi humillimus monachus Sancti Clementi*. Cf. *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 900: *quodam fratrem Iohannem Berardi, in ipso coenobio a pueritia nutritum*.

² E.g. BN Ms. Latin, 5411, fol. 260r, where he witnessed a charter of May 1169 immediately after the abbot, as *Ego Frater Iohannes Berardi inutilis prepositus, sacerdos et monachus*; cf. *ibid.*, fol. 272r, for the last reference to him as provost.

³ BN Ms. Latin, 5411, fol. 268r

during the late Middle Ages, and thence removed to France as part of the plunder secured by the invading army of Charles VIII in 1494).

The charters themselves were the major sources of the chronicle, and in particular an earlier chartulary compiled during the time of Abbot Guido. John also used a contemporary biography of this abbot, whose period of rule had seen, as we have noted, a notable growth in the monastery's endowment and influence. But even before the early eleventh century it is clear that there had been quite a sophisticated ordering of the abbey's documents, reflected in books I-II of the manuscript, although the topographical structure revealed in book I had been made largely obsolete by the incastellamento of the region after c. 980. After c. 1050 oral traditions about the various abbots, and about the Norman invasion of the region, may well have been important. As a youth, John would have mingled with monks whose careers went back until the beginning of the century. It is, however, also possible that some brief earlier written narratives have been incorporated into the chronicle, and in particular one covering the years c. 960-1020. John's work was however much more ambitious than anything that had preceded it, and was an integral part of the revival and reorganisation of the abbey under Abbot Leonas (1152/5-82), who was responsible for, among other things, the rebuilding of the abbey church in the form in which it still survives, and the great sculpture over the main doors (after 1172) depicting St. Clement in majesty and the foundation of the house.

*The translation below was made in 2004 from the only text then available, in L.A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ii(2) (Milan 1726), cols. 775-916, which edition also contained a selection of the charters in *ibid.*, 917-1018. However, Muratori printed only about one-tenth of the documents contained in the manuscript. Furthermore, while Muratori's transcription of the chronicle is in general very accurate, it is misleading in that a number of papal and imperial documents which he included within the text of the chronicle, are in the manuscript actually part of the chartulary. Muratori also included chapter headings not found in the original manuscript, and omitted a few brief passages. There is now a full modern edition of the entire chronicle-chartulary, almost complete Iohannis Berardi, Liber Instrumentorum seu Chronicorum Monasterii Casauriensis, seu Chronicon Casauriense, ed. Alessandro Pratesi and Paolo Cherubini (4 vols., *Fonti per la storia**

d'Italia, Rome 2017-19), of which three volumes have so far appeared, and the fourth expected later in 2019. The chronicle text, in full, is edited in vol. i.909-1181. The translation here has, unfortunately, not yet been checked against the modern edition.

The best modern discussions of the chronicle are by Laurent Feller in his important book on the medieval Abruzzi, ⁴ and by the current translator in 2005. ⁵ To these should now be added the very full introduction to the edition by Pratesi and Cherubini. The extracts translated below form only part of the entire chronicle, but serve to give the reader a flavour of the work as a whole, and of the history of the abbey, particularly in relations with the early eleventh-century emperors, its dealings with the Normans after 1060, and with the royal administration of the new kingdom of Sicily after 1140 when King Roger and his sons incorporated the Abruzzi into their realm. The dates in bold are those given at that place in the chronicle: those in italics are those given earlier on in the account, but which seem still to refer to the section translated. References are given to the columns of the Muratori edition.

Trans© G.A. Loud (2004)

⁴ L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes Médiévales. Territoire, Économie et Société en Italie Centrale du IXe au XIIe Siècle* (Rome 1998), pp. 63-83. Certain aspects are also discussed by Alessandro Pratesi, 'L'Abbazia di Casauria e il suo cartolario.', *Bullettino della deputazione abruzzese di storia patria* 71 (1981), 25-45.

⁵ G.A. Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi'. *Anglo-Norman Studies 27 Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge 2005), 101-132.

The Foundation of the Monastery of Casauria

[This prose account of the foundation, Paris, BN MS. Lat. 5411, fols. 6r-29v, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed. L.A. Muratori, ii(2) (Milan 1726), 775-84, here abridged, was inserted at the beginning of the chronicle, but may well be an older text, not written by John Berard himself. It describes how Louis II discovered the site on the Pescara River while on campaign. He later wished to found a monastery there, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, replacing an old church on the site dedicated to S. Quiriacus. He then led an expedition to southern Italy, before returning to Rome.]

He thought long and hard about the foundation that he had ordered to be undertaken on the island of Pescara, and how it might be brought to a successful conclusion; and how he might locate there those who could pray to God on his behalf and for the safety of the Roman Empire, who could be concerned with matters heavenly and whose prayers for the living and dead God would clemently hear. The most clement emperor also thought about the rector and preserver of the church, who after his death might appear most gently before God on behalf of his servants there; who would drive out the enemies of that place and [other] evildoers, and who would encourage its benefactors to greater and even more useful acts, and ask mercy and indulgence from God for his sinful actions, and answer for them.

Thinking on this, he asked archbishops, bishops and his noble counsellors to be summoned, and he consulted them, starting with these words: ‘O warlike men, whom Gaul, the mother of wisdom and fount of all knowledge has nurtured, who have expelled with your mighty hands the Saracens, the enemies of God! You whose courage is known to every land under the sun, what advice do you give me? I think that you should consider with me how the new church which I have ordered to be built should be amplified with honours and strengthened with the relics of holy martyrs, and have such a protector who received death for Christ and washed his robe in the blood of the Lamb.’ And while every single person hesitated, not knowing how to reply to him, a certain elderly bishop appeared, a man learned in the holy Scriptures who knew all about the deeds of the holy martyrs, and in a clear voice he said to the emperor: ‘Emperor and Augustus, to whom God has brought such grace, so that what

He who is in Heaven has destined for you is carried out on earth: the advice that you seek cannot be given to you by a [mere] man. Instead, God himself, by whose command you have selected this island, which can indeed be described as another paradise, has chosen such a protector for you – one who gave up his life for Christ in the waters, should your highness wish to find out more about this.’ To which the emperor [said]: ‘About whom, learned father, do you speak?’ ‘About Clement’, replied the old man. ‘He was the successor to the Apostle Peter; he ruled over the Roman Church and selected Denis as the apostle for the whole of Gaul. He has recently been discovered and brought to this city by a certain philosopher called Constantine, ⁶ and he has been predestined by God to be the guardian of your church, so that the man who breathed out his spirit in the waters for God can save those who have sunk into the waters of Pescara, lest they perish’.

At this Louis imagined in his mind what the old man had said, as though he had had a visitation from God, and placing St. Clement before his eyes he summoned the cardinals. He had speech with each of them, and once he had found out about St. Clement, who he was and how he might be found, he asked that they might hear his prayers before the Lord and be faithful intercessors before the lord pope. All the cardinals were asked this individually, and they responded as if with one voice, promising their most faithful support for his royal request. He went, accompanied by his magnates, the archbishops, and the leading men of the City to the pope, who was called Adrian II. He was the one who had received St. Clement from the philosopher and who afterwards gave this same Clement to King Louis. ⁷

[The emperor then persuaded Pope Adrian II, with the agreement of the Roman clergy and people, to give him Clement’s body.]

... And when everybody had said, ‘Amen’, on the order of the most blessed Pope Adrian the body of the most glorious martyr Clement was brought, and handed over to the Emperor Louis. He broke into the coffin in which it was contained, took out all his bones and inspected then carefully to make sure that none was missing. He

⁶ The Greek diplomat and missionary Constantine, who adopted the monastic name Cyril on his profession shortly before his death in Rome on 14th February 869. He had indeed taught philosophy in Constantinople before embarking on his missionary career.

then wrapped the whole body in a precious cloth and placed it in a valuable container that he had with him, made of alabaster. He then celebrated the funeral services [*excubiae*] and solemn vigils for some days ...

... After completing all those things which he had ordered to be done, they raised up the body of the holy martyr, and in the pope's presence, and with hymns and psalms, they left the City, singing and rejoicing, and rendering thanks to the Creator of all things for the great treasure entrusted to them by Heaven. Rumour of this event spread throughout the Roman world and such a multitude of men gathered that they equalled the sands of the seashore; praising and extolling the virtue of the Emperor Louis, seeing the grace of God to be in him.

When they arrived at the Pescara island, which is surrounded by water on every side, the whole multitude gathered, at the emperor's order, in the area of the 'royal bridge'. As they stood there, Louis said:

'We are, so we believe, carrying the bones of St. Clement, which we wish to bury where you have chosen. In carrying out this task, we undoubtedly have the help of our Redeemer. Nevertheless, we ask Him who can do anything that He show to us today, in your presence, if this really is Clement, who was thrown into the depths of the sea and found a marble temple, prepared for him by Angelic hands, showing the way to the people of the land on his feast day each year, so that seeing [this] they would report the wonders of God. If this be he, of which we do not doubt, God will show us in this way: that this mule which carries him will walk dry-shod across the river, and without a human guide, to that place where we have decided honourably to bury him, under the supervision of Our Lord Jesus Christ.'

After he had said this, the mule entered these very deep waters, the current of which was so strong that waves were washing over the banks, walked over them for almost a furlong ⁸ with dry hooves, entered the island, and there stood where God had decreed should be the glebe of the Holy Martyr. All the people who saw this praised

⁷ Cols. 778-9.

with one voice Almighty God, who had shown all who asked Him that this was indeed his Holy Martyr, whose merits had miraculously proclaimed who he was.

There were various persons there who were suffering from a number of different illnesses and who had heard of the arrival of the glorious Martyr. Having faith in God, who could through his saints work great miracles, they had themselves brought from their towns and villages. The body of St. Clement was unloaded, and as the emperor held his most sacred bones in his hands, such a sweet smell arose from these bones that it seemed to those who were there that they were in God's paradise. This smell reached out to those who lay ill there (whom we mentioned above), and many who were paralysed returned from there cured. O what rejoicing there was, and what a hubbub rose up on high when they saw those whom they had brought there close to death [now] cured, when those who before could see nothing now were able to see, and when those who had for a long time been deaf could now hear!

The lord emperor was rendered joyful by these events and instructed the clergy to put on their holy vestments and the people to render up sacred prayers. He himself, along with the archbishops and bishops, wrapped the bones of St. Clement and the relics of SS. Peter and Paul in one half of a valuable cloth, the other half of which had been kept back for posterity as a record of this translation. He had the relics enclosed in the alabaster [casket] mentioned above, and on the day of the translation located it inside an altar, on 27th May in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 872, fifth in the indiction, to the honour and glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ. ⁹

* * * * *

⁸ *Stadium*: a classical measure equivalent to c. 600 feet.

⁹ Cols. 781-2.

Book Two

Prologue

First of all, let it be known that at the time of the foundation of the monastery of Pescara there were scarcely any *castella* built within the circuit of the mountains that lie nearby and define its boundaries, but the whole of the territories both of Penne and Chieti were inhabited by many villages and *casales*, situated all over the area, and the men of the time dwelt as under the fig or the vine, or on their own sections of land [*praedia*]. As can be discovered in charters and chronicles, about forty years after its construction the monastery was burned by the Agarenes and pagan people and almost destroyed, and the whole region was laid waste. The barbarians were, as it is said, most victoriously put to flight by the Christians, but through fear of them the latter began to make fortresses out of villages and *castella* out of the *casales*. Some were built by the abbots who had received money from wealthy men for the restoration of the abbey. Indeed, at this time some fortifications were built through violence on the monastery's property by those who had intruded themselves into these same places. They were afterwards not only retained by those occupying them through various methods, but were then exempted from the monastery's lordship through force, and alienated irrevocably through the wretched sloth or carnal negligence shown by some of the abbots.

For the notice of those coming later we have tried truthfully to make known from which villages and *casales* these fortresses and *castella* were raised up, both by the account of those who know and by the evidence of the charters. This we have made clear partly in the chapters of this volume and partly by the headings [*tituli*] of the charters.¹⁰

* * * * *

¹⁰ Cols. 797-8.

About this time [c. 916] the *Agareni* came, and the monastery of St. Clement was so ravaged by this pagan and cruel people that nothing at all remained of it, and the whole congregation were plundered by the enemy. Finally Christians were mustered on every side and fought against the *Agareni*, defeated them and expelled them from their frontiers. After their departure, the aforesaid Abbot Itto returned to the monastery, but he died before he was able to recover what had been lost or to restore its buildings. He ruled for five years, in grief and hardship, for the church entrusted to him was destroyed and he was unable to see its restoration. After the death of Itto the monastery of St. Clement was without a pastor, since its brothers were scattered and its property destroyed, villages and *castella* ruined, and there was nobody in the regions round about who could come to it, for everyone was weighed down with these great calamities. At this time a certain emperor called Berengar came at the command of God to these parts. The brothers went to him and explained their troubles, the ruin of the monastery and its glory in the time of Louis; they received instructions from him to elect an abbot and to regain whatever belonged to the monastery's jurisdiction, to restore the congregation to its former state and allow none of the monastery's rights to perish. The same emperor ordered a written precept to be drawn up, listing the liberty, property and rights of the monastery, with his seal and monogram impressed upon it, on the model of [those of] earlier emperors.¹¹

The monks of Casauria returned to the monastery, appointed one of the brothers called Alparus as abbot, and worked with him to restore the monastery, although they were so oppressed by poverty that they were barely able to put up half a wall. Forced by necessity, they began to sell land and place villages in pledge; and through this unhappy trade they built little cells [*domunculae*], forgetting the former glory which the church had enjoyed in the time of the most holy emperor Louis.¹²

* * * * *

¹¹ *I Diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, Rome 1903), pp. 299-302 no. 116 (21st October 917), also edited by Muratori, cols. 823-4, although the text itself is in the chartulary rather than the chronicle, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 124r-125r. Berengar is pictured on fol. 124r.

¹² Cols.822-4.

To him [*Abbot Ildericus*] succeeded Adam, a man of note at the court of the Emperor Otto I, who was made abbot of the monastery of Pescara by this same court. Adam undertook the pastoral staff at the Lord Emperor's order. He read through the charters and privileges of the monastery, realised that almost all its property had been lost and its privileges no longer had any effect, and so he returned to the emperor, and tearfully detailed its complaints [*querimonia*] in his presence. He sought a new privilege, to be kept with the other privileges within the monastery,¹³ and he received three special ambassadors from the emperor, Bishop Peter of Penne and the two judges Henry and Aldo, whom the emperor had ordered to restore to the church what had been sold or alienated, to spare none of the thieves, and to ensure by their actions that when he himself should arrive he would find everything peaceful, restored and repaired. If anybody should be difficult and refuse to obey his precepts, then that person should be brought, however unwillingly, into his presence, where his sworn protection [*fiducia*] would be demonstrated to [such] rebels — that he lawfully maintained what property and possessions his predecessors had given to a church.

Through this action all the invaders of the church were filled with fear. Some indeed abandoned what they had wrongfully seized of their own free will; while others received the price of what they had wrongfully bought. But the rest were spurred only by the spirit of wickedness, and were willing despite the emperor neither to abandon what they unjustly held nor to show the proper respect for his envoys. They went to the lord emperor, appearing shamelessly like whores, and when he accused them concerning their misdeeds they began to blame the inhabitants of the church and the abbot. They were thence doubly confounded; by the abbot and brothers who were present, and by the court's judgement. They lost their stolen property, and once they were shown to be lying they lost completely even those things to which they did have a legal right, without any possibility of appeal. We have thought it suitable to insert on the present page what their names were, so that this

¹³ (December 967), edited by Muratori, cols. 827-9, as though in the chronicle, but actually in the chartulary, BN MS Latin 5411, fols. 132v-133r, = *M. G.H. Diplomatum Conradi I, Heinrici I, Ottonis I*, ed. T. Sickel (Hanover 1879-84), 485-7 no. 353.

should be known to those in the future, as well as the names of the villages and possessions that they had impiously seized.¹⁴

* * * * *

This successor of Abbot Adam of holy memory ruled the monastery for nine years. Then God forced him to leave this life through condign death. To him [*Abbot John*] succeeded Gilbert, whose name is often found in the documents. He received the abbey, not of his own free will, but through appointment by his relations and Count Transmund.¹⁵ He is to be found doing nothing in the charters of his time except granting leases and exchanges, which began in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 997 when he granted property in Corni to Alberic and Prando, in return for fifteen *solidi*.¹⁶ At this time a certain Adam gave for his soul seven *moggia* of land near Penne to the monastery of St. Clement. Meanwhile, in the time of Gilbert a certain Abbot Grimoald is found, to whom Aifred conceded property in Cerbarano, receiving for it five *solidi*.¹⁷ This Abbot Grimoald is not found further here; however he is written down after Gilbert, and the name of this Grimoald is placed after the name of Gilbert, in the catalogue. Then, ruling over the monastery and in its documents one has once more Gilbert. ... At this time a certain Remigius of Pescara and his brother Sanso, both men of considerable military power, and the whole clan of the Sansoneschi invaded and seized the *castella* and lands of the monastery, which the most prudent Abbot Adam had built up at great expense to be the refuge, glory and shield of the abbey of Pescara. This evil was believed to be entirely due to the cowardice of a weak and lazy shepherd.¹⁸

* * * * *

¹⁴ Col. 827. The last sentence was omitted by Muratori, and has been inserted from BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 133v. The details were contained in a *breve* made by the imperial *missus* Itto, on the same folio in the chartulary. Adam I was abbot 966-87.

¹⁵ Transmund II, Count of Chieti, attested 981-1016.

¹⁶ BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 167v (June 997). Corni has now disappeared, but it was north of the Pescara river, some 5-6 km. downstream from the monastery, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, p. 142.

¹⁷ The one and only charter of Grimoald is on BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 168r (December 999). Gislbertus was abbot once again in December 1000, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Cols. 836-7.

Abbot Pons died after ruling the abbey of Pescara for seven years. To him there succeeded Adam, who if he had lived longer would indeed have followed the good example of the first Adam. He acted against Alberic, the son of Gerard Rocconis, and his sons, who wanted to build a *castellum* at Tocco, which belonged rightfully to St. Clement as a result of the purchase made by Abbot Romanus on the order and at the expense of the Emperor Louis.¹⁹ The abbot rose up with a strong force of both cavalry and infantry, drove Alberic out [of Tocco], overthrew and set fire to what he had built, and for the memory of posterity ordered that the ashes of the burned *castellum* be put into baskets and scattered in a field, which is [still] called *Corbellarius* from these said baskets.²⁰

During the rule of Abbot Adam II (whose acts and documents begin in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1019) two brothers, Deodatus and Bonizo, gave a small estate which they possessed at Petaczano to the monastery in memory of their father Rocco. In the time of this [Abbot] Adam the Emperor Henry came to Italy, and imperially [*augustaliter*] corrected some of the oppressions of the monastery of Pescara, about which he was informed by the monks. ...²¹

(1023) Abbot Stephen was in office for one full year, but during his second year he reached the end of his temporal life.²² He was succeeded by Peparus, of whose acts nothing is known, since neither in the charters nor by report is anything that he did to be found. His name indeed is placed after Stephen in the catalogue. This at least will be written down at the end of the first book.

The succession of the abbots of Pescara now came to Lord Guido, to whom the burden of [ruling] the monastery was given. Since we shall speak a great deal about him, we ought to pause for a little while and give our limbs a break from sitting down, so that we may be the more prepared to discuss this great man.

¹⁹ Tocco is 3 km. south of the monastery.

²⁰ Latin *corbellae*.

²¹ The last clearly datable charter of Abbot Adam II comes in July 1021, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 178r.

²² Charters naming Stephen as abbot are dated from March 1023 until May 1024, BN MS Latin 5411, fols. 179v-180v, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, ed. C. Manaresi, ii (FSI, Rome 1957-8), 664-5 no. 321. Abbot Guido cannot therefore have been appointed during Henry II's expedition to southern Italy, which took place from February to June 1022.

Book Three

The Holy Abbot Guido

Revived a little after our long work, we shall shake our lazy limbs out of their deep sleep, and shall take up our pen and start to discuss, as we have promised, the holy man Guido. Indeed, we have above made some small beginning to this, so that we shall properly arrive at that time where he was elected and received the care and leadership of the church.

The carelessness of some of the abbots, and the lack of religion of the brothers, had brought the monastery of St. Clement of Pescara to such great misery that hardly anyone could be found who wished to rule over them [*the monks*]. They were so oppressed that their house had almost lost the name of an abbey. What should they do? Enemies were at their head, by whom they were surrounded on every side, nor did they even have the ability to leave the island, if they so wished, since [these enemies] had demolished the bridge, and placed ambushes for them in suitable places. They held the *castella* of the church which they had invaded, and showed themselves to be enemies of God. For the court of the emperor knew nothing of them, since many years had now passed since it had been visited by any abbot or the envoys of that abbot. Whence it happened that the invaders of these places held securely what the church had for a long time possessed, from the gift of Louis of holy memory, purchase by Abbot Romanus, and through the great expenditure of the venerable Adam, who fostered this abbey.²³ Finally, they discussed the matter and chose some of the brothers who were to break through their enemies and go to the court of the Emperor Henry, who had succeeded Otto III, and who should raise tearful voices, revealing to him in detail the misery of the church, the poverty [*nuditas*] of the brothers, the sorrow of the convent from the lack of an abbot. They left carrying a letter, which is still possessed by this church, and they read it out to the aforesaid

²³ Louis II, Emperor and King of Italy (d. 875), the founder of the abbey, Romanus, the first abbot (873-884), and Adam I (abbot 967-87).

emperor. All those who were present and heard this were reduced to tears by this account of the brothers' misery. The letter ran thus [*the text follows*] ...²⁴

The lord emperor was at that time staying with a great army in the vicinity of the church of Farfa, before going to attack the Apulians and the people of Troia, who with the encouragement of certain Normans who had tricked them and made them subject to themselves, not by courage but through the treachery of that race, were attempting to rebel against the Romans. Hearing that the brothers lacked an abbot, and were in consequence facing disaster, with the possessions of the church being ravaged, took counsel with his barons and summoned the abbot of Farfa. He asked him if there was any monk in that monastery who was a lover of religion, well-read and distinguished by his noble descent, who might be appointed as the guardian of the monastery. When he was told of the notable reputation of Guido, not just among the monks but also spread among the peasants and people round about, he sought that he might be given to him to be elected as pastor of the church of Pescara, which had been deprived of a shepherd. As is the way with men of sanctity, Guido declared that he was unworthy and unsuitable, and he begged with abundant tears at the abbot's feet that they leave him alone to lead a peaceful life; [however] he was handed over to the brothers, to be elected for the good of the monastery, and although unwilling was appointed as abbot of St. Clement of Pescara. The book which was written about his life, and which is kept in the monastery, does not fail to give a true account, albeit in a simple style, of how hard he worked for the church, once its abbacy had been entrusted to his charge, and of the great abstinence with which he ruled his body, of how gentle he was in encouragement but severe in correction.

He was therefore given to the brothers, and on the emperor's order was brought to the monastery with great honour. When Guido saw the ruin of the walls, the damage to the houses, and that it was almost devoid of bread and wine, the brothers naked, the monastery destroyed, he dwelt there for a few days, collected its privileges and charters, and set off once more to the emperor. But before he could come to him, he learned of his death.²⁵

²⁴ Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, p. 82, suggests that this letter was actually a later forgery.

* * * *

(1026) The lord Abbot Guido recovered by legal judgement against a certain powerful man called Albizo some properties at a place called Superone, in the appurtenances of Alano, and he also regained 50 *modii* of land in the appurtenances of Tocco through this same judicial sentence – this property was in the plain near the Pescara River, at a place called Undula.

A certain Siolfus gave [the abbey] property at a place called Vico. Vico had been under the jurisdiction of St. Clement from the foundation of the monastery of Casauria, but had afterwards been incorporated into the [territory of the] *castrum* of Castiglione, built by Abbot Adam in the lawful ownership of St. Clement, as has been recorded above. However, at this time Sanso and Walter, the sons of Rainald, held this *castellum*, as well as other *castella* such as Rocca di Soti and Bectorrita, which in the time of the lord Emperor Otto of most glorious memory had been built by Abbot Adam. But through the negligence and fault of some of the abbots of Pescara, the abbey was damaged and its power diminished; all its land was invaded by the aforesaid barons, who held these properties, which belonged to St. Clement by ancient legal right, having treacherously seized them. They were called the Sansoneschi, from the name of this Sanso.

(1027) After the death of the Emperor Henry, about which we spoke above, the lord Abbot Guido of Pescara heard that another man, named Conrad, had been put in his place, and so he once again journeyed to him, carrying the charters and privileges [of the abbey]. This glorious emperor received the abbot with great respect, had the privileges and charters read out in his presence, considered what the abbot begged should be done, and [then] confirmed in a new privilege what had been given to the monastery by his predecessors. This privilege was reverently brought back by the lord Abbot Guido to his monastery of Pescara, where it was most carefully stored with the other documents.²⁶

²⁵ Cols. 839-843. Henry II died in July 1024.

²⁶ The last sentence, missing in the edition, has been inserted from Paris, BN MS. Lat. 5411, fols. 184v-185r, which also contain the privilege of Conrad II, *MGH Diplomatum iv Conradi II Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau (Berlin 1909), pp. 92-4 no. 73. This lacks the dating clause, but Bresslau considered that it had been issued while Conrad was at Rome for his imperial coronation in March 1027.

Then the emperor [*Conrad II*] sent one of his dukes, Count Hugh, to the lord Abbot Guido. He ordered him to exercise his imperial power and restore to the church whatever it had possessed, both *castella* and villages, and not to leave until it held everything in peace. On his arrival, and before he had entered the monastery, the [abbot] made a complaint [*querimonia*] concerning the bridge which had been broken down. In the presence of the aforesaid duke, in the monastery, and in front of Bishop Dodo of Nocera [*Umbra*] and Bishop Adelbert of Senigallia, as well as the barons of Penne and Chieti, of whom a great number were present, on the appointed day, namely in January in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1028, it was decreed and confirmed, in a document [given] into the hand of Abbot Guido, that from that time until the end of the world the abbots of St. Clement would be allowed to build bridges wherever they liked. Anybody who tried to prevent them from doing this should pay a thousand pounds of gold into the treasuries of the lord emperor.

Once this had been accomplished and confirmed in writing, as we have described above, Abbot Guido laid a charge and plea before the duke, whom (as we have said) had been sent by the emperor, concerning the properties around the island and not far from the monastery. For many people had invaded these possessions, and were holding them neither from God nor man. ...

.... They [*the monastery's enemies*] fearing rather the emperor than God, and knowing the vigour of the abbot and his invincible will, fell on their knees, [admitted] how they had evilly invaded and acknowledged that they were at his mercy, and they swore that neither they nor their successors would usurp any of those properties which the aforesaid Abbot Guido had kept for himself, and he granted to them to hold enough to keep them content, out of his mercy and not through fear of their relatives. The abbot took care to have a document drawn listing what he had retained for himself and what he had granted to them, to prevent there being any further dispute. He retained for himself lordship over all the land and the fortresses within it, in which he also placed his guards. He kept the pastures, mills, woods, the best farms, tithes, the churches, burial right, and everything else which seemed to belong to the prerogatives [*officia*] of lordship. He left to them the other things, not with right of

lordship [*ius dominationis*] but rather as if they had sought to have them in servile tenure [*servili conditione*].²⁷

* * * * *

(1034) At this time, that man of the Lord, Abbot Guido, both on account of his own religious life and because of the fear felt for the glorious Emperor Conrad, flourished in the Lord in peace and quiet. But the Devil envied him, and armed certain wicked servants of his cruelty, namely the inhabitants of S. Valentino,²⁸ against this same holy man. He had them invade a meadow that was properly the property of St. Clement and belonged to his church. As a result this man of great gentleness was forced to gather a crowd of barons and local people, and when the aforesaid sinners refused to accept their testimony, finally sentence was pronounced in judgement, which they denied, still wishing to uphold their case. He decreed that the case should be decided by battle, and the one who was defeated should lose the meadow. He appeared to have no doubts about the issue. The inhabitants of S. Valentino seemed to have this justification: that the old course of the Pescara was known to have altered, and thus they claimed that the land [now] between the river and the *castellum* belonged to them. The day arrived in which a multitude of barons and townspeople were to be gathered; all with one voice asserted that the abbot was acting unjustly and that the field was part of the appurtenances of S. Valentino. What more? That blessed man Guido, whose hope was always in the Lord, ordered his men to start praying. The day before the battle was due to take place, he had left the monastery, all by himself, in the middle of the night, and accompanied by the Holy Spirit, who always stands up for the just, he went to the river, and addressed it in a loud voice.

‘I adjure you, in the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and through the power [*virtus*] of the most blessed Clement, bishop and martyr, that you follow me back to your original course, and restore the field which you have given to the evildoers, not of your own free will but at the prompting of the Devil’.

²⁷ Cols. 843-5 and 847. For the records of these legal cases, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, ed. C. Manaresi, iii(1) (FSI, Rome 1960), 15-22 nos. 327-9.

²⁸ 5 km. E. of the monastery.

Making a sign with the staff which he carried in his hand, he ordered it to flow, and it followed in the footsteps of the holy man, and leaving the meadow to St. Clement it reverted to its former course, by which the River Pescara rushed at a great rate to the sea.

When day came, all the people whom we mentioned above came ready for the battle, prepared to praise the victor and, and is the popular custom, to heap insults on the defeated. When they saw that the meadow was now on St. Clement's bank, and that the river was flowing to the sea by its old channel, they realised that this had not come about through human power, but that it was a miracle of Divine judgement. They all burst into tears and fell at the feet of the abbot, saying with one voice: 'now we have realised, most holy father, that the Holy Spirit resides in you, who speaks through the prophet, "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word"'.²⁹

* * * * *

[1038] It happened that at this time the Margrave Transmund was marching through the frontiers of St. Clement with a great army, [acting] as is the custom with the young, while many of the ordinary people and the peasants who lived in his county rushed into the villages and *casalia* so as to plunder them. They came to Alano, and sought food for themselves and supplies for the army, and unless they gave in haste what was sought from them, they atrociously threatened that they would destroy the *castellum* or set fire to it.³⁰ However, since the townspeople had received no orders [about this] from the abbot, nor did they dare to introduce new customs to the land of St. Clement, they rushed to the gates, fortified the *castellum*, and prepared to defend themselves therein. They killed one of the horses of the enemy army. As a result the margrave was filled with anger. He ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and lay siege to the *castellum*. He demanded a hundred gold *solidi* as compensation for this horse, which was barely worth ten. He stood out in front with his armed infantry, threatening death, fire destruction and [other] dangers, unless they immediately give

²⁹ Cols. 848-9: quotation from *Isaiah*, lxvi.2.

³⁰ Alano is 8 km. NE of the monastery. Transmund III, Count of Chieti, can be attested from 1032 until 1086, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, pp. 618-19.

him the sum that he demanded. Hearing about this the venerable Guido left the cloister, came to the army, and humbly did his best to calm the enraged margrave. When he saw that he was getting nowhere, he asked where the horse that had been killed was. He saw that its appearance was terrible, and its body was shockingly wasted. If it had not been struck down by the sword, it would soon have died of natural causes. In front of the whole crowd, he first prayed, speaking to the Lord thus:

‘Lord Jesus Christ, to whom nothing is impossible, who said to your disciples, that “whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive”,³¹ show now your power in this most wretched animal. Give it back the life which you have taken away from it, for without you not even a sparrow can fall to ground, in order to still the anger of these people, who are threatening and, it seems to me, are prepared to inflict fire and destruction on a possession of your most Blessed Martyr Clement’.

On saying this, he went to the horse and touched it lightly with the staff which he held in his hand, saying to it: ‘Arise! Our Lord Jesus Christ lifts you up. Go away unharmed and serve your master, as you have done up to now’. The horse immediately rose up unharmed. After seeing this, the anger of the margrave was calmed, and the whole army, which had been plundering the property of the monastery, fell prone at the feet of the holy man, begging him to pray to God for them, that what they had been doing unjustly should not rightly rebound upon them. However, the holy man graciously blessed them, and ordered them to cease from their evil ways. So it occurred that they returned to their homes without doing him any harm, and the land that they had threatened to burn remained intact through the protection of St. Clement.³²

* * * * *

The most holy Abbot Guido, being strong in these and other virtues, was every day within the monastery cloister busy with fasting and prayers, making it plain that he was nearing the end of his life and expecting Heaven. He was then taken ill, and

³¹ *Matthew*, xxi.22.

he immediately summoned the brothers, whom he told of the very day and hour that he would die, saying to them: ‘Brothers, my dearest sons, it has been shown to me that I am about to go the way of all flesh. I entrust my passing to you. I shall leave this life on the day on which the feast of St. Clement is celebrated, at the hour when the Gospel is recited in the Mass, when it has come to the place where it is said, “well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter in joy to your Lord”.³³ I shall at that moment and without delay entrust my soul into the hands of our Saviour, and I believe that I shall have the company in the palace of Heaven of him whom I have faithfully served, the Blessed Clement’.

His illness grew more serious. The day on which he had predicted that he would die, the most celebrated feast day, arrived, and before the Mass began, he had himself carried into the church, received the *viaticum*,³⁴ and turned his attention to the Lord, waiting for the hour of his death. When the Gospel was read, it was as he had predicted. The brothers were busy with the solemn ceremony, and lamenting extraordinarily over the imminent passing of such a great Pastor. They made their procession and did all that was customary at such a festival. When the Gospel was read, at the moment when he had predicted that he would die, when the lector was saying, ‘well done, thou good and faithful servant’, he rendered up his soul, in the presence of the people and monks, and as one ought rather to believe, in the presence also of the angelic choir; and he entered into what he had long wanted and hoped for night and day, that is eternal life, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1045, on 23rd November. The church of Pescara is accustomed to celebrate his memory every year on the day after the solemn feast of St. Clement. He was buried in the church, next to the wall on the south side, near the cloister of the monastery, while he himself lives on in Heaven, as is proved by daily miracles. He ruled over the abbey for twenty-one years, six months and twenty-three days. Not long after he had migrated to the Lord, he showed through many great deeds (*virtutes*) that he lived on with Christ. We shall make note of a few of these, since we shall hasten on to record other things.

³² Col. 852.

³³ *Matthew*, xxv.21, 23.

³⁴ The Eucharist given as part of the last rites to the dying.

A boy called Placidus was being instructed in the monastic way of life in the cloister, and after a while, to the profit of the church, became well versed in them, as he added to what he had learned in childhood. He was under the guardianship of the monks, as is customary. One day he was struck down with a raging fever, which burned so fiercely within him that it brought him close to death. He was carried by the brothers, who loved him dearly for his good character, to the tomb of the holy confessor Guido. Prayers were poured out for him, with tears and lamentation, and at that moment, without delay, he arose unharmed; nor was he ever again troubled with the fires of fever.

On another occasion, there was a monk called Gerguinus, who was so seriously afflicted with the illness which is called 'gout' that scarcely a sound limb could be found in his body. Not only he himself, but indeed many others despaired of his safety. He asked to be carried to the tomb of the aforesaid confessor of Christ. While he lay there prostrate on the ground, he made a prayer and was immediately cured. Rendering thanks to his Saviour, he devoted himself from then on to the service of Guido, the blessed confessor of Christ.

A certain woman had suffered for a long time from a serious eye infection, which finally rendered her blind, so that she was unable to distinguish night from day, nor was she able to see anything else. Her people led her by the hand to the sepulchre of the holy Abbot Guido. Sobbing greatly, she begged for his help, and she immediately recovered her sight. She who had arrived sad returned to her home with great joy, rendering thanks to God for recovered well being, and [became] a faithful servant to the most holy Guido.

There were many other acts which the Lord God performed every day through his servant the most holy Guido, but if we were to write every single one down, readers would become tired of them, and perhaps they would seem incredible. Since, as we have said above, we now turn to other things, we ask that the little that we have recorded about the saint be sufficient.

To him there succeeded Abbot Franco, who ruled as abbot for eight months and then left this bodily life. In the brief space of time before he died, a certain baron named Peter gave to the church of St. Clement and his servants the *castello* of Ripa, along with the church of the Holy Saviour [there], and he confirmed this donation in a document given into the hand of Abbot Franco.³⁵

On the death of Franco, Domenic succeeded him in the government. He was elected as abbot by the whole congregation with the consent of the Emperor Henry, son of the venerable Conrad, and this was agreed by the abbot of the monastery in which he had been professed. His charters and the acts which he did as abbot begin in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1046, in the month of September. In that year, in the eighth year of his reign, King Henry came to Capua and confirmed the election of Abbot Dominic. Since we are about to say a lot more about him, let us make a digression and describe how his election took place and how he behaved in this monastery. He was from the monastery of St. Fructuosus called Capodimonte, a religious man, knowledgeable in the medical art, on account of which he was most pleasing to the emperor. He was wise in secular matters, skilled in letters, and what is even more admirable always solicitous for the souls of the brothers subject to him. All the brothers of the monastery of Casauria chose him as their shepherd on account of his honesty, prudence and holiness of life, and they confirmed his election in writing for the hand of the emperor. This document about his election is still preserved in the monastery of Pescara.³⁶

* * * * *

In the second year after the appointment of Dominic as Abbot of St. Clement, it happened that the Emperor Henry came to Capua. Abbot Dominic went to meet him at S. Flaviano in Aprutium, and sought from him a privilege of protection, fortification and defence, on the model of those given by his predecessors.³⁷ ...

³⁵ BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 204v (January 1046). *Ripa* may be Ripalta, c. 7 km. NW of the monastery.

³⁶ Cols. 853-5. This document, witnessed by thirty-two monks of the abbey, is on BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 205r, along with a drawing of Henry III, Abbot Dominic and the monks.

³⁷ Henry III's army was then marching northwards after his brief visit to southern Italy to sought out the affairs of the principality of Capua; the privilege for Casauria, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 208r, is edited in MGH *Diplomatum Henrici III*, ed. H. Bresslau & P.F. Kehr (Berlin 1931), 233-4 no. 186 (13th March 1047).

... At that time the Normans were laying waste Apulia and made that land subject to themselves, not through their own bravery but through the fault of its people. Pope Leo IX went out to fight them with a Roman army, and in that battle was defeated and lost no small part of his forces. Abbot Dominic then went to see him and requested from him a privilege against the bishops, archbishops, counts, barons and all those who sought to have right, lordship or power over the monastery of St. Clement or over the churches subject to that place, so that unless they desisted from their unjust attempts and desires they would be excommunicated and cast out from the company of the saints, while its benefactors would be exalted by God and their sins forgiven.³⁸ He was the first abbot of the monastery of Pescara to seek a privilege such as we have described from the Roman Pontiff, for his predecessors were either unable to do this or they considered it unimportant. ...

... Moreover around this time, as lord Dominic was prospering as abbot of this monastery and his reputation for goodness was spreading all around, it happened that the church of Valva found itself widowed and without a pastor; and, since it could not be without a governor, he alone was thought worthy to rule it. What more? He was elected and consecrated, and was appointed as Bishop of Valva as well as Abbot of St. Clement. But although promoted to this high office, he did not forget his monastic habit, but acted with the humility that he had been accustomed to observe in the monastery, and through this humility made himself pleasing both to God and to [his fellow] men.

(1056) The lord Dominic was at this time faced with many tasks both as Bishop of Valva and as Abbot of Pescara. Exhausted by his valiant efforts on behalf of both these churches, he sought to lighten his load and to gain help for this great burden, especially since the cares and problems of the bishopric weighed so heavily upon him that his rule over the abbey, and its affairs, were harmed, and this seemed not to be in its interest.³⁹ So he consulted the brothers and appointed one of them, by name Berard, in his place, that the latter might sit in the abbatial throne and act as ruler over

³⁸ Leo's privilege is on Paris, BN MS. Lat. 5411, fol. 218v, = *Italia Pontificia IV Umbria, Picenum Marsia*, ed. P.F. Kehr (Berlin 1909), 300-1 no.1 (22nd June 1051). The chronicler's chronology is here in error: the defeat of Leo IX by the Normans at the Battle of Civitate took place two years later, on 17th June 1053.

its affairs; granting him the name and office of abbot, although he reserved to his own decision ultimate authority over its affairs and [still] dealt with the most important of the monastery's business. Once Berard had, as was said above, received the name and office of abbot, he made an exchange with Abbot Gregory of St. Nicholas on the Tronto, giving him the church which the monastery of St. Clement possessed at a place called Valliscupa in the county of Aprutium, along with 300 *modii* of land, receiving in exchange the church of St. Maurus on the River Tavo, with an equivalent amount of land.⁴⁰

* * * * *

(1064) At this time, indeed, the brothers began to forget the court of the emperor, and being unable to resist the Normans who were depopulating the whole land were first made subject to Count Robert of Loritello, and after his death to Hugh Mamouzet. We shall speak at the appropriate place about the persecutions which the latter inflicted upon the monastery of St. Clement. The men who, as we described above, had in the presence of Duke Hugh and in the time of the Emperor Conrad been overcome, and had received the *castella* from the hand of the most holy lord Abbot Guido in servile tenure, forgetful of their oaths and fealty, invaded [its] property, garrisoned the *castella* against the church, and as they were more safely able to oppress it, they took for themselves other lords, with whose help and strength they held what they had wickedly seized, to the diminution of the place [in question] and to the detriment of the whole abbey. Berard, as it turned out, was through Divine [judgement?] unable to resist them, since God had sent against them [*the monks?*] the Normans, a race most greedy for rule, to the confusion of the land.

Abbot Berard did not appear to have done much, nor to have performed any great action, but did [only] a few things, and before he was able to accomplish much, the Lord placed an end to his life. He ruled the monastery for six years, and then died and was buried. He is listed among the abbots after the Lord Dominic, and his name

³⁹ Dominic was mentioned as 'bishop and abbot in a document of June 1061, Paris, BN MS. Lat. 5411, fol. 227r.

⁴⁰ Cols. 858-9, 861-2. The exchange was one of a distant church for another that was in the county of Valva and thus much closer to the monastery. The River Tavo runs some 20 km. N of Casauria.

has been written in the catalogue after the latter's. After his death the lord Dominic, as before, held the abbot's charge for as long as he lived. ⁴¹

* * * * *

Abbot Transmund

(1073) After the death of the *lord* Dominic, Bishop of Valva and Abbot of Pescara, the brothers were reluctant to remain for long without a shepherd, lest the property of the church be diminished. Along with the clergy of St. Pelinus, who similarly had lost their pastor, they took counsel and went to Rome, journeying to the seat of the Apostolic See. They were unable to go to the emperor on account of the disagreement and discord that had arisen between the Roman Church and the emperor of the Germans. The cases of both churches were raised before the Roman Curia, and with both the monks of St. Clement agreeing and consenting to his election as abbot, and the clergy of St. Pelinus to his election as bishop, the monk Transmund, a nobleman who was the brother of Oderisius, the abbot of St. Benedict after the lord Desiderius, ⁴² was honourably given to them both by Pope Gregory, in the year 1073 from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The venerable Pope Gregory celebrated a general council at Rome, where he pronounced a special sentence, and thus one greatly to be feared, against the Normans and other invaders of the estates and possessions of the monastery of St. Clement.

‘If any Norman, or any other man, invades the property of the monastery of St. Clement, or unjustly takes away any goods of that same monastery, and after receiving two or three warnings has not mended his ways, let him be subject to excommunication until he repents and makes satisfaction to the church. If anyone shall usurp the property of St. Clement, wherever it may be situated, as though it were his own, or knowingly shall sell it in secret, or shall fail to provide the service owed to

⁴¹ Col. 863. Dominic died on 11th March 1073, *ibid.* col. 864. Dominic was found as abbot once again from July 1065 onwards, Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fol. 229r.

⁴² Oderisius I, Abbot of Montecassino 1087-1105. They were sons of Count Oderisius II of Marsia. For Transmund's earlier career as Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary of Tremiti, *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffmann (*MGH SS xxxiv*, Hanover 1980), III.25, pp. 392-3.

St. Clement, he will incur the wrath of God and St. Clement as a man guilty of sacrilege. Whoever shall be apprehended in this crime shall restore that property to St. Clement, and shall pay a quadruple penalty from his own goods. Any knight or other person or professed person who has received or shall receive church property from any king or secular prince, or [even] from a bishop, or who invades it, without the consent of the abbots or rectors of a church, or who holds it without the formal consent of those same rectors, shall be subject to excommunication, unless he restores it to the church in question. Promulgated at Rome in the universal synod presided over by this same blessed Pope Gregory, and approved by the whole council.’

This letter which he had had compiled was sent by Pope Gregory to the convent of the church of St. Clement with the same lord Transmund, who he had appointed both abbot and bishop, with instructions that it should be kept in perpetuity among the privileges of the monastery of Pescara, so that it might be put into effect. Thus lord Transmund was ordained both as bishop and abbot, and he ruled both churches. He conducted the business of each separately, and lived sometimes at St. Pelinus, and sometimes in the monastery.

(1074) At this time, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1074, twelfth in the indiction, a certain noble and illustrious man called Obertus, son of the late Guido, gave to the monastery of St. Clement for the redemption of his soul whatever [share] belonged to him of the *castellum* called Petrace di S. Valentino, entrusting to the hands of the abbot and having a charter of confirmation drawn up.⁴³ Moreover Abbot Transmund, as a wise man who was more concerned with the present than to foresee what might happen in the future, therefore built a *castellum* on the island, blocking the way in, and furnishing it with walls and a tower. He brought in men and women to live in this *castellum*. He made a common causeway both for himself and for the inhabitants before the gates of this *castellum*. The reason that he did this was because the men of Tocco were harrying those inhabitants who lived outside the *castellum*.⁴⁴

(1075) Moreover, in the following year, namely the 1075th from the Incarnation of the Lord, Rainardus, son of the aforementioned Obertus, in a similar manner and for

⁴³ S. Valentino is 5 km. east of the monastery.

the same reason as his father, gave with devoted heart the fourth part which belonged to him of the *castellum* of S. Valentino, and making a charter of confirmation, legally handed it over to the lord Abbot Transmund.

(1076) When this same abbot became a bishop, he rebuilt the church of St. Pelinus with wonderful workmanship, and also began the rebuilding of the church of St. Pamphilius at Sulmona, even though, as we noted above, its possessions were by no means extensive and it suffered as a result. However, he was not content with the humility of the first church, which had been built by the Emperor Louis. He built a new church, in a place which has on this account been known up to today as ‘At the New Saints’, where he forced the congregation to live, and where he intended, if he had time, and God approved, to transfer the [body of] Most Blessed Clement.

Nevertheless God frustrated his efforts, and what he had planned, as a man, could not be fulfilled, as we shall describe in what follows. ...

(1079) ... Seeing the new fortifications that had been built, and fearing that they would be a hindrance to him, Hugh Mamouzet invaded many *castella* and fortresses, and [indeed] a great part of the region. He feigned friendship and said that he wanted to have a discussion with the abbot. He then set an ambush, and captured the abbot, who came imprudently and incautiously, and threw him into prison. He held him bound for a long time, until he had destroyed all the new buildings and deprived the inhabitants of their goods and utensils. He released the abbot and allowed him to go free only after everything that he wanted to destroy had been demolished. The latter returned to the abbey, but when he saw its barrenness and that its goods had been plundered, and he was unable to find even the means of life there, he was sad and depressed. Partly because he saw that what he had built had been destroyed, and partly because of the shame which he had brought on himself, after ruling the abbey for eight years he retired to his bishopric at St. Pelinus. There he lived on for a few days, and then rendered up the debt of [all] flesh and died on 27th November, where he was worthy of burial in the church of St. Pelinus. At the destruction of their church, which was done as we have said before in the time of Transmund, Abbot of

⁴⁴ Tocco, 3 km. south of Casauria, cf. above note 18.

St. Clement and Bishop of St. Pelinus, by Hugh Mamouzet, the monks were dispersed in different places. When they were able to return to the monastery, only that part of the church which was over the body of St. Clement remained intact. This had been left in the keeping of four veteran monks, who according to our elders had remained living in the monastery throughout this crisis. Hence we have never abandoned that place which the Lord chose, and in which our lord St. Clement wishes to rest, for it was not without the help of God that the Emperor Louis built this temple of the Lord here, and thus anybody who wishes to transfer us somewhere else can be nothing else than a body without a soul, for we would prefer to die than to leave this place. However, everywhere else except for the spot where the four monks kept watch before [the tomb of] St. Clement was covered with briars and nettles, these brothers were huddled there lamenting the desolation of the church and the depopulation of the monastery, and spent their time in sorrow and hardship.

Abbot Adam

(1080) Finally, since they were unwilling to be without an abbot, they placed one of their own number, called Adam, the provost of this monastery, on the [abbatial] throne. They expected that with his help there might be the long-awaited restoration of the monastery, if he should have the opportunity. This took place in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1080, third in the indiction. ... ⁴⁵

... But indeed, since evil had not yet been purged, nor had the time yet arrived when God should take pity upon his church, although he knew it to be appallingly oppressed. Abbot Adam and the monks were scarcely able to raise their head, dwelling among their enemies as if they were guests, and scratching a miserable living from their property as though it was not really theirs. And since there is nobody who is blessed in every particular, the Lord God, who is always hard upon the

⁴⁵ Even by his own calculations, the chronicler's chronology seems awry, since he claims that Transmund, appointed in 1073, was abbot for eight years. However, the last charter to mention Transmund as abbot was in November 1079, and the first of Abbot Adam [III] came in January 1080, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fols. 234r and 235r, while Transmund was still alive on 12th December 1080, although by that time Gregory VII was attempting to remove him as Bishop of Valva, and there was no mention of his abbacy, Gregory, *Registrum*, VIII.15 [*The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford 2002), p. 381. It is therefore clear that Adam was elected while Transmund was still alive, but after he had abandoned the abbey. Adam can be found as provost in August 1078, *Additamenta ad Chronicon Casuariense*, RIS ii(2).1002.

saints, allowed Abbot Adam to be overcome to some small extent by carnal enjoyment, in that, so it is said, he allowed the whole abbey to suffer great damage, and because of his weakness he irretrievably lost those lands which the church of St. Clement possessed in the appurtenances of Tocco. He lived for six years as abbot, and then left this bodily life.⁴⁶

Abbot Adenulf the Intruder

After his death, the aforesaid Mamouzet held the abbey as though it was one of his chapels and he would not permit the monks to choose an abbot, rather he placed over them the man he wanted, for as long as it pleased him. This was a certain Adenulf, who was not a monk of this congregation. Because the brothers were unable to put up with him, they went to Mamouzet and asked him to remove this man from the oversight [*praepositura*] of the monastery and to give them permission to elect an abbot for themselves. Popular opinion [*rumor insanientis vulgi*] gave them some help in this matter, for everyone was calling out against him as a plunderer of the church and an enemy of God and St. Clement.

Abbot John

What more? They were granted the right to make an election, and with Divine assistance they elected and chose for themselves John, a monk of this monastery, a man of noteworthy life and religion.⁴⁷ In his time the great cross [which stands] in the choir of the church of St. Clement was erected, carved and painted with wonderful skill, which is held in great veneration both by the brothers and by many others because it was greatly famed among those devoted to the honour of the precious wood of the Cross of Christ. The lord Abbot John [also] had a beam, painted most skilfully with icons of the Saviour and images of the Prophets and Apostles, the Passion of the Lord and the Lamb of God, raised up on high and placed over the gate of this same choir.

⁴⁶ The last charter to mention Abbot Adam was in July 1086, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 236r.

⁴⁷ However, it seems that in fact John had been Abbot of St. Bartholomew of Carpineto, in the diocese of Penne, for more than a decade, before being elected as Abbot of Casauria, and that he came originally from the Montecassino priory of Sette Fratri, *Il Chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, ed. E. Fuselli (L'Aquila 1996), pp. 105-6

In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1093 a nobleman called Rainerius son of *quondam* Tribunus gave to the monastery of St. Clement, in a charter which he had drawn up, the *castellum* of S. Gregorio and the churches of St. Martin, St. Mary de Melano and St. Flavianus, along with 1000 *modii* of land in Aprutium.⁴⁸

The year from the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1094 unfolded, and about this time the lord Abbot John of Pescara, who was distinguished for his virtuous character and wisdom, was deservedly raised to the see of St. Pelinus and made Bishop of Valva, and when he saw the persecution of Mamouzet growing worse, he thought it best to pay less attention to the abbey and to devote more time to his bishopric.

Abbot Gilbert

Mamouzet, striving to get what he wanted rather than to please God, sent a certain chaplain of his, by name of Gilbert, to the monastery of St. Clement, seemingly as an act of mercy although in fact, as it turned out later, in the hope of plundering it. He sent him here, ordering him in public to take responsibility for the abbey so that he might augment it, but telling him in secret to despoil it of its ornaments and its gold and silver vessels just as fast as he could. Mamouzet suspected that the monks of St. Clement were plotting against him, for he feared that if the Emperor Henry, who at this time was thought to hold the upper hand in Italy and Rome, should come to these parts then he would, because of its abundance of treasures, build up the monastery of Pescara once again and restore it to its full liberty. Thus it happened that, unless it was for fear of this tyrant and of the other Normans who ruled over and terrorized both them and the whole region through violence, and also since this same King Henry was seen to be hostile to the Roman Church, this Gilbert took over the monastery and undertook its rule with this plan in his mind. He entered it like a wolf in sheep's clothing, ready to kill, ruin and plunder, and in a few days he returned to his lord with a great load of gold and silver, for he

⁴⁸ The relevant charter, the first to mention Abbot John, is dated January 1093, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 236v. There were no charters at all recorded in the chartulary between 1086 and 1093.

tore out crosses, broke up thuribles and chalices, nor did he spare the gold and silver sheets which acted as covers for the Word of the Saviour. The church of St. Clement had once been abundantly endowed with these treasures from the time of the holy abbots Guido and Dominic, and of the others who were numbered among the good abbots. However, he found here simple-minded sheep, ready rather to be killed than to seek revenge, whom he filled with fear, and (as we have said) under the guise of a shepherd, he plundered the church. What should they do? They had no pastor, they had lost the treasures, and they saw all around them their powerful enemies plundering the possessions of the church. Nor could they find anyone who pitied them and who could bring them help.

Thus, afflicted and distressed, they hastened to the tyrant, and told him tearfully what had happened to them, as though he did not know! He indeed pretended to be sorry for them, although in fact he rejoiced in doing evil and exulted in wicked deeds. He gave them permission to elect whom they wished, but he did not return the treasures through which they might repair the church. They then first went to the lord Bishop John, and asked him to undertake rule over the abbey as before. But he would not agree to their request; he abandoned the abbey and held the bishopric.

Abbot Grimoald

There was a certain monk of the monastery of St. Vincent, who was reputed to be good at agriculture and experienced in secular affairs, even if not well-educated. He ruled over the *praepositura* of St. Peter of Trita. This man was called Grimoald, and by the advice and with the permission of the aforesaid Bishop John, the brothers, few [now] in number and poor in goods, sought him as abbot, for they were most anxious to restore the houses and repair the church. After he had been given to them, he found the place deserted and stripped bare of inhabitants and means. He wanted to return to the church, the burden of [ruling] which he had, if he could, although he did not see how, nor could he find a way, to repair the ruins of the monastery. However, he did what he could, trusting that God would visit the church through the merits and intercession of St. Clement.

We have already noted the pride, greed and perversity of Hugh Mamouzet. What he had in his hands would never satisfy him, even if he had the whole world. So he later disinherited the barons, expelled them and put them to flight, and usurped for himself their *castella* and possessions.

He tried to do more, and planned to seize by any means that he could muster a certain heavily-defended *castellum* called Prezza.⁴⁹ He had already taken certain other fortresses from the lord of that *castellum*, and he now tried to seize what he had left and to deprive him of everything. However, the lord of that *castellum* had a most beautiful and very clever sister, who had heard rumours about Mamouzet's lecherous habits. She secretly sent a message to him that if he wanted he could come to her, and she would have a private meeting with him on the outer rampart of the *castellum*. If he would give her one of his barons in marriage, she would do what she could to let him have the *castellum*. Hearing this, Mamouzet eagerly accepted, and came to the place which she had chosen with only a few men with him. The girl had however told her brother of his promise to come. He armed himself and followed her, at some distance, accompanied by his knights and a crowd of infantry, and concealed his men in secret among the bushes. The girl came to Mamouzet, and lulling him with sweet words and kisses,⁵⁰ she persuaded him to lie down on her breast. The servant whom she had brought with her held his feet in her lap, and while the girl kept him busy with caresses and pretty speeches the maid wrapped the long dress which she was wearing round his spurs, so that when the time came and he wanted to jump up, he would be so hampered that he would be unable to do so. When the girl's brother saw him laying in his sister's arms, he rushed to that place with the crowd of heavily-armed cavalry and infantry, seized him as he lay there unable to rise, tied him up, and placed him under guard in the strongest spot in the *castellum*, before his men could come to his aid. When the barons heard that this enemy of God and man had been captured, everyone rushed to the place which Mamouzet had violently and treacherously seized from him, laid siege to it and took it back. He remained shut up in prison for a long time, until he had restored freedom to all the land which he had seized. Then, as was

⁴⁹ In the county of Valva, 20 km. SSW of Casauria and 10 km. W of Sulmona. The lords of Prezza were part of the Sansoneschi kin group.

⁵⁰ *et inter oscula lenibus verbis decipiens*; there is a wordplay between the adjective *lenis* ('soft' or 'sweet') and *leno*, 'a seducer' or 'procurer'.

right, he led a miserable life, naked and poor, not in his own land but as a stranger. He had by his wife seven sons, all of whom (to give a brief account) he placed as counts and dukes in land which did not belong to him. What deeds might have been expected of him if he had lived longer is easy to imagine. However, God whom he had offended and St. Clement overthrew his house, despoiled it of silver and gold, and did not permit him to fulfil his desires. For He made him suffer with a most serious illness, which brought him to his grave, and in the year in which he died five of his sons followed him in death. Thus it happened that he received burial in the monastery which he had despoiled, in that place where once a picture of St. Clement had been placed, namely in the crypt that the lord Abbot Grimoald had built in the saint's honour and had painted, before the door on the south side of that church.

At this same time a certain Lieto, a priest of Tocco, made a charter granting and confirming to the monastery of Pescara the church of St. Domitius, which he gave into the hands of Abbot Grimoald in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1097.

We have toiled enough recounting the miseries and the desolation of the church, as a result of its persecution by Hugh Mamouzet, and his overthrow, and how the Lord granted a good abbot to his church, who worked mightily for its restoration. Even though we have only said a little about the death of our adversary, we are somewhat tired and will pause for a little while, so that after resting we may begin the following book with greater enthusiasm.⁵¹

Book Four

Grimoald was still abbot-elect and had not yet received consecration, when after the death of the most wicked Hugh, about whom we have noted down a few things among many, there arose another even worse than him. This man was called William Tassio, and he was a treacherous man, whose nickname came from a rapacious beast, and he was – as his name implies – a lover of earthly things.⁵² If the name is discussed in the strictest etymological sense, William is known to be a lover

⁵¹ Cols. 864-70

⁵² *Tassio* means 'the badger'. William was a member of the Hauteville family, and a nephew of Count Robert I of Loritello. His brother Roger was the ancestor of the later Counts of Loreto.

of secular wisdom. For *Wi* in Greek means ‘land’ in Latin, *erma* is the name of Mercury the God of Wisdom and of dreams. Thus ‘William’ is formed by joining these two semi-vowels, and means ‘the wise land’ or ‘wise in the land’, that is ‘wise in temporal things’. From the first he used all his wisdom to acquire secular possessions, and he began to plunder so widely that he was deemed [to be] the hammer of the whole land, and not only by those whom he made subject to himself through violence, but indeed also by those who lived a long way away and only feared his cruelty.

He held the *castellum* of Loreto in Penne, and the *castellum* of Popoli in Valva,⁵³ and often waged war against his neighbours and those living round about. With a lot of persuasion and promises of poisonous sweetness he tricked lord Bishop John of Valva and fraudulently deceived him. The latter gave him, at a moment of weakness, the *castellum* of Popoli, and he [then] swore to him, on his hand, that if the bishop grant him custody of the tower of Bectorrita,⁵⁴ of St. Pelinus, and of the tower on the island of St. Clement, so that he and his army could march in safety through the land of both of these saints, leaving them in peace while had made war on his neighbours, then once this war with his neighbours, and especially with the people of Marsia, was over (and he thought that the fortunes of war and his accustomed victories would allow him to finish it off in a short time), then he would not only return these fortresses, but he would also give the entire *castellum* of Popoli with its fortifications and appurtenances to St. Pelinus and St. Clement, to be held by them as of right. Abbot Grimoald was at that time governing the abbey as the vicar of the aforesaid bishop, until such time as he himself received consecration. Bishop John trusted in William’s promise, and in the oath which he swore with his right hand, for he was of simple mind and like an innocent who believed every word [he was told], and so he granted him [these things], and in this he was afterwards deceived. For not very long after he had entered into possession of them, William Tassio began to treat the lands both of St. Clement and of St. Pelinus as though they were his own, and supplied himself from everything that he could place under his power from the aforesaid fortresses. Grimoald was for a time much upset by this grievance, since he

⁵³ Loreto Aprutino, 7 km. SE of Penne; Popoli, also on the Pescara river, 11 km. upstream from Casauria.

⁵⁴ Modern Torre de’Passeri, on the other side of the river from the abbey.

was neither able to go to the emperor, nor was he able to let the emperor know what was happening – for the Normans, who had invaded the whole land, refused to hear the name of emperor, nor would they permit anybody to go to him. The abbot did not know what to do, seeing every day the overthrow and destruction of his church, and being unable to rebuild what had been destroyed. He gave himself over to lamentation rather than to bodily refreshment; however, he placed his entire trust in God, making humble prayers to Him that He grant peace to his church and humble the enemies who were raising up their heads in pride.

At that time the Roman Church had through Divine mercy a good shepherd, a lover of Christianity and a defender of the Faith, in Saint Urban. He lamented that the Saracens had occupied the holy city of Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of the Lord, and wishing to snatch it from the hands of the unbelievers and to restore its pristine liberty, he preached the remission of sins which was given by God, acting through him, and which he conferred on all those who went to Jerusalem and freed the city and the land beyond the sea that was held by the Saracens. He also added this; if anyone should die for Christ, whether along the way or in battle, they should be considered to be numbered among the martyrs and absolved from all their sins. And while the whole world ran after him, anxious to receive the remission of sins and to be numbered among the holy martyrs, it happened that the aforesaid supreme pontiff came to preach this message in Chieti and stayed there for a few days while he had a meeting with the bishops and barons concerning the way to Jerusalem. Hearing of this, Grimoald went to him, and told him of the disasters and destruction which had befallen his church. Pope Urban heard this with the greatest reverence, and he decided to place it under the protection of the Roman Church, of which previously the abbey of St. Clement had known little since it had been governed by the emperors.

Grimoald was first consecrated by him as abbot, receiving the pastoral staff in place of the royal sceptre which his ancestors and he himself had, as a gift from the emperor, carried in their right hand. From that time onwards his whole purpose was the restoration of the church and the buildings, and the recovery of the lost possessions. He had the brushwood which had been growing amid the ruins of the monastery cleared away, new walls built, and in a brief space of time, with the help of the Saviour's grace, he repaired the church and the offices of the monastery. They

were not restored to that state in which they had formerly been, but to the best of his ability and as he thought feasible. These events took place during the passing of the years from the Incarnation of the Lord 1098 through to 1101.⁵⁵

* * * * *

[1103] William Tassio, who undertook with great violence the second persecution, after that of Mamouzet, against the possessions of St. Clement and of its neighbours, decided (I do not know what spirit led him to this) to go to the regions beyond the sea,⁵⁶ and because he was infected with evil he did not leave those whom he had robbed in peace but rather sought to injure them, [thus] he sold to lord Richard, Count of Manopello, the abbey of St. Clement, Popoli and the bishopric of St. Pelinus, for 1000 *bizantei*. Count Richard was desirous of rule, and after he had bought jurisdiction over the monastery from this man, who had no right to sell it, he came with a great company to the island in the Pescara, set up his tabernacle there, and stayed for as long as he pleased. After consuming the goods of the monastery in extravagant feasting, when he wished to depart he said to the abbot:

‘I do not want to conceal from you, abbot, that we give gold to merchants, in order to receive double back; hence we have paid out our money so that we might receive it back with threefold interest from those whom we have bought. You should know that I have bought this abbey, which you rule with a few others, for 1000 *bizantei*. I want you now to restore to me what seems to be your share of the aforesaid sum, [and] I don’t want you to make me angry with you by any little delay, so pay me what I have told you right now, for I can’t and won’t wait for you for a moment’.

When the abbot replied that he did not have the money, and showed him the ruined walls and the damaged church, the count was furious. He was beside himself, and showing neither respect to God nor honour to the venerable martyr, threw out these words:

⁵⁵ Cols. 871-2.

‘If you do not bring the whole sum of money on the day I set for you, then I shall finish off these ruins which you have showed me, and after everything which you have made has been destroyed, I shall expel the island’s inhabitants and rule over it and all of its appurtenances.’

After saying this, he went on his way, and there is no doubt that he would have done what he had promised, if he had been given the chance.

What should you do, Father Grimoald? The rage of this madman will never be stilled unless you give him the gold that he has demanded? What grief, what misery! The abbey which formerly belonged to the chamber of the emperor is now given for a price, as though it had been sold by merchants like a paltry maidservant. Where is royal justice? Where is the might of the sceptre? All has fallen from you, [and] you are placed under the yoke. You are not free; the man who will free you treats you as his own land [*gleba*]. What more? The abbot took counsel with the brothers who lived there and on the appointed day, since he could not raise the sum of gold demanded from him, he collected all the cattle and other animals from wherever they could be found on the abbey’s property, and gathering up mothers and their wailing little ones he brought them to the house of the tyrant. He said to him:

‘These are the things from which these poor mothers and their children ought to live. Spare them and God will spare you. I do not wish to reduce the land of St. Clement to a desert, nor to drive the inhabitants from the place. But you should know for certain that since we have what you demand, there will be no delay in surrendering it, for we do not wish to provoke you to anger by our action.’

The count’s mind burned with the fire of avarice, and he did not even judge the abbot worthy of a reply; rather he extended his hand to the gifts and to the oxen and cattle, nor did he leave anything to the children or their mothers from which they could be fed for a single day.

⁵⁶ i.e. to the Holy Land.

Abbot Grimoald returned to the monastery, plundered of his wealth. He lamented rather for those who cultivated the fields rather than for himself or the brothers, and he turned his prayers to the Lord, pouring them out before the tomb of St. Clement. He said:

‘O Lord, take note of us, for we have waited. Put your hand on our arm, be our help in time of tribulation. Your enemy shall not enjoy for long the booty that he has treacherously taken from your servants. Show your strength for your church, lest anybody say to him “Where is your God?”’⁵⁷

After saying this, he was silent, and what he awaited came to pass, for having faith in the Lord he believed that God would fight for his place. There came a day when Count Richard ordered a great feast to be prepared. He sat in his palace, which was filled to bursting with many dishes that he had ordered to be made from the plunder from St. Clement’s. He was sitting at table with his barons when he felt Divine vengeance strike him. For a terrifying person appeared to him alone, clad in a priest’s robe, and gave him a great blow on the head with the key which he held in his hand. This blow immediately deprived him of sight and hearing. He was carried to his bed by the servants, crying out in a loud voice. When the women asked him what was the matter, he suddenly recovered his hearing and exclaimed:

‘Didn’t you see what I saw? That priest who stood there, and ended my time with one blow of his key, and [said?] ‘this blow will seem light if you strike me again’. I shall soon leave this life. Clement, don’t persecute me, I don’t want this Clement!’

With these words, he died.⁵⁸ He realised that the One who guards his people, always and everywhere, does not sleep nor will not sleep. Although an attempt was made to keep quiet about it, news of this event could not be hidden, and the hearts of the virtuous grew most joyful in that God had not cast into oblivion the tears of his

⁵⁷ *Ubi est Deus tuus?: Psalm, 43..3, 10 .*

⁵⁸ The chronicle does not date these events, but Count Richard certainly died before October 1104, *Le Carte di S. Liberatore alla Maiella conservate nell’archivio di Montecassino*, ed. Mariano dell’Omo, i (Miscellanea Cassinese 84, Montecassino 2003), 209 no. 275.

servants, so that those who endured a life of sadness, being plundered of their property, received consolation with this vengeance and the death of their enemy. His wife, who was now a widow, returned part of those things which her husband had stolen to Abbot Grimoald, and she restrained her son, warning him not to do any harm towards the abbey of Pescara island, which he did not while his mother lived. After her death he forgot her admonitions, and following in his father's footsteps, he surpassed him in evil.

On the death of Pope Urban of holy memory, Paschal was placed on the pontifical throne and deemed worthy to wear the priestly stole. He sent one of his cardinals, called Augustine as a legate, and ordered him to excommunicate Count Atto, who had abandoned his own legitimate wife and brought another woman to live with him, namely Rogata, the widow of Mamouzet.⁵⁹ He was to keep him outside the Church until he gave up the woman whom he clung to in this evil fashion and made satisfaction for the crime for which he was accused. Those whom he harmed by his evil example, he should bring to make amends by his penitence. The legate came to the island on the Pescara where the monastery of St. Clement lies, and there he was received with great honour. Following the pope's instructions, he encouraged the excommunicate Atto to make satisfaction, received the penitent and restored him to the Church. And to prevent him returning once again to his sin, he had him swear that he would accept sentence of excommunication for this.

While the cardinal was enjoying the hospitality of the abbot and brothers in the monastery, he asked them about the church and the relics that were kept there. But when he heard that the body of St. Clement lay buried there, nothing would induce him to believe this, until the abbot promised to show him this most sacred body so that he who had doubted would then believe what he had been told. The feast day of St. Clement came round and was solemnly celebrated, as was customary, in the presence of this same cardinal. Night then fell, and after Compline the brothers retired to their bedchambers, as was usual. The abbot ordered two of the brothers and

⁵⁹ Atto VII can be found as Count of Teramo (Aprutium) 1101-16. Augustine was Cardinal deacon of SS. Quatro Coronati, from 1100, and subsequently legate to Dalmatia and Hungary. However, there is one very puzzling feature of this account: a charter of Hugh Mamouzet of November 1093 suggests that Rogata was already dead: *pro anima Rogate Comitissa qui [sic] fuit coniuge predicti ugoni, Chronicon di S. Bartolomeo*, p. 297.

two of his servants, in whose trustworthiness and religious virtue he had the utmost confidence, secretly to remain behind in the church, until in the middle of the night and with the doors firmly fastened they should break into the tomb which was behind the altar, using the crowbars with which they had been furnished. They should then examine it carefully until they had found enough to put the cardinal's scepticism and the doubts of many other people to rest. They obeyed their instructions and broke into the tomb, and finding it empty they were afraid that their labour had been in vain and that the claims of the monks were unfounded.

Finally they bravely broke through the pavement, and finding nothing there they broke through a second slab. As soon as they had made a hole through that, they were overwhelmed by such a sweet smell that they thought that they were before the altar of God in paradise, and a great sound was heard, which seemed to those who were present there like the Second Coming and which resounded round the whole monastery and cracked all the walls. They were stupefied, but then began working again, anxious to see the container that held the Divine treasure. Suddenly they found what they wanted, the precious body of the venerable martyr of Christ and Roman pontiff St. Clement, in an alabaster jar, in which it had been placed through the care and foresight of the Emperor Louis of venerable memory. They saw this, but did not dare actually to touch the vase; rather they immediately announced to the abbot what they had seen, heard and found, and what had happened to them. The abbot was roused from his sleep, immediately arose from his bed and summoned the brothers and the cardinal. They went with fear and reverence to that place. First they prayed, then with tears and sobbing they opened the treasure container and there they found this inscription, written in letters of gold.

‘Here lies St. Clement, the disciple of St. Peter and the second pope after Peter, who on the orders of the Emperor Trajan had his neck tied to an anchor and was sunk in the sea’.⁶⁰

When the cardinal read this inscription a great wave of tears immediately flowed down his face, and once he realised for sure that St. Clement did indeed lay

⁶⁰ This legend about St. Clement seems to have been widespread from the fourth-century onwards.

here, he burst into the chant beginning *Te Deum laudamus*, which the brothers sang with joy, right through to the end, with the Angels exulting and in the presence of the martyred Saints, and they prolonged that *Te Deum* by singing it in different keys. Nor could what had happened be hidden from those round about. Both men and women rushed to see this, and such was the multitude of people that they were as many as the sands of the sea.

Indeed, when the limbs of the Holy Man were inspected one by one in front of everyone, they saw that not a single bone was missing, and they also found there some of the flesh of St. Peter and one of the teeth of St. Paul, for there was an inscription written in similar letters to confirm the truth of this: ‘This tooth is one of the teeth of St. Paul, who was taken up to the third level of Heaven and heard strange words there, which it is not permitted for me to speak’. The flesh of St. Peter was found to be as soft as wool; when the cardinal clenched it in his right hand it appeared to him as though it was as nothing in his palm, but when he opened his hand the flesh reverted to the size which it had had before. When the cardinal saw this great miracle of God, he believed what he had previously doubted, namely that St. Clement was here both bodily and in the strength of the spirit, and when he returned he informed the supreme pontiff, the lord Pope Paschal, and his fellow cardinals of what he had seen. They all rendered thanks to the Saviour, who had not denied to Italy the Roman pontiff and reverend martyr St. Clement.

This discovery of the most precious body of the glorious pontiff and martyr Clement took place on the day after his feast, that is on 30th November, in the year from the Lord’s Incarnation 1104, thirteenth in the indiction.

Abbot Grimoald was rendered extraordinarily joyful [by this], for he was now certain of what previously the doubts of many had rendered even him a little bit dubious. He built an altar, and on the appointed day a great multitude gathered there, along with Bishop Walter of Valva who had been summoned.⁶¹ (He had succeeded as bishop the aforesaid lord Bishop John, Abbot of Pescara. The death of John, bishop and abbot, is recorded on 12th August). Bishop Walter installed in this same altar the

most sacred body of Clement, pope and martyr, complete and intact, as it had been given by the Emperor Louis, except for one small portion which, for the information of posterity and the certitude of those of the present day, and for the relief of the sick, is now preserved in a silver reliquary, in which it is carefully preserved. Every time there is need of it, it is brought out and proves efficacious. After the altar was closed, and carefully sealed with lead and iron, the aforesaid bishop dedicated it, on the instructions of Abbot Grimoald, on 18th October 1105. ... ⁶²

... In the *castello* near the island which is called Bectorrita, ⁶³ there was a certain man among the servants of the church named [*left blank*], who while pretending to be serving the monastery persecuted the brothers and the men of the island on every occasion and in every way that he could. It was at that time the custom and, to speak truthfully, from religious devotion, that all those from the surrounding *castelli*, both great and lesser folk, when they passed from this world were buried in the cemetery of the Blessed Clement for reverence of the glorious martyr. And since there was no bridge to the island over which men could cross carrying the deceased, a raft was placed upon the river, on which the body of a dead person was ferried by the living. It happened that the man of whom we spoke a little above was being carried to be buried. He had said many times while he was alive that he did not care whether or not he was buried in the cemetery of the monastery, for he had always said that the merits of the Blessed Clement had never done anything useful for him or anyone else. He was placed on the raft, and was being held there with great care by his living companions when suddenly in the middle of the river the raft overturned. His body sank at once, and thereafter could never be found. Thus it is clear that the one of whom he had so often spoken slightly, whose servants he had so many times injured and upset through his blasphemy, denied him a place in his cemetery and did not wish him to be a recipient of the benefits and prayers there. ⁶⁴

⁶¹ Walter was subsequently attested as bishop in charters from 1108 to 1119, *Codice Diplomatico Sulmonense*, ed. N.F. Faraglia (Lanciano 1888), nos. 23-4, 26, 29.

⁶² Cols. 873-6.

⁶³ Above, note 27.

⁶⁴ This paragraph, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 241r, was omitted from Muratori's edition: published by H. Houben, 'Laienbegräbnisse auf dem Klosterfriedhof. Unedierte Mirakelberichte aus der Chronik von Casauria', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* lxxvi (1996), 64-76, at p. 71.

* * * * *

While he [*Abbot Grimoald*] was being most active in strengthening the church which had been committed to his charge, as was his custom, he heard that the Emperor Henry [V], the son of Henry, had come to Rome. He was hastening to go to meet him, but while he was staying as a guest at the abbey of St. Vincent, from whence he had been raised to this abbacy, he was taken ill, and by God's judgement reached the end of his life. He was buried in that same church with his brothers. He had ruled over the monastery of Pescara for seventeen years, eight months and eleven days, and he closed his days on 3rd September, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord [1110].⁶⁵

After this there rose up Giso, but he was elected for only a few days, on account of the ill-will of the brothers, since he seemed to have been imposed by the violence of the Counts of Manopello and since he appeared to the brothers to rule more fiercely than he ought and tried to be feared rather than loved. He stepped down, and so to Abbot Grimoald there succeeded Alberic, a monk of this abbey and the former provost. He had indeed previously been elected, for his honesty and wisdom, to the bishopric of Chieti, but since he had some enemies [there] he preferred to be abbot rather than bishop. ...

... Abbot Alberic ruled for two full years, but in the third he reached the end of his life, and was buried in the monastery of St. Clement with his brothers on 21st October.

Abbot Giso

To him there succeeded the aforesaid Abbot Giso, who was recalled and brought back by the monks because he was diligent in secular matters. The Roman Bishop Paschal consecrated him at Benevento, and as is customary, once he was consecrated, gave him the care of souls and rule over the monastery, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1112. He built the house which is called the sacristy, in which the treasures and ornaments of the church are stored.

⁶⁵ The year has been left blank in the manuscript, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 242r.

The years from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1113, 1114 and 1115 passed. The aforesaid Abbot Giso knew that he would have a good reward from God for his benefactions, and so he gave the church of St. Bartholomew de Orta, with all its possessions, two mills and two men in the *castellum* of Fara, to augment the church and profit all the brothers. He gave all this in the chapter, confirming it to be held in perpetuity and full right by the infirmary for sick brothers, as had been requested by one of the monastery's elders, the lord Maurus, a trustworthy and honest man who was the procurator of the infirmary, by whose literary and scribal skills the reputation of the monastery of Pescara was greatly increased.⁶⁶

In the time of this abbot William Tassio, of whose ferocity we have spoken a little above, confessed to the sin that he had committed by the sale of the monastery of St. Clement, and for remission of his soul, and particularly in return for absolution for this wicked deed, he returned the *castellum* of S. Mauro, which he was illegally holding, to St. Clement, through the hand of Abbot Giso.⁶⁷ [Also] in his time, two powerful men, Robert [son of] Trogisius and Gerard de Conjulo, with their brothers, seized goods and possessions of the church in the *castellum* called Alanno. The abbot drove them out and returned the land which they had invaded, claiming deceitfully that they held it from the church, in freedom to the monastery.

At this same time Abbot Giso devoted a great deal of effort, and great pains were [also] taken by the brothers, to renew the books in the monastery of Pescara, namely the books of homilies, passionaries, altar books, books of exegesis, and the other ecclesiastical codices. The most notable people involved in this copying were the lord John, a learned and honest man through whose knowledge and gravity the monastery greatly benefited and who left a fine example for posterity, lord Maurus and lord Oldrius, who was most devoted to this skill. We shall say something about

⁶⁶ This grant of Giso was recorded by a charter of December 1115, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 243v. Fara, now disappeared, was on the south side of the Pescara River, upstream of the abbey and not far from Popoli.

⁶⁷ William's charter to this effect was granted in March 1114, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 243v-244r. The gift was made *ut omnipotens deus dignetur minuere et dimittere peccatum quod ego habeo de venditione monasterii Sancti Clementis de insula*. S. Mauro, now disappeared, was near Città S. Angelo, near the coast and about 15 km. NW of Pescara.

his life and observance of the Rule at the proper time, for he succeeded the lord Giso as abbot, because of his excellent character and care for the regular life.

In the time of this Giso, Sanso de Pietranico, partly for his soul and partly for money, gave to the church of St. Clement to possess in perpetuity more than 230 *moggia* of arable and fruitful land for the demesne of the church, for which Abbot Giso gave him eighty *solidi*, an excellent horse, and eighty *bizantei*. This land was at Pietro di Colle, in the appurtenances of Alanno.⁶⁸ Moreover, a certain wise and noble man called Tedemarus, who held three *castella*, Paterno, Piczerico and Luco,⁶⁹ which were under the jurisdiction of St. Clement from the purchase of the Emperor Louis, was led by love for Abbot Giso and the devotion which he had for the monastery of St. Clement to swear true fealty and promise always to serve the monastery. These events took place between the years of the Lord 1116 to 1121.

Also at this time, while Pope Gelasius was occupying the Apostolic See, the entire region was overrun by locusts, which ate up all the plants and ruined the crops. On the instructions of Abbot Giso, the casket in which the shoulder bone of St. Clement was kept was carried by the aforesaid lord Maurus and certain other religious brothers into the fields of the church, and when they walked around and traversed those fields, in which the crops and fruits were reserved for feeding the monastery, such was the power of St. Clement that the locusts were sucked in and fell piled one on another, attacking each other fiercely, and then plunged to their deaths in the Pescara river. Thus the pestilence of famine was in large part ended in the time that followed.

Hugh Mamouzet, of whom we spoke above, left two sons on his death, for five other sons had followed their father in death. One of the two [survivors] was called by the same name as his father, and imitated his father, as best he could, in evildoing. He persecuted the men of St. Clement and the property of the church. He was warned by the abbot a second and a third time to cease from his evil deeds, but

⁶⁸ Charter of Sanso son of Todinus in BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 244r (May 1117). Pietranico, 5 km. N of the abbey, was one of a number of *castella* which the Sansoneschi held on lease from Casauria, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, 919-20.

⁶⁹ These three places were close together, about 5 km SE of the abbey. All three have now disappeared. For the family, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, 590-2.

absolutely refused to abandon them. The abbot, as a prudent man, secretly set an ambush for him as he rode through the land of St. Clement with only a small bodyguard. He had him seized and bound, and handed him over to one of his barons, Sanso of Pietranico, to be guarded. He held him in prison for a long time, until he swore that while he lived he would no longer molest the men of St. Clement.⁷⁰ Not long after he left his prison, he was forced by the abbot to set off for Jerusalem, where he ended his life. Giso took steps to protect the church and sought a privilege from Pope Calixtus, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1121.⁷¹

(1122) At this time those who persecuted his church committed seriously unfriendly acts against Abbot Giso. The latter was unwilling to allow his own carelessness to diminish those things which had been acquired with great labour by his predecessors.

The lords of Tocco greatly troubled those on the island [*insulares*], indeed they seized the churches of that *castellum*. This man of great energy could not suffer this evil action. He went to Pope Honorius, who had just succeeded Pope Calixtus in the Apostolic See in the year from the Incarnation 1123, and had these men excommunicated, until they should return these churches and make satisfaction for their sacrilege. They remained obstinate in their evil; first they despised God, then they despised the pope's letter and his excommunication. Adding sin upon sin, they laid an ambush for the abbot, captured him and inflicted many injuries upon him. Finally, they saw that there was no way in which they would be able to carry him off to the *castellum* of Tocco. Fearing that the people would come to his aid, they left him on foot, leading away the mule on which he had been riding and carrying off all his baggage to the *castrum* in which they lived. The abbot returned on foot to the monastery, recounted what had happened to him, and incited by his charges and complaints everyone round about to wreak revenge on the evildoers. Not long afterwards there was such a great muster of people, bishops and barons, all of whom were ready to overthrow this bawdy-house [*prostibulum*] that almost four thousand armed men could be counted, and but for the clemency of Abbot Giso the pride of the

⁷⁰ Text of the oath, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 246r (undated).

⁷¹ In Muratori's edition the bull of Calixtus follows, cols. 881-2: but in the manuscript it is in the main body of the chartulary rather than in the chronicle, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 245r-v.

men of Tocco would that day have been utterly destroyed. But on their request he spared them; receiving them as supplicants and penitents when they had restored everything that they had stolen, and he took the churches which they sinfully held from their possession and restored them to the jurisdiction of St. Clement. And since God had care for His servant, He laid a terrible penalty on those men who had put their hand upon him [*Giso*], for not long afterwards they lost their *castella* and were driven from their paternal inheritance. Some of them came to the hospital before the gate of the island, their bodies swollen up, and remained there until their deaths, fed by the charity of the monks. A short time later they finished their lives with great suffering. ...⁷²

* * * * *

After *Giso*, this man of the Lord, had accomplished these and many other deeds for the profit of the church, and had been vigilant day and night in correcting morals and observing the Rule, he was struck down by serious illness and brought to his bed. Fortified by the holy *viaticum*, he died in the presence of the brothers on 13th April. He had ruled over the monastery of Pescara for fifteen years, five months and twenty-six days. He was buried in the cloister, on the left hand side as one goes out of the church.

Abbot Oldrius

To him [*Giso*] succeeded Oldrius, a monk of this church, a man of great simplicity and wonderful charity, both towards God and his brothers, a guardian of his flock and a lover of regular discipline, about whom, as his work proclaims, we cannot (even if we wanted) say only a little. We shall begin with his election, which was divinely inspired.

(1127) Some among the many brothers of Pescara believed that they could attain to rule as abbot because of their fleshly nobility, others through earthly power, some indeed through seniority and the religious life. This was the intention of those among

⁷² Cols. 879-883.

them who were so ambitious, both monks and [also] laymen. But Almighty God frustrated their dubious intent and rendered their plans useless, in this way. On the day after the passing of the lord Abbot Giso, no small number of powerful noblemen gathered at the monastery of Pescara, for the appointment of an abbot. All the brothers assembled in the chapter house, and when they discussed the election of an abbot they unanimously decided, with one voice, and with everyone in agreement, that twelve of the brothers should emerge, sensible and sound of mind, who should retire in private, and the person whom they agreed upon and approved ought to be elected, with no disagreement from anyone. This was therefore ordered by the senior monks [*a prioribus*] and twelve were named, who would leave the chapter house, and it was agreed that six would retire to the dormitory and six to the oratory. They decided among themselves that the person who should be thought the best by each group should be named at a common meeting of all of them, and if it should happen that there was one person who was chosen by everybody in both groups, that would be excellent. Alternatively, if there was one person thought to be the best by most of them, and a majority of these twelve were agreed on him, then he would be chosen and his name would be announced by all of them to the chapter. So they left and did as was planned. It was said in the chapter that the common life and the government of the brothers ought to be better ordered than had previously been the case. In this discussion the lord Oldrius burned with such special fervour for the common good that he showed how the vestments, which he held intrinsically to be of little account, might be improved for the general benefit of the brothers. He acted in this like a man who suspects nothing about himself, for he led a life of simplicity, and by displaying these worthless garments he rendered all the brothers more fervent and enthusiastic.⁷³

While they were discussing these matters, as described above, suddenly the voice of one of the simple folk was heard in the temple, saying ‘lord Abbot Oldrius’, ‘lord Abbot Oldrius’. These words resounded through the church and all over the cloister, and both the sets of brothers to whom the naming of an individual had been committed thought that the voice came from the other group. They were both moved to hurry to the cloister, one saying to the other, ‘if it should please you to choose lord

⁷³ The account here is somewhat misleading, in that Oldrius was a senior monk, and had been the claustral dean in December 1115 when he witnessed Abbot Giso’s charter to the infirmary in third

Oldrius, we would not be displeased'. So they agreed on this decision, and entered the chapter. One of them, called John, spoke for all of them, saying: 'Arise, O Lord, and judge thine own cause'.⁷⁴ Making the sign of the cross, he added: 'In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we declare that we shall have the lord Oldrius as our father, since he is good and worthy'. Meanwhile, when the voice of that [first] man, who was named Benedict, was put forth and was heard by the people outside, such an acclamation swelled up from everyone, eagerly shouting out, that its sound was heard all round the monastery, 'lord Abbot Oldrius', 'lord Abbot Oldrius'. They opened the doors and all of them came into the chapter house shouting this. There they found the lord Oldrius resisting the brothers who had chosen him, saying, 'Why do you put a sheep in such a place? Why me? You will make a laughing-stock of this throne!' But at last they forced him to sit on the throne and undertake rule over the abbey. This election took place on 15th April in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1127, and in truth the man who was made the father of the monks was like a bronze wall against the enemies of the holy Church of God, humble and gentle with the humble, firm in his justice against the proud, and generous in charity. Pope Honorius consecrated him as abbot, and when he returned to the monastery after receiving this blessing he did not change his behaviour because of the honour he had received, rather he showed himself more humble and more kind in his actions, and an example of humility and grace, so it could really be believed that he was filled with the Divine Spirit.

In the first year after he had taken up rule over the abbey, he had to travel into Aprutium.⁷⁵ Before he left the abbey, he commended guard over the property of the church to a certain *fidelis* of his, William of Castiglione, and he ordered his men to obey this man as though he were he himself, and if there was need for this then they should comply with his instructions. The abbot then set out on his journey and went into Aprutium, where he stayed for some time in the property of the church in this region. Once he was gone, and William, that minister of deceit – and indeed of sacrilege – saw that he was going to stay there [for some time], he realised that he had

place behind the abbot and provost, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 243v. He was thus an obvious candidate for the abbacy.

⁷⁴ *Psalm*, lxxiv.22.

⁷⁵ The county around Teramo, c. 50 km. to the north.

the lands of the abbey in his power. He went to Alano, ⁷⁶ summoned all the inhabitants of that town, and told them that since enemies would be coming upon them the next day who would plunder the land of St. Clement, they should abandon the pastures into which they were accustomed to drive their cattle and sheep, and [instead] lead them across the River Pescara – so that it would be easier for him next morning when he had decided to come with his accomplices and plunder the property of the people of Alano. The latter obeyed the instructions of this most wicked man, gathered a huge number of animals together and drove them to the place where he had told them to go. In the morning William gathered a host of accomplices, and came with his band of armed men to that place. The man who should have been their most faithful protector revealed himself indeed as a most evil enemy. He seized the herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, took them away with him, and plundered them to such an extent that he was unwilling to return a single beast from all those [he had taken].

The abbot returned and heard what had happened. He lamented this, and asked, once, twice, and a third time, that he make restitution, but he was able to recover only a very few beasts. Oldrius, the man of God, resorted not to secular weapons, but took up heavenly arms, and made known to St. Clement what that evil man had done. He begged him with humble prayer to have a care for his own people.

That most high one did not spurn his prayer, for before a year had elapsed from the anniversary of that day on which the land of the church had been so wickedly plundered, that is 24th August, William lost the town of Castiglione. And, so it is said, that night, about the hour of Lauds, St. Clement appeared in a vision to two brothers were resting in the chapter house, saying:

‘Arise, I bring you notice that our enemy William of Castiglione has fallen into the hands of his enemies. I have today expelled him from my land, no longer to make his living from it against me, nor do I even want him to have burial with his forefathers near me.’

⁷⁶ Cf. note 10 above.

The brothers woke up, amazed at this vision, and before the period of silence was ended, this [prophecy] was fulfilled. William was captured and disinherited in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ 1128; nor thereafter were any of his family able to exercise rule over his hereditary land, for Blessed Clement had paid him back, according to the decision of our Lord Jesus Christ, who never deserts those who call on him.⁷⁷

* * * * *

[*after 1136*] Count Robert of Manopello, the son of Richard, had after the death of his father been restrained, at least to some extent, from evil for fear of his mother. But after his mother had rendered her debt to nature, this wicked son, engendered by a wicked father, exceeded the evil of his father by his own evil conduct, and he began to commit many hostile actions against the Blessed Clement and his house. He was received as a guest by Abbot Oldrius, who even allowed him to use his own chamber. After he had feasted and was stuffed full of food, he had the abbot summoned and with great arrogance and pride demanded that the latter hand over custody of the tower in the island's *castellum*, doing this not as a request but with menaces. When the abbot made absolutely clear to him, in every way, that he could not do this, he [still] insisted that this tower should be handed over to him at once, and threatened that if this was not done he would destroy the church and lay waste all its land. What should the abbot do? He had to hand it over, whether he wanted to or not, and was very sad, greatly regretting that he had ever allowed the count inside the cloister walls. Those indeed whom the count stationed in the tower went about plundering as though they were scouts on the highway.⁷⁸ They seized the crop renders and these agents of their mad lord raged furiously against the servants of Christ and St. Clement.

The brothers did not wish to put up with this, and so they secretly sent two of the wisest among them, carrying the privileges of the emperors, to King Roger, who was then ruling in Apulia, to tell him of everything that had taken place, and to make tearful complaint about the count's tyranny and persecution. They received this reply

⁷⁷ Cols. 883-5.

from him – that they should return to the monastery as quickly as they could and they would be safe. If God should make this land subject to him, he would free the church, endow it from his property, and bring help to the abbot and brothers. But when they at length returned, they were forced to live as exiles outside the monastery, in other people's houses in another district. Finally, through Divine mercy and the efforts of the abbot, the greed of the avaricious count was restrained by a bribe of two pounds of silver, and he permitted them to return home.

Not long afterwards, when the count had returned to the *castellum* of Manopello, the abbot presented himself to him [once again]. As they discussed the persecution that he had inflicted upon the monastery, it seemed to the count that the abbot was showing him insufficient respect in his replies. The angry count drew his sword and wanted to strike down the abbot, and if those who were present had not stopped him, he would have cut off the abbot's head – and granted the abbot what he greatly desired, to die for the sake of justice. Knowing that if he had dared to strike, he was safe in Divine help, the abbot had stretched out his neck and incited him; showing in this that he had no fear of death but rather hope of Eternal life. The count, persevering in his madness, went back to Manopello, while the abbot, safer than he had been before, returned to his church.

As however was made manifest and proved by sure evidence, since God had great care for his servant Oldrius and the flock committed to him, a vision most worthy of veneration was shown to certain brothers who were spending the night in the church, which we have judged it improper to pass over in silence. These two brothers were accustomed in the time of Lent, for purposes of religious, to rise from their beds before the morning services, and on bended knee to pour out prayers and tears before the relics of the most holy Martyr, singing psalms and begging the saints of God with litanies to help [His] Christian people. And when they were tired out by this, they sat down in corners of the church – united by mind, even if not in the same place. While their eyes slept but their hearts were watchful, the same vision appeared to both of them, in this manner. Two persons of reverent aspect and distinguished garb were seen to stand before the altar, one of them clad as a bishop and the other

⁷⁸ i.e. ahead of an army in hostile territory.

crowned with a royal diadem. They approached the monks and inquired who they were, and why they were there at such an hour. The latter replied that they were from among the brothers of the church, and they had come to pray for their sins and for the mercy of God for the benefactors of that place; and thus they had risen from their beds before the other brothers arose, to have a chance to pray more freely. The others replied, 'good', and added, 'do you not know who we are?' They said, 'No. But we beg you, for the love of God, to tell us who you are, why you have come, and from where'. He who was crowned with the royal diadem replied: 'I am Louis, who was the founder of this church, and who gave it what I had in this region, that it might possess it by right of inheritance. The venerable man who is with me dressed as a bishop is St. Clement, who was deemed worthy of being thrown into the sea for the sake of Christ and whose bones were through my efforts brought to this island and merited burial in the altar here. Robert of Manopello has thus gravely scourged him, so that the wounds and bruises that he has received on his back can scarcely be counted by man'. And that both the brothers might be rendered more sure of the vision, St. Clement, with the king's help, disrobed and showed the scars from his wounds and the marks caused by the staffs, saying: 'it is thus that I have been ill-used, but I want you to know that I shall very soon have revenge on my enemies, and I shall have them driven from their paternal inheritance, and they will live and die miserably and in exile in a land that is not their own'. After he had said this the vision disappeared. The [two] brothers woke up, and discussed what they had seen with each other. Then, after chapter, when the brothers were gathered together, they told them how they had seen the venerable Louis and St. Clement in person, and they recounted what they had said. And since it seemed to be vainglorious for the brothers to congratulate themselves on such a vision, they kept quiet and waited most fearfully for what God was about to do.

Meanwhile, King Roger had been crowned with a royal diadem, and undertaken rule over the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua. He sent his son Anfusius, whom he had appointed as Prince of Capua, to the county of Chieti with a great army, and secretly ordered him diligently to seek out the Counts of Manopello, who were the enemies of St. Clement, and send them alive to him. When the counts found out what the aforesaid prince had been ordered to do by his father, they fled in secret, for they were able to resist him neither in one place nor

another. When they fled, they lost both their own land and what they had acquired, and they ended their lives in foreign lands, as they deserved. From now on the church of St. Clement could concentrate on the religious life in [a time of] abundant peace, its temporal property was increased by the care of a good shepherd, who watched out every day to advantage the flock which had been committed to him.

At that time, the lord God decreed that that the most serene and victorious King Roger, whom Divine Grace had endowed with wisdom and courage much greater than that of all other mortal men, would visit the abbey of Pescara. Certain persons attacked the lord Abbot Oldrius, denouncing him, and saying that he had acted against the king in receiving the *castellum* of Bolognano ⁷⁹ from the Counts of Manopello who had fled and their representatives, even though this legally belonged to St. Clement, and the land of the fugitive counts ought not to be denied to the king. But the abbot placed his trust in God and St. Clement, and was in no way afraid. He resolutely held on to the *castellum* until the king came to the lands of the monastery. The latter pitched camp on the plain below Tocco and next to the Pescara river, and there he and his army remained for three days. The abbot took counsel and went to the king the very next day, to placate him with prayers and gifts, even intending to offer him money for the aforesaid *castrum*. He and all the brothers spent the night in the church, reciting the psalter with genuflections, litanies and prayers before the most holy body of St. Clement. When day broke, they sang the morning hymns, and then he set off on horseback with some of the brothers to travel to the king. One of these brothers set off with the others, but was left behind on the way. He was hurrying after the abbot when an old man with the grey hair of age but of beautiful aspect appeared before him, standing on the bridge before the island gate, and clad as a pilgrim with the shell and staff, saying:

‘Tell the abbot that he may safely go to the king, and he should take care not to offer him any money, for he will freely give you what you seek, and more than that’.

⁷⁹ 4 km. SE of the monastery.

The monk said: ‘how do you know that?’ He replied: ‘because I was this night at the king’s council, when he was discussing how to benefit your monastery’. The monk rejoiced in these words, and said to him: ‘you shall be blessed for bringing good news. Go into the monastery and receive its charity’. He replied: ‘I shall do so, for I am accustomed to dwell there and to have its charity. Go with my blessing’. The monk now hurried off to rejoin the abbot and tell him about these events, but he wondered to himself how that man could know the king’s secrets, since he appeared to be a pilgrim and a poor man, and men of this type were not accustomed to be admitted to the counsels, nor even into the halls, of kings. He turned round, and seeking to know the truth about his words, went all around the monastery, but was quite unable to find him, or even to catch sight of him. Hence those who had that night been praying with him were of the opinion that the messenger of this good fortune had been St. Clement.

The lord Abbot Oldrius went to the king, and exercising his humility, he found such grace from him, a man who was so terrifying that he could even force mountains to tremble before his face, that the latter spoke to him with great kindness, not so much as a lord but rather as though a servant, and as a son to a father. Without delay he gave him what he sought, not for money but out of good will. The king was humble with the humble, and meek with the meek. He showed more respect to the serenity of his face, which seemed angelic in appearance, than to the silk garments of the wealthy and noble. He adjudged others to be vile and of no price compared with his merits, heaped praises upon him, holding him to be above all the other church pastors of his kingdom, and saying that he was solely devoted to the service of God’s religion, not to amassing a host of friends. The king would receive nothing from him apart from the gift of prayers; he was instead generous to the church of St. Clement from his own property, giving it three *castella*, whose names are Bolognano, Casale Plano and Colle Odoni, and a privilege of liberty and protection against its enemies, and of grace, reverence and honour against them. He promised to guard and augment the abbey and its property as though it was one of his special possessions.

[The text of Roger's privilege then follows, dated August 1140].⁸⁰

On the following day, namely 28th August 1140, this same glorious king devotedly visited the monastery. Standing in prayer before the venerable cross of the choir, he heard the mass of St. Clement. He was very complimentary about this picture.⁸¹ He had his privilege read out to them in the cloister, and then he was given, at his most earnest request, a small piece of the shoulder-bone of St. Clement. He inspected the island, and left even more devotedly than he had arrived. He gave orders to the abbot that if any adversary should molest the church in any way, and if and when it was necessary to ask for the church to ask for help, he should send one of his men, not a monk but a servant, to avoid burdening the church with [unnecessary] expense. This would be security enough, for whatever the abbot requested he would grant, since King Roger did not wish Abbot Oldrius to be harassed. Indeed, he instructed him to make the most of his old age inside the monastery, where he might pray night and day for the state of the realm and for his safety and that of his sons.

After this Bohemond, who had been recently appointed by the lord king to the county of Manopello, succumbed (as is customary) to the chattering of certain flatterers of new men. He wanted the monastery of St. Clement to be made subject to him, and sought as best he could a means to accomplish this. So that he might have allies for his plans, he wooed the chancellor Robert with prayers and promises, to bring this about by offering dishonest testimony.⁸² It happened that the count and Robert the chancellor were talking with the abbot. The latter restrained their demands with a humble response, saying to Robert:

‘My lord, we have you as [our] guide and defender in this land, and we shall have no other mediator between ourselves and the lord King Roger than you, [so] we ask and beg you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose

⁸⁰ *Rogarii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. C-R. Brühl (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, I.ii (1), Cologne 1987), pp. 139-40 no. 49. The privilege in fact confirmed the abbey in the possession of only a part of the territory which it claimed, or had once owned, and the two latter places named in the account were subsequently not listed among the abbey's *castella* in the *Catalogus Baronum*, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, pp. 65-6.

⁸¹ i.e. the painting of St. Clement on the cross.

⁸² Robert of Selby, chancellor 1140-51. Bohemond was originally from Tarsia in Calabria, and held the County of Manopello 1140-57.

servants we are, that you do not allow the freedom and justice of this Church, which it has up to now possessed, to disappear and to be destroyed. You should remember with what care and what sincere intent the lord king freed our church from every evil custom and exaction. He did not wish the servants of God who dwell there to be kept busy with outside business but that they should day and night be watchful in the Divine service and pour out perpetual prayers for himself and his sons and for the safety of his kingdom. Now however this Count Bohemond (I do not wish to conceal [the name of] one whose actions gravely injure our soul) is hindering us from the contemplation of God. He is encouraging us to take up secular arms and demanding that we provide cavalry and infantry and large sums of money, which you should certainly understand that we are unable to supply. We are appointed for the service of the Lord; it is quite improper that we should desert this and follow worldly matters’.

To this the count replied:

‘Lord abbot, you say this because you do not know the changing ways of kings and the various problems of this land. Through Divine grace the lord king has many people who pray in his kingdom, but he does not have many to defend it. It is necessary for those who do defend it to take up their shields and protect those who pray, and we who can bear arms will not be able to fight for the kingdom if we do not have the means of subsistence [*subsidium vitae*]. The lord king realises this, and has in the full understanding [of this] given the abbey of St. Clement to me, as my predecessors held it, and he did this in the presence of the chancellor Robert, who heard and saw [what happened] when it was given to me. You ought, please, to believe the testimony of one who is not accustomed to lie about such matters.

Robert, as we have said above, supported these words of the count, and he agreed so as to terrify the holy man, and so he started to claim that he had heard and seen when the lord king granted the abbey [to the count]. The abbot remained as silent as possible and waited for what God would do about this although he did not know what that might be, since they spoke these treacherous words to him so as to

force from him by fear what they were unable to obtain by right. God however was watching out for his servant, and not many days later all this was revealed to King Roger, who immediately wrote to the count in these words.

‘I am greatly displeased that you, whom I placed as the protector and defender of my kingdom, should dare to disturb and worry the peace of my head, my own chamber, my charitable institution, and you may well be rendered the due reward for your presumption. You have acted foolishly towards the abbey and brothers of St. Clement, whose prayers are my shield and helmet against all the strength of the enemy. Desist from this wickedness, or the appropriate punishment which has been prepared for you for your presumption will fall upon you. I say this to you, by my faith as a king, and my hope in my sons, that God grant me what I desire from them, that unless you desist, and do not presume to harass the monks any further as you have done, then I shall destroy you, and your name will vanish from among the sons of men from this present generation until the Last Judgement! I wish you to take this same letter which I have sent to you and have it read in the chapter, that it be heard by everyone, that they shall all know what my wishes were concerning the church of St. Clement and those who live there’.⁸³

The count did as the king ordered. He brought the royal letter and heard it read out in the presence of the abbot and brothers, and thereafter, for as long as Abbot Oldrius lived, he did not dare to molest either the abbot or the inhabitants of this place.⁸⁴

* * * * *

The Death of Abbot Oldrius in the Year 1152

... He commended himself at his passing to his brothers and sons, and the church which he had undertaken to rule, to God and St. Clement. So, saying nothing

⁸³ *Rogarii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, p. 144 no. †51, the text itself is an invention, probably by the chronicler. Brühl describes it as ‘the product of monastic wishful thinking’.

⁸⁴ Cols. 886-92.

of his bodily discomforts and in the fullness of his days, and perfectly observing all spiritual exercises, he rendered up his soul to God on 12th December in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1152. He ruled the monastery on the island in the Pescara, built in honour of the Holy Trinity and St. Clement, pope and martyr, for twenty-five years and eight months. He was buried in the chapter house of this same church, as was proper, before the majesty of our Saviour, whom he had devotedly served all the days of his life, and whom he had taught all his sons and brothers to serve under the teaching and rule of St. Benedict.

After the death of Abbot Oldrius of holy memory, the abbey of St. Clement on Pescara island remained for many days without a ruler, since the firm choice of those brothers who believed themselves to be the wiser in counsel was the lord Leonas, because he had been received and clad in the monastic habit of this monastery by the lord Abbot Oldrius, and raised in the life of the monastery of Pescara from his boyhood, and [because] he was absolutely upright, of distinguished descent and high intelligence. He had then held the office of subdeacon in the Roman church, and this alone would have sufficed to preserve the church in its pristine freedom. However, Count Bohemond of Tarsia, who at that time held the county of Manopello, possessed the land of the blood-relations of lord Leonas, which he had been granted by King Roger. He hindered every effort of the brothers to make him abbot, for he feared that Leonas might be led by his love for his relations of the house of Manopello, whom the lord King Roger had disinherited and expelled from his kingdom, to use the power of the abbey to harm him, and even perhaps to drive him from the county. He therefore did his best to make the brothers elect somebody else from among their ranks. They were unable to resist him, and he was finally successful, both because of the influence he had at the royal court and through the support of some of the brothers whom he had treacherously suborned. The choice of Leonas was quashed by King Roger, a man named Constantine was chosen as abbot from among the congregation. However, what had happened, and the election and character of Constantine, was made known to the Roman Curia, to the judgement of which an appeal was made. And when Pope Eugenius of holy memory heard how he had been elected with the encouragement of the aforesaid count and against his own subdeacon, for he himself had promoted Leonas to that rank, he ordered him [*Constantine*] to remain silent concerning this election, and to beware lest through this he disturb the monastery. He

then allowed the brothers to make a free election of whom they wanted, acting in fear of God. Thus the church remained without a shepherd while Eugenius lived, for the brothers were prevented [from this new election] not only because of the count's persecution but also through the veto and prohibition of the lord King Roger.

On the death of Pope Eugenius, he was succeeded by Anastasius of blessed memory. Since Count Bohemond was friendly with him, he presumed upon his love, ignored the [previous] sentence, and forced him [*Constantine*] once again to act as abbot. This man occupied the monastery against the brothers' will, sat on the abbot's throne, invaded his palace, and believed himself to be safe because of the count's promises. However, immediately this had been done, those brothers who had opposed his election set off for the Curia, avoiding the ambushes of the count, and told the pope all about this; how the decision of his predecessor lord Eugenius had been set aside, and that this man was occupying the throne and seeking to make himself abbot not by the election of the brothers but through a further interference by a layman's hand. On hearing this, the lord Pope Anastasius sent a letter of reproof, condemning his insolence and ordering him under pain of anathema not to seek to harass the brothers any further in the matter of this election.

After this had occurred, King Roger ordered the brothers who had travelled to him in Sicily that since they could not choose one of their own people, as they wanted, they should elect somebody from another monastery, and he gave them a shortlist of three, who were by habit and life not at all to their liking. However, because the brothers did not wish to refuse his order, nor should they have done, they requested one of the brothers of Monte Sacro, a monastery in Apulia, called Roger.⁸⁵ They were granted him, and were obedient to him for as long as it was permissible. Since he wanted to be consecrated by the lord Anastasius, he sent some of the brothers of the monastery who told the pope how he had been elected and requested a day be set for him to obtain consecration. But when the pope heard about this sudden change, he sent him orders that were absolutely to be obeyed that he should return to his own monastery and not to involve himself with a position which he was unable to fill since the colour of his habit and his way of life was different from that of the

⁸⁵ Holy Trinity of Monte Sacro, on Monte Gargano, in the diocese of Siponto.

brothers whom he had agreed to rule. The count saw that he was getting nowhere and was afraid that they would choose as their pastor the man whom he could not abide nor contemplate, and so he began to be openly hostile to the monastery and those of its possessions which were in his county. He invaded its churches, took away its forests, and to set his hand against the monks contrary to law and right. He spread many lies among the people to the detriment and disgrace of God and his servant St. Clement, saying: 'the monks of St. Clement are striving for the impossible, and want to place two swords in one scabbard, but let it be known for certain that while I am count that man for whom they long will not be able to be abbot'.

While all this was going on, King Roger died and his son William succeeded him in the kingdom. He was a man of extraordinary wisdom and great courage, who wishing to benefit his relatives made Robert de Bassonville Count of Loritello and placed both the whole of that county and the neighbouring lands under his rule, for he believed him to be loyal to himself and that he would be even more devoted if well-rewarded. He wanted however to rule over even those things which had not been granted to him, and he occupied the monastery of St. Clement, and forced its men and some of the brothers to swear [fealty] to himself. What had happened did not please King William, who became very angry, and filled with indignation he sent a new mandate to Count Robert, telling him to refrain from this presumption, leave the abbey of St. Clement in peace, for it pertained to his own chamber, had benefited from the generosity of his father, and that it was his intention to keep it in his own royal hands, under the privilege of his own protection and defence, above all the other abbeys which lay round about. On hearing this Robert abandoned his infractions, and absolved its men and monks from the oath that they had sworn to him. Not long afterwards this Robert, to whom King William had granted so many good things, acted treacherously against his lord and seized a great part of his kingdom. He lured many of the counts into becoming accomplices in his evil, and being more ambitious than one could imagine for a time he disturbed the whole country. In this uprising *castella* were overthrown, villages left deserted, and many abbeys were harmed, and I am not just talking about those which were without rulers, although they were indeed almost annihilated, but even those which were under pastors and were well-governed. Count Bohemond resisted this attack for a while, but finally gave way, for the men who had been driven out of the county of Manopello, and who thought that it

rightfully belonged to them, came back and invaded it. They expelled the count, and rendered his prophecy (or rather pseudo-prophecy) vain. For he had said: 'for as long as I am count, the monks of St. Clement shall not have the man whom they want.' Now behold he was no longer count, and the brothers worked to secure for the church the pastor who had been predestined for it by God: the man who as a strong lion [*Leo*] in the midst of the enemies of God and the Church had let out a roar as a sign of his fortitude.

Abbot Leonas

(1155) Anastasius had already been called by God and gone to Heaven, and the Roman see was held by Pope Adrian IV, to [see] whom the brothers of the abbey of St. Clement travelled to Viterbo. They asked him humbly to grant and concede to them the pastor whom they had for a long time seen as the right man, and for whom they hoped for the future of their church, and for the love of God and reverence for St. Clement, [that is] Leonas, a son of the Roman Church and a professed monk of their monastery. Adrian had no wish to oppose this, rather he immediately summoned a crowd of cardinals, and granted them [*the monks*] Leonas, the man they sought. Since he was not actually present there, the lord pope sent to him, and in a way he forced him to undertake the burden [of that office] through his letter. He was told to go to the monastery, receive the throne which had been prepared for him by God, care for the flock which had been entrusted to him, manfully resist the enemies of God and the church, and to do this because his position [*honor*] was derived from the Roman Church which desired to exalt and raise up one who had been brought up there from his boyhood. What more? The man who had been summoned came, and received the office which had been enjoined upon him, albeit unwillingly. And so it happened that the brothers who for so long had been worn out by their desire for him now by Divine oversight received what they had so eagerly wanted. His election was celebrated in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1155, in the third year in the indiction.

In that time so great was the disturbance to the people, especially in that region, from the sedition of Count Robert of Loritello, that it was scarcely possible to find any place safe from war. So great was the greed of his followers that they spared

no one, neither (I say) among secular persons, nor indeed from those who dwelt in the cloister to be free for the service of God.

Since for various reasons he was at odds with the sons of Berard of Castiglione, on the tenth day after his election, the abbot-elect Leonas mustered a host of knights and well-armed infantrymen and besieged Bectorrita. He maintained that siege for a long time, until he captured both Rainald, the lord of the *castellum*, and the *castellum* itself. He retained the *castellum* in his own possession (*proprietas*) and forced Rainald to swear [obedience]. After that he wanted to go into Aprutium, since he had not yet been there, having been only recently elected. He was received in all the places subject to the monastery, and thinking to find good faith in his uterine brother he commended all the abbey land to his brother Perronius, and then, as he had planned, he journeyed to Aprutium where he was delayed for some time on business. Meanwhile his brother Perronius, in whose custody he had placed the lands of St. Clement, acted treacherously. Not blushing at such a trick, he expelled the guards from the *castellum* of Bolognano, took possession of it and kept it. When the abbot-elect returned, he was told of the evil deed that his brother had committed, and he demanded two and three times that the latter return the *castellum* which he had treacherously invaded. To this the latter replied: 'I shall return Bolognano to you if you give me Bectorrita, since Rainald, who used to possess it, was our vassal'. After saying this, he continued to hold on to what he was holding; and since the *castellum* was a strong one, he did not want to return it to anyone. The abbot-elect took advice, and rendered Bectorrita up to him, on certain conditions, receiving Bolognano [in exchange]. The condition was that one of the brothers of Perronius should do homage to St. Clement for Bectorrita and half of Corvaria, and pay the stipulated annual *census* without delay. However, the man who had committed this evil deed did not enjoy it for long – only a little while later he was struck down by serious illness and departed this life without leaving an heir.

At this time the lord Pope Adrian was dwelling at Benevento, and lord Leonas went to him there, seeking consecration from him; and what he sought he deservedly obtained. He was adorned with the pontifical mitre to mark the dignity of the abbey of St. Clement, supreme pontiff, and he returned with honour and glory to his homeland, distinguished by the office of abbot and carrying the pastoral staff. On his

return from his consecration he was received by the brothers with due reverence, exercised the abbatial office and manfully resisted the enemies who wished to harm the church. Count Walter of Manopello, who had seized the county during this time of dispute first began to persecute him, and violently took from him Colle Odoni, which he had fortified,⁸⁶ and Bolognano. However, since the Lord took care of his own place, King William arrived not long afterwards and that count fled from his stolen county and unwillingly abandoned these *castella* to St. Clement. After the aforesaid Counts of Manopello and their accomplices had laid waste a considerable part of the kingdom, King William came with a great army, drove them out and liberated the land. Since Abbot Leonas did not entirely have his grace, he went to Rome to the lord Pope Adrian who had consecrated him as abbot, by whom he was received with the utmost respect, and remained there for some time, until on the intercession of the lord Adrian he had the king's love and found himself fully restored to his grace. Thus he returned once more to his abbey, which he was at pains to augment by whatever means he could.

At this time the aforesaid Count Bohemond of Tarsia, was arrested by King William and placed in chains. However, the king spared him and freed him from his captivity. He returned to Tarsia, and not long afterwards he was suddenly struck down by an illness in his side and reached the end of his life. After his death none of his heirs was allowed to succeed him in the county of Manopello, through which he had offended St. Clement and his church of Casauria. On his death the king appointed another Bohemond to the county of Manopello.⁸⁷ He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors and began to ravage the possessions of St. Clement which were located within his county, and even had the nerve to profit from its churches: [thus] rousing against himself the power of God. For while he was busy with this, those who were exiled once again entered the land, expelled Count Bohemond, and [also] took the abbey away from Abbot Leonas. The abbot travelled to Sicily, and not long afterwards the king attacked his enemies by land and sea. Their flight freed the abbey of St. Clement, to which Abbot Leonas returned. With the grace and love of the king, he did his best to rule the abbey which had been granted to him. And since he wished

⁸⁶ The site of this *castellum* has not been identified, although it was in the county of Penne, Feller, *Abruzzes Médiévales*, p. 65.

⁸⁷ He came from S. Fele in Lucania, c. 30 km. NW of Potenza.

that the abbey entrusted to him should be strengthened against its many adversaries, he sought a privilege of liberty and protection from Pope Adrian of holy memory, which has been honourably preserved with the other papal, imperial and royal privileges in the archives of the church.⁸⁸

In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1163, during the reign of the most fortunate King of Sicily, the lord William, a court was held at [the abbey of] St. Clement, presided over by a man called Samarus of Trani, a royal chamberlain. There the abbot recovered the monastery of St. Maurus of Amiterno, which belonged to the monastery of St. Clement by ancient right. He appointed one of the brothers of his abbey to rule there, and regained the majority of that church's possessions in this region. He also recovered the church of St. Maria de Fasonaria, which belonged to the Blessed Clement by ancient right. Certain barons from [the county of] Penne, notably Gentile de Brittolli, had seized it and held it illegally. But the lord Abbot Leonas recovered and held it through his own determination and by royal authority, and thereafter he appointed monks from his congregation as the provosts there.⁸⁹

At this time the illustrious Abbot Leonas journeyed into Apulia and went to the town of Lesina where he was honourably received by that most distinguished man Count Geoffrey. After they had enjoyed a very friendly and pleasant time together, the count was struck by Divine compunction, and he restored to St. Clement that place on the Lago di Lesina where once upon a time a church had been built dedicated to St. Clement and subject to the jurisdiction of the monastery of Casauria, along with a house and lands that had once belonged to the late Guido of Bari, as well as extensive other properties in that region, along with their men and renders, fisheries and other appurtenances, all of which can be found in the donation charter of this same most excellent count, which was drawn up in legal form and witnessed by suitable men.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Cols. 893-8. The last sentence has been supplied from the manuscript, BN Ms. Lat. 5411, fol. 253r, replacing Muratori's defective reading. Adrian's privilege, 13th March 1158, is edited in RIS II(2).899-900.

⁸⁹ Col. 900. The edition is misleading at this point, in that it inserts documents from the chartulary into the chronicle text.

⁹⁰ BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 256v-257r, edited in RIS II(2).1009-1010 (21st January 1165). Geoffrey de Ollia was Count of Lesina and royal justiciar from 1156. He died between 1179 and 1182.

After this the lord abbot sent masons, funds and workmen, along with horses and other beasts, and devotedly founded and had built a church in that place. Once it was completed, he went to that same church with lord John, most religious Bishop of Segni, and had it solemnly dedicated, placing in its altar relics of St. Clement and of other saints, which he had reverently brought from the monastery. Then he installed religious men there to serve Almighty God according to the Rule and to augment that place.

At this same time, that most Catholic man the lord pope Alexander returned from France and ruled as pontiff at Rome. The lord Abbot Leonas sent a certain brother John Berard, who had been raised in this abbey from boyhood and instructed in the disciplines of the Rule, to visit him. Through him the abbot sought a privilege of defence and protection against those who harmed or molested the monastery of Pescara, following the example of his predecessors who had granted privileges to this same monastery.⁹¹

This abbot sought to have the *castellum* of S. Mauro, on the shore of the Adriatic Sea rebuilt, for the benefit of his church. But certain persons treacherously opposed him in this matter, and he was unable to accomplish this. However, he was then offered a charter granting permission by the royal court. He also decreed that the brother monk who was the provost of St. Maria de Pesile should also have, to increase his resources, the provostship of S. Angelo de Casule, apart from the renders which both these churches had to pay to the church of St. Clement, as the [relevant] charter demonstrates.⁹² At this time, when Roger of Tocco and his brothers were holding this land [of Tocco], they granted to St. Clement the church of St. Victorinus, and drew up a document in confirmation, which they gave to the monastery.⁹³ ... Simon Turgisius mendaciously claimed that he [rightfully] held various churches from the monastery, namely those of St. Martin ad Gurtam, St. John of Sciniari and St. Cesidius, nor was he willing to return them. He was summoned to the royal court, where in the presence of the chamberlain Samarus and many barons, after his lies were refuted and he was

⁹¹ Col. 900. Alexander's privilege is *Italia Pontificia* iv.303 no. 14 (18th March 1166).

⁹² Charter: Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fol. 259v (28th April 1160)

⁹³ Charter: Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fols. 259v-260r (29th May 1169)

found guilty, by the verdict of the court he restored these churches to the Blessed Clement, and into the hands of Abbot Leonas.⁹⁴

Abbot Leonas was many times in conflict with the adversaries of the church, and especially with count Bohemond of Manopello, who like the first Count Bohemond (of Tarsia) ran riot through the possessions of the church,⁹⁵ and persecuted the church of St. Clement because of his hatred for the abbot and his people. The abbot once had a dispute with him at Salerno, in the presence of Simon the Seneschal, Master Captain of the whole kingdom, and the royal court, about the church's rights, and defeated and silenced him.⁹⁶ Then a case was heard at Foggia, in front of Count Gilbert, who was similarly at that time Master Captain and governor of the whole kingdom, and the royal court, and he overcame him [once again].⁹⁷ The properties that were recovered through these legal cases were these. There was a case about the mountains, and the wood from the forests on, Monti Ursa, Tarino and Majella. There was a case about the churches and major and minor obediences subjected and belonging to the church of St. Clement located throughout the county of Manopello. There was a case about the men subject to these churches in the County of Manopello. There were many other legal cases, in all of which the lord Leonas was successful. Thus by the judgement of the royal court he received re-investiture from this same Count Bohemond and held possession this property. Then Count Bohemond once again took action against the monastery of St. Clement, acting on the advice of a knight called Thomas of Venosa, objected the monks from their obediences, placed these under lay procurators, and plundered everything from the land of the monastery of Pescara. The brothers were annoyed by this and excommunicated Thomas, who had counselled this wickedness; every day they rang

⁹⁴ These two sentences were omitted from the edition, and have been supplied from the manuscript, Paris, BN MS Lat. 5411, fol. 260v: *Symon Turgisius quasdam ecclesias videlicet Sanctum Martinum ad Gurtam, sanctum Johannem de Sciniari et Sanctam Cesidium de monasterio se tenere mentiebatur, nec eos reddere volens, in regalem curiam est adductus, ibique coram camerario Samarao et multis baronibus convictus, et de mendacio confutatus, reddidit easdem ecclesias iudicto curiae beati Clementis per manum Leonatis abbatis.* The relevant charter (30th September 1163) is on fol. 261r. The chronicle account reflects the haphazard arrangement of the charters in this part of the chartulary.

⁹⁵ *in possessionibus ecclesiae debacchatus est.*

⁹⁶ Simon was Master Captain of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, effectively governor of the mainland provinces of the kingdom of Sicily, from July or August 1156 until November 1160.

⁹⁷ The text of this document is not in the chartulary, though there is another charter of Count Gilbert, dated 1st December 1166, BN Ms. Latin, 5411, fol. 258r, edited in RIS ii(2).1011-12. Gilbert was a cousin of William I's wife Queen Margaret, and was Master Captain from 1162 until his expulsion from the kingdom of Sicily in 1168.

all the bells of the monastery three times to proclaim his anathema. Now it happened that the count and this same knight were at this time away in Sicily, and when they arrived at Messina Thomas fell gravely ill. He could neither sleep nor even enjoy any rest in his bed, for he claimed that the sound of all the bells of the church of St. Clement were in his ears, which gave him a splitting headache and drove all sleep from his eyes. So he lay struck down, afraid that he would die from these blows, and aware how dangerous his illness was he made his confession to a certain bishop. From what he said, the bishop understood what the cause of all this was, that he had been excommunicated for his evil counsel (as has been described above), and he advised him to make amends. So he summoned the count and begged letters of emendation from him, and as soon as a messenger was sent with instructions to restore to the monastery of Pescara its stolen churches and property on the count's lands, Thomas began to recover, and was freed from his illness through the power of God and the prayer of the Martyr Clement. Not long afterwards Count Bohemond lay dying, and with deep sighs acknowledged the evils that he had visited upon the church of St. Clement. In his last will and testament, written by the hand of Bishop John of Segni, he restored to St. Clement [the churches of] the Holy Cross of Caramanico ⁹⁸ and St. Cesidius of Tocco, and restored and gave peace in perpetuity to all the rights St. Clement possessed, which he had threatened, in mountains and plains, timber and stone, lands, mills, men and their renders, churches and ecclesiastical rents. He was in consequence absolved by the brothers of this monastery, and then paid his debt to death. The lord Leonas has held those things that had been recovered without dispute, and has possessed them in peace up to the present time. ⁹⁹

* * * * *

The lord Pope Alexander celebrated a synod at Rome, where the lord Leonas, Abbot of Pescara, took a prominent place among the cardinal deacons. ¹⁰⁰ On his journey he purchased textiles to beautify the church of St. Clement which had been

⁹⁸ 10 km. SE of the monastery.

⁹⁹ Cols. 903-4. Bohemond died 1169/70, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Peter.

¹⁰⁰ According to the chronicle, Leonas was named as a cardinal on Easter Saturday, 21st March, 1170, *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 907, but the chronicler may be a year in arrears, for he was already called cardinal in a charter of June 1169, BN MS Latin 5411, fol. 267v. The 'synod' was the Third Lateran Council of 1179.

entrusted to him, and from these he had precious capes and tunics made. He also purchased and acquired high-quality chasubles, silk hangings [*dorsalia*] and carpets, with which the walls of the church and the choir were decorated on the principal feast days. Through these, among many other things, his memory could be perpetuated for a long time to come. He had many books written, and most devotedly placed them in the library of the church of Casauria. Among these, in particular, he had a book of decretals written, with *summae* composed by [various] teachers. We completed this book of documents and chronicles, which I, brother John Berard, have composed and drawn up and Master Rusticus has written, with his [*the abbot's*] permission, or rather at his order and with his support. He began the rebuilding of the old abbatial palace, which was so old that it collapsed during his rule, but other matters got in the way, and that work was left incomplete. He then assigned the house which he had built as the first stage of that palace as a granary for the church. He also built a wooden house in front of the vestibule of this same church for the reception of guests.

After this, inspired by Divine grace and through the devotion which he had for the most glorious martyr Clement, he began to rebuild his church, with high-quality work at great expense, gathering equipment and crowds of masters and masons (*coementarii*). He first built the west front, with three doors, and had it decorated with standing sculptures. Then he raised up a most beautiful portico in front of it, built what seemed to be a tomb beneath it, and joined this to the earlier work. Over this he built an oratory, to be consecrated in honour of the Archangel Michael, the Holy Cross and St. Thomas the Martyr, but before he could complete this project, the end of his life overtook him. The foundations were laid in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1176, and as a result this verse was composed.

This temple was first built from nothing by Louis,
Which the distinguished Abbot Leonas wished to renew
With a great vow to the Lord.
He commenced in the year 1176.

Abbot Leonas was now growing old, and for two years before his death he suffered frequent illnesses, and in the springtime he was suddenly struck down by a most grave and mortal illness. In the presence of all the brothers, he passed away

tearfully and went the way of all flesh in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1182, in the twenty-seventh year of his abbacy, on 25th March, the most auspicious day of the feast of the most glorious Virgin Mary, to whom the salvation of mankind was announced by an angel. For as long as he ruled the church, this most distinguished abbot was accustomed on that very day, above all other days, reverently and devotedly to minister to the poor and to celebrate the other mysteries of that day. He was buried in Christ, in the tomb that he himself had prepared next to the wall of the church, where he could for ever be seen with a reverent eye by the brothers whom he had brought up.

Clement, take for yourself this volume as a written light.

So that your rights may be in light through these writings.

Let it be known and read in these documents what your rights are.

May this book which your little servant has worked upon be welcome,

May you be clement to him as your own name is Clement,

May the memory of brother John last through the years for ever. ¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Cols. 914-16.