

The South Italian Sources

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IN 1025 SOUTHERN ITALY WAS POLITICALLY DIVIDED between the Byzantine empire, the Lombard principalities of Benevento, Capua and Salerno, and the duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta. The present regions of Apulia (including the Capitanata in the north), and Calabria belonged to the eastern Roman empire and so did the eastern part of Basilicata. During the last years of Basil II's reign, after a long period of anarchy, thanks to the efficient administration of the governor (*katepan/κατεπάνω*) Basil Boioannes (1017–28), the Byzantine territories in southern Italy were extended and fortified. It is, however, impossible to trace the exact boundaries.¹ The present region of Campania and the southern part of Latium were divided between the autonomous Lombard principalities of Benevento, Capua and Salerno, and the duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, which were themselves independent of the Byzantine empire. The island of Sicily had been conquered by the Arabs during the ninth century, and in spite of several attempts at reconquest (964/965, 1025, 1038–1041), had never been recovered by Byzantium.

In the following pages I present the extant sources relevant to Byzantine prosopography, divided into separate sections according to the various political entities.

1. THE BYZANTINE PROVINCES

The Byzantine territories in southern Italy were originally organised into two and later three themes (*themata*): Longobardia (later Italia), Calabria and Lucania. With the creation of the katepanate of Italy during the reign of Nicephoros II Phocas (963–9) the position of the *katepan* of Italy (*κατεπάνω Ἰταλίας*), who had his residence in Bari, became predominant by comparison to that of the *strategoï* of the other provinces. Culturally and ethnically

¹ V. von Falkenhausen, 'Between two empires: Byzantine Italy in the reign of Basil II', in P. Magdalino, ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 141–52.

the population of the Byzantine territories was anything but homogeneous. The inhabitants of northern and central Apulia and of north-east Basilicata were for the most part Lombardised and Latin-speaking Roman Catholics, whereas those of southern Apulia, Calabria and southern Basilicata mostly spoke Greek and were Orthodox in religion. In fact, since the mid-eighth century Calabria had belonged to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. Moreover, during the eleventh century Norman and French knights settled in Byzantine territories partly as imperial mercenaries, and partly as conquerors; the division between the two roles is not always easy to define.

While there is no doubt that in 1025 the above-mentioned areas belonged to the eastern Roman empire, it is far more difficult to establish when Byzantine domination in southern Italy came to an end. The Norman conquest of the Byzantine territories started in the early 1040s but proceeded slowly: in 1059 after the conquest of Reggio, capital of the theme of Calabria, Norman knights acclaimed Robert Guiscard their duke, a title which was immediately confirmed by Pope Nicholas II. Even earlier, in 1057/8, a Greek document written in Briatico in Calabria was annotated by the scribe with the words ὑπὸ τῶν Φράγγων, 'under the Franks'.² The Capitanata was conquered by the Normans in the early 1060s. Bari, the seat of the Byzantine governor, was not taken until 1071. After that date there was no longer any effective Byzantine authority in southern Italy, though in several towns, as for example in Barletta, Canne, Gallipoli, Molfetta, Rossano and Trani, the local Norman lords and their notaries sometimes dated private and public documents according to the reign of the Byzantine emperor.³ Thus, in historical surveys and handbooks the end of Byzantine domination in southern Italy is generally given as the year 1071, a date which for reasons of convenience should be adopted here. Therefore, until 1071 we may in theory consider all the inhabitants of the Byzantine provinces as subjects of the eastern Roman empire and thus entitled to appear in a Byzantine prosopography.

The written sources from southern Italy for the period 1025–71 are certainly far more numerous and far richer than those for any other province of the Byzantine empire in the eleventh century. In addition to the narrative sources, around three hundred private and public documents (or fragments of documents) in Latin and Greek have survived, most of them published, but

² C. Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, no. 7, p. 100.

³ *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 7, nos. 1–4, pp. 3–9; vol. 8, nos. 19–33, pp. 39–56; vol. 10, nos. 1–5, pp. 3–9; vol. 32, nos. 3–4, pp. 52–5; Prologo, *Le carte*, nos. 23–30, pp. 67–77; Trincherà, *Syllabus*, no. 49, p. 65; no. 99, p. 131; Appendix 1, no. 1, p. 512.

some still unedited.⁴ In almost every document no fewer than ten people are mentioned: those issuing the deed and some members of their family, the recipients, the notaries, the witnesses, the owners of the neighbouring properties and so on, which means that from the archival material the names of at least 3,000 Byzantine subjects can be compiled. Certainly, some of them are Byzantine officials, others have court titles, others again are priests, abbots or bishops, but most of them are not what one would call ‘important people’; they are rather local inhabitants who happened to sell, to rent or to donate a house, a field or a vineyard to somebody by means of a contract which survived fortuitously in an ecclesiastical archive. In addition to their personal names the documents generally record those of their fathers and of other family members, the places where they lived at a certain date and the location of the property owned. Because all of them were Byzantine subjects, they will, I am afraid, give to the southern Italian provinces a disproportionate number of entries compared to those of other parts of the empire, from which only a few archival sources have survived.

To my knowledge, most of the surviving Latin documents of this period have been published. But there may be some unedited deeds from northern Apulia (especially from Lucera) in the archive of Santa Sofia in Benevento and in the archive of Montecassino. As for the known Greek documents, most are published; an edition of thirteen deeds of the Archivio Ducal Medinaceli (Toledo) has recently appeared.⁵ Moreover, an edition of the Greek documents from the monastery of Santa Maria di Matina in Calabria (now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) prepared years ago by André Guillou, should soon appear.⁶ The quality of the various editions is not consistent. Those of the Latin documents, although dependent on their state of conservation, are normally quite accurate, but the editors have often misread the Greek subscriptions of some of the witnesses—or have not read them at all, so that they have to be checked against the originals. The edition of the medieval Greek documents once in the Archivio di Stato in Naples and those in the archives of the abbeys of Montecassino and Cava, published by Trinchera in 1865, is moderately accurate; Trinchera’s transcriptions of the documents of Montecassino and Cava can easily be checked in the abbey

⁴ In this context I consider as public documents the privileges and juridical documents of the Byzantine governors and other officers.

⁵ The documents are published by Cristina Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l’Archivio Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, nos. 1–10, pp. 62–114; nos. 25–7, pp. 189–207. Rognoni recently published short summaries of the private acts in Greek of the Archivio Medinaceli: Rognoni, ‘Le fonds d’archives “Messine”’.

⁶ The edition should appear as the sixth volume of the series *Corpus des actes grecs d’Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Recherches d’histoire et de géographie*, a series published by the Vatican Library.

archives, but the Neapolitan documents were destroyed during the Second World War and there are apparently no photographs. Gertrude Robinson's edition of the documents of the Greek monastery of St Anastasius and St Elias of Carbone in Basilicata is unreliable, but the originals are accessible in the Archivio Doria-Pamphilj in Rome. On the other hand, the more recent editions by André Guillou of various collections of Greek documents from Calabria are generally correct; furthermore, his readings can easily be checked, because he provides a photograph of every document.

The narrative sources are less difficult to deal with: the three versions of the *Annals of Bari*, the so-called *Lupus protospatharius*, the *Annales barenses* and the *Chronicon ignoti civis barensis*, provide names and dates of the higher Byzantine officials active in the katepanate of Italy and of members of the local aristocracy and clergy. The published texts of the three versions are not very reliable, but there is a better edition of *Lupus* and the *Annales* in the still unpublished Ph.D. thesis of William Churchill (University of Toronto), while no extant manuscript of the *Chronicon* is known. There is, however, no comparable historical text from any other Byzantine town in southern Italy. The *Cronica Trium Tabernarum*, probably composed in Calabria in Norman times, but preserved in a late and inaccurate transcription, quotes most of the names of Byzantine personalities in rather distorted forms.⁷ Interesting information about the Byzantine government in southern Italy, its officials and their relations with Montecassino and the Lombard rulers is offered by the *Chronica monasterii casinensis*, which is available in the excellent edition by Hartmut Hoffmann in the MGH. For the last years of the Byzantine period we have available the various contemporary descriptions of the Norman conquest by William of Apulia, Amatus of Montecassino and Gaufredus Malaterra, while the so-called *Breve chronicon northmannicum* was proved to be a forgery by Pietro Polidori in the eighteenth century.⁸

There are few hagiographical sources concerning eleventh-century Byzantine Italy: one of the rare surviving texts is the Life of St Philaretos the Younger who was born into a Greek family in eastern Sicily in the 1030s; after the failure of the Byzantine campaign in Sicily (1041) he moved with his relatives to Calabria, where he became a monk.⁹ The better known St Bartholomew the Younger, founder of the Calabrian monastery of S. Maria del Patir, may have been born during the Byzantine period, but he flourished and died in the Norman era (d. 1130). His Life was presumably written in the

⁷ Caspar, 'Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien', 36–9.

⁸ A. Jacob, 'Le breve chronicon northmannicum: un véritable faux de Pietro Polidori', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 66 (1986), 378–92.

⁹ BHG 235.

middle of the twelfth century.¹⁰ The Latin Life of the holy monk St John of Matera,¹¹ and the *Translationes* of the relics of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari belong more or less to the same period.¹²

Finally, there are Greek manuscripts written in southern Italy, some with colophons which indicate not only the dates and the names of the scribes, but also those of the sponsors, or those of local bishops or of secular authorities. In their *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* Kirsopp and Silva Lake collected most of the known dated manuscripts from southern Italy of our period, but more exist, and names of scribes and sponsors can be found also in manuscripts datable only on palaeographical criteria. Especially for southern Italy during the last twenty years, through the painstaking research of scholars like André Jacob and Santo Lucà, palaeographical methodology has been refined, and many manuscripts can be safely dated and attributed to Italian *scriptoria*. Unfortunately their various studies have not been collected, and so one has to check the individual articles through the bibliography of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

2. THE FORMER BYZANTINE TERRITORIES BETWEEN 1071 AND 1204

As noted earlier, the year 1071 is the conventional date for the end of Byzantine rule in southern Italy. Subsequently, at least until the third decade of the twelfth century, some documents from Apulia, Basilicata and Calabria give the names of former Byzantine, now Norman subjects, who continue to mention their former Byzantine positions and court titles or are even given new titles by the former rulers. In spite of continuous hostilities, from the beginning of the Norman conquest of Byzantine Italy, there were close connections at various levels between the eastern Roman empire and the conquerors. There were, for instance, dynastic marriages between the Hautevilles and the imperial family: in 1074, Constantine, the infant son of Michael VII, was betrothed to Olympias, a daughter of Robert Guiscard, whose name was changed to Helena in Constantinople;¹³ in later years there were negotiations about a Byzantine bride for William II, but the marriage was not realised. In

¹⁰ BHG 1513.

¹¹ BHL 4411–12.

¹² BHL 6179, 6180, 6182, 6190–3, BHG 1361b.

¹³ V. von Falkenhausen, 'Olympias, eine normannische Prinzessin in Konstantinopel', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), 56–72.

addition, many Norman knights and barons, dissatisfied with their feudal or patrimonial allocation under Robert Guiscard and his successors, joined the crusaders or left for Byzantium and entered the service of the Byzantine emperor, at least for a certain period. Some of them stayed in the east and were permanently integrated into the aristocracy of the eastern Roman empire,¹⁴ others, as for instance the *protosebastos* William of Grandmesnil, returned to their Italian estates adorned with imperial titles;¹⁵ finally, some Norman knights, who remained in south Italy, were considered to be friends of the Empire and awarded imperial titles: I think of Count Geoffrey, *imperialis sebastos* Lord of Molfetta,¹⁶ William, *gratia Dei cannensis comes et imperialis protocuropalatus*,¹⁷ and many others. All these people should certainly be given entries in the Byzantine prosopography.

In his introductory lecture at our 2002 conference, however, Michael Jeffreys proposed that all the people who lived up to the year 1204 in the territories which in 1025 belonged to the Byzantine empire should have an entry in the Prosopography of the Byzantine World. As far as southern Italy is concerned, I consider this idea unrealistic for several reasons. (1) For the Norman and early Hohenstaufen period there are thousands of documents, edited and unedited, from Apulia, Calabria and Basilicata with tens of thousands of names of people who never had anything to do with Byzantium. Why should they appear in a Byzantine prosopography? (2) In the Norman kingdom, provinces which had belonged to the Byzantine empire were united with other states which were independent at the time of their conquest, as for instance, Sicily, the principalities of Capua and Salerno, or the duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta; after the Norman conquest many inhabitants of these territories moved to other provinces within the boundaries of the new state. Many Greeks from Calabria for various reasons moved to Sicily, as did Salernitans to Calabria and Sicily. Thus, one would have to divide the population of the Norman kingdom rather arbitrarily into one group, which for historical and geographical reasons would be incorporated into the PBW, and another which would not. I am convinced that such a procedure would prove quite impossible.

At the conference it was also said that at least all the Greek speakers should be entered in the PBW. Once again, that idea is neither realistic, nor

¹⁴ D. Nicol, 'Symbiosis and integration. Some Greco-Latin families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th century', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), 113–35, reprinted in D. Nicol, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (London, 1986), III; J. Nesbitt, 'Some observations about the Roger family', *Nêa 'Pôμη* 1 (2004), 209–17.

¹⁵ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, no. 83, p. 108; Burgarella and Guillou, *Castrovillari*, 66–71.

¹⁶ *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 8–9.

¹⁷ *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 8, no. 33, p. 56.

convincing. (1) During the Middle Ages, there were many Byzantine subjects who did not speak Greek, and many Greek speakers who lived outside the borders of the Empire. I do not think that the fact that a person was Greek-speaking is a sufficient criterion for including him or her in the PBW. (2) In southern Italy during the Byzantine period most of the Greek speakers were concentrated in southern Apulia, southern Basilicata and Calabria, and in these provinces Greek continued to be used as the predominant administrative language until the end of the twelfth century. In fact, for most of the twelfth century private documents, many administrative, judicial and baronial documents, and a great number of charters of the Norman rulers written in that area, or for recipients living there, were in Greek. But that does not necessarily mean that all of the people mentioned in these documents were Greek speakers. Certainly, we can assume that the notary who wrote the document was a Greek speaker, but we know very often that neither the author nor the recipients of the charters or documents were Greek speakers, and often it is impossible to decide whether the other people mentioned in the text are Greeks, Lombards, Normans or others; the ethnic origin of the various personal names is not a safe criterion, since a few years after the Norman conquest many Lombards and Greeks adopted names from the conquerors, especially those of the Hauteville family. Only the autograph Greek subscriptions, may safely be assumed to have been written by a Greek speaker. But how do we know that these subscriptions were really autographs? The elegant Greek signatures of the countess Adelasia and of Roger II were certainly not written by the Norman rulers themselves, but by some professional notary of their chancellery.¹⁸

In addition to what has been said, we should consider the case of Sicily, which during the eleventh century did not belong to the Byzantine empire. Under Islamic rule in the north-east of the island there existed a substantial Greek-speaking Christian minority who paid tribute to the Muslim rulers. The Greek/Arabic manuscript of the Gospel of St Luke (Paris BN, Supplément grec 911), copied in 1043 by the cleric Euphemios, has been attributed to a Sicilian scriptorium.¹⁹ When, in the 1060s the Normans began to conquer Sicily, these local Christians collaborated to a certain extent with the invaders, whom they greeted as their liberators from the infidels. Many were rewarded by the conquerors, and some, such as the admiral Eugenios

¹⁸ V. von Falkenhausen, 'I diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca', in G. De Gregorio and O. Kresten, eds., *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi comparativi*, Incontri di studio 1 (Spoleto, 1998), 282–6.

¹⁹ P. Géhin, 'Un manuscrit bilingue grec-arabe, BnF, Supplément grec 911 (année 1043)', in F. Déroche and F. Richard, eds., *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris, 1997), 162–75.

the Elder, received important positions within the Norman administration.²⁰ In the following years, numerous Greeks from Calabria, especially clerics and notaries, moved to Sicily to help reorganise the local administration and to re-establish Christianity among the local population. In fact during the first half of the twelfth century most Sicilian documents, private and public, were written in Greek.²¹ For many years Greek was a kind of *lingua franca* of the Norman administration, but the people who used it were neither Byzantines nor normally connected with the Byzantine empire.

Nevertheless we cannot completely neglect the documents of the Norman period, for frequently they mention people who were in contact with the Byzantine empire. In this connection I have mentioned the Norman knights who were offered Byzantine titles for their services; but there were also Greek civil servants, who in one way or the other became involved with Constantinople, as for instance the *logothetes* Leo *protoproedros* (1086),²² the admiral Christodoulos, chief of the Norman administration during the regency of the countess Adelasia and the first years of Roger II (1107–26), on whom Alexios I conferred the title of *protonobelissimos* in 1109,²³ and his contemporary Bonos, protonotary of Roger I, Adelasia and Roger II, who was awarded the same title before 1110.²⁴ Basil, *camerarius* of Roger II (1117–21) was *sebastos*,²⁵ Admiral George of Antioch (d. 1151), a former Byzantine subject from Syria who after having been employed at the Zirid court in Ifriqiyya fled to Sicily where he reorganised the central administration of the Norman kingdom for Roger II, held the Byzantine title of *panhypersebastos*.²⁶ Moreover, there were members of the local South Italian or Sicilian upper class who were sent by the Norman rulers as ambassadors to Constantinople such as Genesios Moschatos, a Greek from Stilo in Calabria (before 1098),²⁷ the so-called *Judex Tarentinus*, a judge of the royal court

²⁰ Ménager, *Amiratus*, 26–8.

²¹ V. von Falkenhausen, 'The Greek presence in Norman Sicily: the contribution of archival material in Greek', in G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe, eds., *The Society of Norman Sicily*, The Medieval Mediterranean 38 (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2002), 253–84.

²² L.-R. Ménager, *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie* (1046–1127), vol. 1, *Les premiers ducs* (1046–1087), Società di storia patria per la Puglia. Documenti e monografie 45 (Bari, 1981), nos. 52–4, pp. 182, 184, 186.

²³ J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: the royal dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), 69–74.

²⁴ K.A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Innsbruck, 1902), 413–15, no. 3; Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa*, no. 92, p. 328; Trinchera, *Syllabus*, no. 133, p. 172; Ménager, *Amiratus*, 40.

²⁵ Ménager, *Amiratus*, 187–9.

²⁶ A. Acconcia Longo, 'Gli epitaffi giambici per Giorgio di Antiochia, per la madre e per la moglie', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 61 (1981), 40–6; F. Delle Donne, 'Giorgio d'Antiochia', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 55 (Roma, 2000), 347–50; Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 80–90, and *passim*.

²⁷ Mercati, Giannelli, Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès*, no. 3, p. 55.

under William I,²⁸ or Henry Aristippus, the Latin archdeacon of Catania, who during his Byzantine embassy (1158–60) acquired Greek manuscripts which he translated into Latin.²⁹ Some of the Greek notaries who ran the Norman civil service were quite respectable intellectuals, poets or translators. The best-known name is that of Admiral Eugenios of Palermo (c.1130–after 1202),³⁰ but there are also the anonymous poets who wrote the epitaphs of the family of George of Antioch and the long poem by a civil servant exiled to Malta.³¹ In addition there are ecclesiastical authors attached to the Norman court in one way or another. Neilos Doxapatres, presumably an exile from Byzantium, wrote his *Hierarchy of the Patriarchal Sees* (Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων) in Palermo in 1142/3, a treatise which had a certain diffusion in the Byzantine empire, and was even translated into Armenian.³² Philagathos Kerameus, a monk of the monastery of S. Maria del Patir near Rossano, was a well-known preacher who delivered sermons in the most important cathedrals of Norman Calabria and Sicily, occasionally even in the presence of the kings Roger II and William I. His homilies were widely copied in the Byzantine empire.³³

As can be seen from the careers of men like Neilos Doxapatres and Philagathos Kerameus, the ecclesiastical aspect of the Norman kingdom presents a special problem in our context. During the Byzantine era the dioceses of Sicily, Calabria, southern Apulia and part of Basilicata depended on the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. Bishops and metropolitans in these territories were Greek, as were most of the clergy and many monasteries. After the Norman conquest the ecclesiastical situation in south Italy changed dramatically. All the former Byzantine dioceses returned to Roman jurisdiction, but while in some dioceses the Greek bishops were replaced by Latin ones, in others, for instance Rossano, Crotone, Santa

²⁸ E. Aar, 'Gli studi storici in Terra d'Otranto', *Archivio storico italiano* n.s. 4.9 (1882), 253–5; E. Jamison, 'Judex Tarentinus. The career of *Judex Tarentinus magne curie magister justiciarius* and the emergence of the Sicilian *regalis magna curia* under William I and the regency of Margaret of Navarre, 1156–72', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 290–344.

²⁹ E. Franceschini, 'Enrico Aristippo', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 4 (Rome, 1962), 201–6.

³⁰ E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius. His Life and His Work* (London, 1957); V. von Falkenhausen, 'Eugenio da Palermo', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 43 (Rome, 1993), 502–5; M. Gigante, *Eugenii panormitani versus iambici*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi 10 (Palermo, 1964).

³¹ E. Th. Tsolakis, 'Ἀγνωστα ἔργα ἰταλοβυζαντινοῦ ποιητῆ τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνα', *Ἑλληνικά* 26 (1973), 46–66.

³² V. von Falkenhausen, 'Nilo Doxapatres', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 41 (Rome, 1992), 610–13.

³³ The biographical note by L. Amelotti, 'Filagato da Cerami', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 47 (Rome, 1997), 564–5, is not entirely reliable.

Severina and Gerace, Greek bishops and metropolitans continued to be in charge, although under papal jurisdiction, until the thirteenth century. In Sicily, formerly Muslim, a new Latin (predominantly Norman or French) ecclesiastical hierarchy was installed, but in all the former Byzantine dioceses the lower clergy and most of the monks were of Greek origin and spoke, wrote and celebrated in Greek. Hundreds of names of Greek clerics, priests, monks, and even those of some Greek bishops are mentioned in the documents published by Trinchera, Cusa, Robinson, Pratesi, Guillou and Rognoni and in the still unedited documents of the Aldobrandini and Medinaceli archives. Should they be included in the Byzantine prosopography, although they did not officially belong to the patriarchate of Constantinople? Most of them no longer maintained a Byzantine connection, but for many of them Constantinople remained their spiritual centre. According to his *Life*, Bartholemew of Simeri, the founder and abbot of S. Maria del Patir, visited Constantinople where he acquired liturgical manuscripts and icons and was received by the Emperor Alexios I and his wife Irene; he also visited mount Athos.³⁴ His contemporary, the monk Luke, Greek bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto, who after the Norman conquest was active for years as a missionary in Sicily, apparently also tried to travel to Constantinople, but for unknown reasons did not succeed.³⁵ In 1174 Paul, the Greek bishop-elect of Gallipoli, wrote a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael III Anchialos, asking for help with certain liturgical problems.³⁶ More widely known is the *grammatikos* Nicholas of Otranto, a gifted writer and learned theologian, who became abbot of the Greek monastery of S. Nicola di Casole close to Otranto (his monastic name was Nektarios), and who served as an interpreter to Benedict, legate of Innocent III to Constantinople in 1205–7, and to Cardinal Pelagius in 1214/15. Since he was born presumably during the late fifties of the twelfth century and died at Casole in 1235,³⁷ the greater part of his productive life was spent outside the chronological limits of the PBW.

3. THE LOMBARD PRINCIPALITIES

Since the second half of the tenth century the Lombard principalities, Benevento, Capua and Salerno, had been independent of the Byzantine

³⁴ BHG 235.

³⁵ BHG 2237.

³⁶ A. Jacob, 'La lettre patriarcale du typikon de Casole et l'évêque Paul de Gallipoli', *RSBN* n.s. 24 (1987), 143–63.

³⁷ J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, *Studia Patristica et Byzantina* 11 (Ettal, 1965).

empire, but during the last years of Basil II, under the efficient katepanate of Basil Boioannes (1017–28), Byzantine authority was recognised by Capua and presumably by Salerno. Prince Pandulf IV (1016–49) presented the emperor with the golden key of Capua and accepted his overlordship, but very soon Byzantine influence diminished. I do not think there is any reason to include the population of the principality of Capua in the prosopography. In the territory of the principality of Capua there was, however, the monastery of Montecassino which, at least until the early twelfth century, was in contact with the Byzantine authorities in southern Italy and with the emperors (Constantine IX, Michel VII and Alexios I) themselves. Montecassino owned extensive property in Apulia which was regularly confirmed by the *katepans*; moreover, during the early Norman period, the abbots were involved in diplomatic activities between Rome and Constantinople.³⁸ During the years 1036–8 Basil, a Greek from Calabria and a protégé of Pandolf IV, was a much-hated abbot of Montecassino. In the same period, we find other Greek abbots in some smaller monasteries in this area which were sometimes, but not always, dependencies of Montecassino.³⁹ In fact from the second half of the tenth century many Greeks from Calabria and Sicily, fleeing from the Arab raids and invasions, left their homes to settle in the Lombard territories. Probably in 1034 (the date is not certain), Leo, *qui fuit ortus ex finibus Calabriae et nunc est Longobardus*, founded the church of St Nicholas, which was called later *de Graecis*, in his own house in Benevento.⁴⁰ Many of these Greeks, artisans, farmers, monks and priests, can be found in the principality of Salerno, that is, in the city itself, in the so-called Cilento, on the *costiera amalfitana* and in the Val di Diana. In these areas Greek communities and monasteries survived in a Lombard/Latin environment throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries; they are well documented especially in the published and still unpublished acts of the archive of the abbey of the SS Trinità di Cava.⁴¹ However, even though their ancestors were Byzantine, I do not think that we can consider these Greek-speaking inhabitants of Campania during the Lombard, then Norman, period to be Byzantines themselves.

Some members of the Lombard upper class had connections with Byzantium, especially during the period of the Norman conquest, when they desperately tried to get help against the invaders: in 1062, for instance, Gisulf

³⁸ V. von Falkenhausen, 'Montecassino e Bisanzio dal IX al XII secolo', in F. Avagliano and O. Pecere, eds., *L'età dell'abate Desiderio*, vol. 3.1, *Storia, arte e cultura. Atti del IV Convegno di studi sul Medioevo meridionale (Montecassino—Cassino, 4–8 ottobre 1987)*, Miscellanea Cassinese 67 (Montecassino, 1992 [in fact 1995]), 87–107.

³⁹ von Falkenhausen, 'Montecassino e Bisanzio', 81–7.

⁴⁰ J. Mazzoleni, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria*, vol. 1 (Naples, 1966), no. 23, pp. 75–8.

⁴¹ *Codex diplomaticus cavensis, passim*; Cherubini, *Le pergamene, passim*.

II, prince of Salerno, together with Alfanus, who was later to become archbishop of the town, travelled to Constantinople, where they spent some time at the court of Constantine X. In addition to the political aim of the mission, Alfanus used the sojourn in Byzantium to translate Greek medical texts (Nemesios of Emesa) into Latin.⁴² But some Salernitans stayed even longer in Constantinople and entered the service of the emperor. In a recent article, Paul Magdalino has identified the *protosebastos* Landulf Butrumile, who donated the Byzantine bronze doors to the cathedral of Salerno, with the homonymous *mezas doux* and commander of the imperial navy between 1099 and 1108.⁴³

4. THE DUCHY OF NAPLES

The Duchy of Naples is a special case. Although from the ninth century the dukes were elected locally without any Byzantine interference, up to the year 1139, when the duchy was conquered by Roger II, all the documents of Naples are dated according to the reigns of Byzantine emperors. Is that enough to consider all Neapolitans up to that date Byzantine subjects? Though the town was Latin in language and culture and Roman Catholic in religion, until the early twelfth century some Greek monasteries survived in the city and the presence of the Greek language and Greek culture was apparently stronger in Naples than in the other towns of Campania: during the tenth century especially, many Neapolitan witnesses signed their names in the Greek alphabet, though in the Latin language, a habit which continued even in the first half of the eleventh century though on a reduced level.⁴⁴ According to a document of 1041, all the nuns of the monastery of SS Peter and Marcellinus who were Greek or who knew how to write and read in Greek were to be buried in the monastery of St Sebastian.⁴⁵ As in other parts of Campania, during the tenth and eleventh centuries Greeks from Calabria moved to Naples and settled there, as for instance Peter Volicaci from Amantea.⁴⁶ These Greek immigrants, especially when they were clerics

⁴² A. Lentini, 'Alfano di Salerno', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 2 (Rome, 1960), 253–7; P. Cherubini, 'Gisulfo II', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 56 (Rome, 2001), 644–8.

⁴³ P. Magdalino, 'Prosopography and Byzantine identity', in Averil Cameron, ed., *Fifty Years of Prosopography. The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and beyond* (Oxford, 2003), 41–56.

⁴⁴ Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2.1, no. 401, p. 251 (1025); nos. 419–20, pp. 264–5 (1028); no. 423, p. 266 (1030); no. 428, p. 269 (1031); no. 430, p. 270 (1031); no. 432, p. 271 (1031); no. 435, p. 273 (1032); no. 441, p. 276 (1033); no. 456, pp. 281–2 (1036); no. 483, p. 295 (1048); no. 489, pp. 296–7 (1058); no. 519, p. 312 (1074); no. 556, pp. 338–9 (1093).

⁴⁵ Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2.1, no. 473, p. 290.

⁴⁶ Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, 276–7.

and monks, normally signed documents in the Greek alphabet and the Greek language.⁴⁷ Byzantine court titles were always rare among the Neapolitan aristocracy, but during the period of the Norman conquest the local dukes reinforced their relationship with Constantinople; Sergius VI (c.1077–1107) and John VI (c.1107–20) had both been awarded the title of *protosebastos*.⁴⁸ Most medieval Neapolitan documents were destroyed during the Second World War, but at the end of the nineteenth century Bartolomeo Capasso collected, studied and carefully presented all the known primary sources of Naples up to the year 1139. There is no equivalent scholarly work for the Norman period of the town.

5. THE DUCHY OF AMALFI

In the eleventh century the small duchy of Amalfi did not belong to the Byzantine empire. Its dukes belonged to the local dynasty which had been established by Sergius I in 958. During the years 1039–52 Amalfi was dominated by the Lombard principality of Salerno, and in 1073 the city-state surrendered to the Normans. Thereafter, except for a brief period of independence under the Duke Marinus (1096–1100), Amalfi was integrated into the Norman state. Nevertheless, more than any of the other independent southern Italian states, because of its commercial interests in the eastern Mediterranean Amalfi cultivated very strong relations with Byzantium which are visible at various levels. Some of the dukes were awarded Byzantine court titles. John II, who had lived on two occasions, each of several years, as an exile in Constantinople, was *patrikios* from 1030 and *anthypatos* and *vestes* from 1052, whereas Marinus, duke from 1096 to 1100, during the short period of the Amalfitan rebellion against the Normans, received the title of *sebastos*. Commercial relations between Amalfi and the Byzantine empire continued even after the Norman conquest, though on a reduced level. The Amalfitans possessed a quarter and at least one church in Constantinople, a church and a hospital in Antioch, and a monastery on mount Athos. In the Amalfitan documents up to the second half of the twelfth century, quite a number of private individuals are mentioned, probably merchants who had been awarded imperial titles or who are said to be living or travelling in the eastern Roman empire.⁴⁹ Some of them encouraged or commissioned Latin

⁴⁷ Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2.1, no. 437, pp. 237–8 (1032); no. 406, p. 256 (1056, not 1026); nos. 414–414*, pp. 259–61 (1057 not 1027); no. 568, pp. 345–6 (1095); no. 608, pp. 368–9 (1113); no. 631*, p. 393 (1126).

⁴⁸ Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2.2, nos. 20–5, pp. 58–73, 100–1.

⁴⁹ von Falkenhausen, 'Il commercio di Amalfi', 28–30.

translations of Greek hagiographical texts.⁵⁰ In particular the family *de comite Maurone* and its most important representative, Pantaleon, had a very intense and long-lasting political and cultural relationship with Byzantium. This is known not only from archival documents, but also from chronicles, such as that of Amatus of Montecassino, political and ecclesiastical treatises, hagiographical sources and works of art, like the bronze doors of the churches of Amalfi, Montecassino, Montesantangelo and San Paolo *fuori le mura* in Rome.⁵¹ The archival material and the narrative sources from and for Amalfi up to 1100 have been carefully researched and presented by Ulrich Schwarz. As for the twelfth century, Bruno Figliuolo has done valuable research on the Amalfitans in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and I myself have written about the relations between Amalfi and the Byzantine empire during the twelfth century. Further material may also still exist.⁵²

6. THE DUCHY OF GAETA AND SOUTHERN LATIUM

Many archival documents for the medieval history of Gaeta have survived, but there is little evidence concerning relations between the duchy and Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In contrast to what is known from the tenth century when Gaeta was well connected with the eastern Roman empire, in our period apparently neither the duke nor members of the local aristocracy were awarded imperial titles; moreover, it seems that the merchants from Gaeta preferred commercial activities in the Tyrrhenian Sea to more ambitious and dangerous expeditions to the eastern Mediterranean. However, an undated letter written in Constantinople by Hilarios *sacerdos et monachus et magnae ecclesiae Novae Romae cubicularius* together with three other men (one of them, *Lupinus de Johanne de Lupino de Iusto comite*, an Amalfitan) to Bishop Leo (c. 1049–72) has been published: in it they inform the ecclesiastical authorities that John, son of Peter *de domno Benedicto* from Gaeta had died in Constantinople leaving 35 *tetartera* to several churches in

⁵⁰ A. Hofmeister, 'Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht der *comitis Mauronis* in Amalfi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen besonders im 11. Jahrhundert', *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 27 (1932), 225–84, 493–508, 831–3; P. Chiesa, *Vita e morte di Giovanni Calabita e Giovanni l'Elemosiniere. Due testi 'amalfitani' inediti*, Quaderni Salernitani 1 (Cava dei Tirreni, 1995).

⁵¹ G. Matthiae, *Le porte bronzee bizantine in Italia* (Rome, 1971).

⁵² Figliuolo, 'Amalfi e il Levante', 610–20; von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana', 81–121; von Falkenhausen, 'Il commercio di Amalfi', 19–38.

his home town and to some relatives and friends.⁵³ Presumably John had died during a business trip to the eastern Mediterranean. Hence some merchants of Gaeta were apparently still active in Byzantium, maybe in joint ventures with colleagues from Amalfi.

Finally I think one should include in this survey the Greek abbey of Grottaferrata (about 18 km. south-east of Rome) which was founded in 1004 by Neilos of Rossano and still exists. Grottaferrata is situated outside the boundaries of the Byzantine empire, and the monastery never did belong to the jurisdiction of the patriarchal see of Constantinople, but was subject to the Holy See. Nevertheless during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the abbey flourished economically and was an active centre of Greek monastic culture. In addition to monastic property near Rome, Grottaferrata owned an important *metochion* at Rofrano south of Salerno, the possession of which was confirmed by Roger II in 1131.⁵⁴ Among the monks, who were normally of Calabrian or Sicilian origin, there were capable scribes, hagiographers and hymnographers, who continued to cultivate relations with the areas of Greek monasticism in southern Italy.⁵⁵ Given this cultural background, it is quite understandable that Pope Urban II in 1088 sent Abbot Nicholas of Grottaferrata on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople.⁵⁶

In conclusion, the primary sources from post-Byzantine southern Italy provide substantial information about former subjects of the empire and about people who in one way or the other were connected with Byzantium during the period 1071–1204, but, as has already been said, in my judgement it is neither reasonable nor feasible, given the enormous quantity of archival documents, to include the entire population of the ex-Byzantine territories in the Prosopography of the Byzantine World.

⁵³ *Codex diplomaticus cajetanus*, vol. 2, no. 219, pp. 51–2; Skinner, *Family Power*, 283–4.

⁵⁴ E. Follieri, 'Il crisobullo di Ruggero II re di Sicilia per la badia di Grottaferrata (aprile 1131)', *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 42 (1988), 49–81, repr. in A. Acconcia Longo, L. Perria, A. Luzzi, eds., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, Storia e Letteratura 195 (Rome, 1997), 433–61.

⁵⁵ A. Acconcia Longo, 'Gli innografi di Grottaferrata', in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, 317–28.

⁵⁶ Malaterra, *De rebus gestis*, 92.

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- J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, École française de Rome (Paris, 1904)
Still valuable standard history of Byzantine domination in southern Italy.
- W. Holtzmann and D. Girgensohn, eds., *Italia pontificia*, vols. 9–10 (Berlin, 1962 and Thur, 1975).
Summaries of pontifical documents for the southern Italian and Sicilian dioceses up to 1198.
- J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 179 (Paris, 1993)
Excellent survey of the archival and narrative sources for Apulia.
- V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978)
Useful especially for the prosopography of Byzantine officials in southern Italy.

PRIMARY SOURCES**Documentary Sources in Greek** (chronological order)

- F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), nos. 21–46, pp. 22–61
Twenty-five documents for the period from 1025–70. The edition is not perfect and most of the documents were destroyed during the Second World War.
- G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone*, vol. 2.1, *Orientalia Christiana* 15.2 (1929), nos. 2–8, pp. 138–75
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¹ This is the only part of the bibliography where I have tried to give a complete survey of the known sources, which would have been an impossible task for the other sections of the bibliography.

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One document from 1054. Guillou's editions are generally reliable, but can in any case be checked on the photographs included in the edition.
- A. Guillou and C. Rognoni, 'Une nouvelle fondation monastique dans le thème de Calabre (1053–1054)', *BZ* 84/5 (1991/2), 423–9
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- C. Rognoni, 'Le fonds d'archives "Messine" de l'Archivio de Medinaceli (Toledo). Regestes des actes privés grecs', *Byz* 72 (2002), 502–5
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Fourteen documents (1025–67) mostly from Bari.
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- F. Nitti di Vito, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 4 (Bari, 1900), nos. 16–46, pp. 32–94; frag. 8, pp. 105–6
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2. THE FORMER BYZANTINE TERRITORIES, 1071–1204

HANDBOOKS, SURVEYS, PROSOPOGRAPHIES

There are a great many historical surveys of Norman southern Italy. In addition to those cited in the first section I mention here only two:

- D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992)
- G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe, eds., *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2002)
Recent volume of collected articles by various authors which gives an interesting introduction into the period.
- L.-R. Ménager, *Amiratus-ἀμνηρᾶς. L'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1960)
Prosopography of the Greek officials of the Norman administration.
- 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XI^e–XII^e siècles)', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Atti delle prime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 28–29 maggio 1973* (Bari 1975, repr. 1991), 281–410
Prosopography of Norman families in southern Italy and Sicily.
- H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1993)
Valuable survey of the administration of the Norman kingdom providing useful biographical information about the various officials.

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F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), nos. 47–259, pp. 62–353

Two hundred and twelve documents for the period 1071–1204. The edition is not perfect and most of the documents were destroyed during the Second World War.

S. Cusa, *Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1868, 1884).

Edition of 150 Greek and Arabic documents from Sicily and southern Calabria (1092–1201).

G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone*, vol. 2.1, *Orientalia Christiana* 15.2 (1929), pp. 9–154; vol. 2.2, *Orientalia Christiana* 19.1 (1930), nos. 9–68, pp. 177–275

Fifty-nine documents for the period from 1070 to 1204: the edition is rather unreliable, but the documents are still extant and the reading can be checked against the originals in the Archivio Doria-Pamphilj in Rome.

A. Guillou, *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi 8 (Palermo, 1963)

Twenty documents from Calabria and Messina (1076–1201).

— *Saint-Nicodème de Kellarana (1023/1024–1232)*, *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Recherches d'histoire et de géographie* 2 (Vatican City, 1968)

Three documents for the period from 1070 to 1204.

S.G. Mercati, C. Giannelli, A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054–1264)*, *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Recherches d'histoire et de géographie* 5 (Vatican City, 1980), nos. 2–43, pp. 43–225

Forty-two documents for the period 1070–1204. Guillou's editions are generally reliable, but can in any case be checked against the photographs included in the edition.

F. Burgarella and A. Guillou, *Castrovillari nei documenti greci del Medioevo* (Castrovillari, 2000)

One document (1081).

C. Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, 1. *Les monastères de Saint-Pancrace de Briatico, de Saint-Philippe-de-Bojóannès et de Saint-Nicolas-des-Drosi (Calabre, XI^e–XII^e siècles)* (Paris 2004), nos. 11–24, pp. 115–79, nos. 28–30, pp. 208–32

Seventeen documents from 1062 to 1175. The volume is accompanied by a CD with photographs of all the documents so that the published text can be checked.

G. Breccia, *Nuovi contributi alla storia del Patir. Documenti del Vat. gr. 2605* (Rome, 2006), nos. 1–11, pp. 135–98, no. 16, pp. 222–34.

Twelve Greek documents from 1109 to 1203, published on the basis of copies from the early eighteenth century: the originals are lost.

Other individual Greek documents, too numerous to list here, have been published in various places.

Documentary Sources in Latin (chronological order by archive)*Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*

The following volumes have been published to date, all with excellent commentaries:

H. Zielinski, *Tancredi et Willelmi III regum diplomata* (Cologne and Vienna, 1982)
 Th. Kölzer, *Constantiae imperatricis et reginae Siciliae diplomata (1195–1198)*
 (Cologne and Vienna, 1983)

C. Brühl, *Rogerii II. regis diplomata latina* (Cologne and Vienna, 1987)

H. Enzensberger, *Guillelmi I. regis diplomata* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1996)

The charters of the Empress Constantia have been republished:

Th. Kölzer, *Die Urkunden der Kaiserin Konstanze*, MGH *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 11.3 (Hanover, 1990)

G.B. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito, eds., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 1 (Bari, 1897), nos. 27–72, pp. 49–141

Forty-six documents (1073–1204) mostly from Bari.

F. Carabellese, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 3 (Bari, 1899), nos. 16–192, pp. 35–214

One hundred and seventy-eight documents (1074–1204) from Terlizzi and Giovinazzo.

F. Nitti di Vito, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 5 (Bari, 1902), nos. 1–164, pp. 4–281; frags. 1–24, pp. 285–304

One hundred and eighty-eight documents (1075–1194) mostly from Bari.

— *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 6 (Bari, 1906), nos. 1–15, pp. 3–28

Fifteen documents (1195–1203).

F. Carabellese, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 7 (Bari, 1912), nos. 1–79, pp. 3–103
 Seventy-nine documents (1076–1204) mostly from Molfetta.

F. Nitti di Vito, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 8 (Bari, 1914), nos. 19–192, pp. 39–247

One hundred and seventy-four documents (1072–1204) mostly from Canne and Barletta.

G. Beltrani, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 9 (Bari, 1923), nos. 6–78, pp. 7–88
 Seventy-three documents (1073–1203) from Trani.

R. Filangieri di Candida, ed., *Codice diplomatico barese*, vol. 10 (Bari, 1927), nos. 1–47, pp. 3–70

Forty-seven documents (1074–1204) mostly from Barletta.

G. Coniglio, ed., *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, vol. 20 (Bari, 1975), nos. 37–40, pp. 83–94

Four documents (1025–54) from Conversano.

J.-M. Martin, ed., *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, vol. 21 (Bari, 1976), nos. 16–125, pp. 108–358

One hundred and ten documents (1080–1201) from Troia.

J.-M. Martin, ed., *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, vol. 32 (Bari, 1994), nos. 1–62, pp. 47–167

Sixty-two documents (1086–1203) from northern Apulia.

G.M. Monti, ed., *Codice diplomatico brindisino*, vol. 1 (Trani, 1940), nos. 6–39, pp. 13–68

Thirty-four documents mostly from Brindisi.

- A. Prologo, *Le carte che si conservano nello Archivio del capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani* (Barletta, 1877), nos. 18–95, pp. 58–197
Seventy-eight documents from Trani (1072–1204).
- F. Magistrale, *Le pergamene dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Taranto*, vols. 1–2 (1083–1258), (Galatina, 1999), nos. 1–12, pp. 3–48
Twelve documents (1083–1197) in Latin and Greek from Taranto.
- A. Pratesi, *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini*, Studi e testi 197 (Vatican City, 1958) nos. 1–77, pp. 3–194
Edition of seventy-seven documents from Calabria (1065–1204).
- H. Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 80 (Tübingen, 1995)
Edition of 176 seventeenth-century summaries of documents of the Norman period from the archive of the abbey of Venosa (Basilicata), with a useful introduction on monasticism in the Norman kingdom.
- R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra*, vols. 1–2 (Palermo 1733)
History of the church in Sicily with editions of many Latin documents.
- C.A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, ser. 1.18 (Palermo, 1899)
One hundred and eleven documents (1092–1194) from Sicily.
- L.-R. Ménager, *Les actes latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103–1250)*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi 9 (Palermo, 1963)
Twelve documents mostly from Messina (1103–1200).

Narrative Sources

- E. D'Angelo, ed., *Falcone di Benevento, Chronicon beneventanum* (Florence, 1998)
Chronicle from 1102–40, written by the notary Falco from Benevento, hostile to the Normans.
- C.A. Garufi, ed., *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, in L.A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 7* (2nd edn., Bologna, 1935)
Chronicle from Adam to 1178. For the Norman period the chronicle gives interesting and reliable information. Its author, archbishop of Salerno (1153–81), was an important and well-informed figure at the court of William I and William II.
- G.B. Siragusa, ed., (*Hugo Falcandus*), *La historia o liber de regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum, panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 22 (Rome, 1897)

Hagiography

- G. Schirò, ed., *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi 2 (Palermo, 1954)
Edition of the Greek Life of a learned monk from Calabria, who lived for years as a missionary in Sicily (late 11th/early 12th c.) and became bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto in southern Calabria (d. 1114) = BHG 2237.

3. THE LOMBARD PRINCIPALITIES

HANDBOOKS, SURVEYS, PROSOPOGRAPHIES (alphabetical order)

- H. Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986)
History of the abbey of Montecassino.
- H. Dormeier, *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, Schriften der MGH 27 (Stuttgart, 1979)
Useful for the prosopography of the Lombard and Norman families connected with Montecassino.
- J.H. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest. Family strategies in the principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077–1194* (Ithaca and London, 2002)
Helpful for the prosopography of the aristocracy of the principality of Salerno during the Norman period. Useful bibliography.
- P. Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava d'après des documents inédits* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1877)
History of the abbey of Cava with an appendix of editions of archival documents.
- H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX^e–XI^e)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 152 (Rome, 1991)
Useful survey of the history of the principality up to the Norman conquest in 1077.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Documentary Sources

It is absolutely impossible to indicate all the editions of documents concerning this area for this period. I give those which seem to be most relevant.

- M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani, S. De Stephano, eds., *Codex diplomaticus cavensis*, vol. 5 (Milan, Pisa, Naples, 1878) no. 759, p. 85 to S. Leone and G. Vitolo, eds., vol. 10 (1073–1080) (Badia di Cava, 1990)
Edition of documents mostly from the area of Salerno and its hinterland, but also from other areas of Campania and from Apulia. In the archive of the abbey of Cava there are thousands of documents from our period still unedited.
- P. Cherubini, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta (secc. IX–XII)* (Nocera Inferiore, 1990)
Edition of ninety-five documents concerning a Greek monastery near Salerno (1027–1151).
- E. Gattola, *Historia abbatiae cassinensis per saeculorum seriem distributa* (Venice 1733)
— *Ad historiam abbatiae cassinensis accessiones* (Venice, 1734).
Edition of documents relating to the history of Montecassino.

4. THE DUCHY OF NAPLES

HANDBOOKS, SURVEYS, PROSOPOGRAPHIES

- E. Pontieri, G. Cassandro, eds., *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 2.1–2 (Naples, 1969)
Valuable history of Naples from late antiquity to the thirteenth century.
- G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Storia e civiltà della Campania. Il Medioevo* (Naples, 1992)
Valuable survey of history and culture in medieval Campania.

PRIMARY SOURCES

- B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad neapolitanae ducatus historiam pertinentia*, vols. 1–2.2 (Naples, 1881–92)
In these very valuable volumes Capasso collected all the medieval Neapolitan sources known to him: hagiography, epigraphy, charters of the dukes and private documents. Of the latter he gives precise summaries. Capasso's work is particularly precious, because most of the Neapolitan documents were destroyed in the Second World War.
- R. Pilone, *L'antico inventario delle pergamene del monastero dei SS Severino e Sossio (Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Monasteri soppressi, vol. 1788)*, *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia meridionale* 48–51 (Rome, 1999)
Fifteenth-century summaries of medieval Neapolitan documents. Most of them concern our period. Edition and presentation of the text are, however, quite sloppy.

5. AMALFI

HANDBOOKS, SURVEYS, PROSOPOGRAPHIES

- U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert). Untersuchungen zur Amalfitaner Überlieferung*, *Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 49 (Tübingen, 1978)
History of Amalfi to the year 1100 with an accurate survey of the primary sources.
The following three articles give useful information about the activities of Amalfitans in the eastern Mediterranean:
- A. Figliuolo, 'Amalfi e il Levante nel Medioevo', in G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar, eds., *I comuni italiani nel Regno di Gerusalemme*, *Collana storica di fonti e studi diretti da G. Pistarino* 48 (Genoa, 1986), 573–664
- V. von Falkenhausen, 'La chiesa amalfitana nei suoi rapporti con l'Impero bizantino (X–XI secolo)', with an appendix by L. Perria, *RSBN* n.s. 30 (1993), 81–121
- 'Il commercio di Amalfi con Costantinopoli e il Levante nel secolo XII', in O. Banti, *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia*, *Società storica pisana. Biblioteca del Bollettino storico pisano*. *Collana storica* 46 (Pisa, 1998), 19–38

PRIMARY SOURCES

Documentary Sources (chronological order)

- M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, 2 vols. (Salerno, 1876–81)
Provides editions of medieval Amalfitan documents.
- R. Filangieri di Candida, *Codice diplomatico amalfitano*, vol. 1 (Naples, 1917), vol. 2 (Trani, 1951)
Edition of medieval Amalfitan documents.
- U. Schwarz, 'Regesta amalfitana. Die älteren Urkunden Amalfis in ihrer Überlieferung', 1–3, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 58 (1978), 1–132; 59 (1979), 1–157; 60 (1980), 1–156
Summaries (and some editions) of all known Amalfitan documents, edited and unedited, up to the year 1100, with a useful commentary.
- J. Mazzoleni and R. Orefice, *Il codice Perris. Cartulario amalfitano (sec. X–XV)*, 2 vols., Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana. Fonti 1.1–2 (Amalfi, 1985–6)
Edition of medieval Amalfitan documents.
- V. Criscuolo, *Le pergamenne dell'Archivio vescovile di Minori*, Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana. Fonti 5 (Amalfi, 1987)
Edition of medieval Amalfitan documents.

Narrative Sources

- V. De Bartholomaeis, ed., *Amato di Montecassino, Storia de' Normanni volgarizzato in antico francese*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 76 (Rome, 1935)
History of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, written in Latin around 1080, but preserved only in a fourteenth-century translation in Old French.
- Chronicon amalfitanum*, in Schwarz, ed., *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter*, 113–236
Late and not very informative chronicle of Amalfi from the foundation of the town to the year 1081. Excellent edition and commentary.
- Chronicon archiepiscoporum amalfitanorum*
Late and not very informative chronicle of the archbishops of Amalfi from the tenth to the sixteenth century.
- Editions:*
- A.A. Pelliccia, *Raccolta di varie croniche, diari et altri opuscoli così italiani, come latini appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*, vol. 5 (Naples, 1782), 163–81
- P. Pirri, *Il duomo di Amalfi e il chiosstro del Paradiso* (Rome, 1941), 176–95
Both editions are unreliable.
- Commentary in Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter*, 89–107.

6. GAETA AND SOUTHERN LATIUM

HANDBOOKS, SURVEYS, PROSOPOGRAPHIES

Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano. 28 settembre–1 ottobre 1986 (Rossano-Grottaferrata, 1989)

This volume contains some interesting articles on the cultural history of Grottaferrata.

Enciclopedia dei Papi, vol. 2 (Rome, 2000), 135–350

This recent publication gives thorough biographies of the popes with ample bibliographies. The relevant popes are John XIX (1024–1032) to Innocent III (1198–1216).

M. Merore, *Gaeta im frühen Mittelalter (8. bis 12. Jahrhundert)* (Gotha, 1911)

Competently presented narrative history of Gaeta.

P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy. The duchy of Gaeta and its neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge, 1995).

The second part (pp. 149–303) deals with the eleventh and twelfth century. The volume has a useful bibliography.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Documentary Sources

Codex diplomaticus cajetanus, 2 vols. (Montecassino, 1887–91)

There are 226 documents relating to our period: vol. 1, no. 146, p. 284–vol. 2, no. 371, p. 330.

Hagiography

G. Giovanelli, *S. Bartolomeo Juniore confondatore di Grottaferrata* (Badia greca di Grottaferrata, 1962)

Life of St Bartholemew, abbot of Grottaferrata (d. 1050) = BHG 233. The forthcoming edition by E. Paroli is expected in 2005.

S. Lucà, ‘Graeco-Latina di Bartolomeo iuniore, egumeno di Grottaferrata (+ 1055 ca.)?’, *Nέα Πρόμη* 1 (2004), 143–84

An excellent article about the religious activities of Abbot Bartholemew in Rome.

