## III. COMMENTARY

- 1, 32 Gregory I reigned from 3 September 590 to 12
  March 604. The emperor Phocas reigned from 23 November 602
  until 5 October 610. Lupus' count of 252 years since the death
  of Gregory to the year 855 may be accounted for in three ways:
  1) a minim may have been added during the course of the transmission of the text; 2) the reckoning may be inclusive, with
  604 counted as year 1 (cf. the Julian method of reckoning
  dates within a month and the ecclesiastical manner of calculating the octave of a feast); 3) the original recorder may
  have used the style of the Incarnation in reckoning his year,
  with New Year's Day on 25 March; if so, our 12 March 604 becomes
  12 March 603. The AnBen agree with the AnBa in recording Gregory's death at the year 605. Phocas did in fact have an eightyear reign; but the notice is misplaced.
- 2 Titus Flavius Domitianus reigned from 13 September 81 to 18 September 96; thus the AnBa are correct in their reckoning, but one is left wondering why the fact is recorded at the year 612. Heraclius reigned from 5 October 610 to 11 February 641, for a total of thirty-one years; it is not at all impossible that an original xxxj became xxuj in the course of the transmission of the text. This bit of information, too, seems misplaced; one would have expected to find it at 610 or 641. The theory of paschal tables as sources for the AnBa may account for the discrepancy, but this is not the only place where the Bari chronicles err in their dating.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&#</sup>x27;AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 605, p. 109; Grumel, Chronologie,
pp. 356, 431.
'Grumel, Chronologie, p. 356; Cappelli, Chronologia, p. 208.

- 3 The correct date is Easter 781 (15 April<sup>1</sup>); the Roman continuation of Paulus Diaconus (another Italian source), the Annales Regni Francorum and the Annales q. d. Einhardi all agree on that date. The Roman continuation of Paulus notes that this Pipin had been called Carloman, but that the Pope changed his name; the Annales Regni Francorum note further that the Pope became his godfather. After the baptism, Pipin was anointed King of Italy, and his brother Louis, King of Aquitaine. Charlemagne then returned to the North, but stopped at Milan, where a daughter was baptized.<sup>2</sup>
- the manuscripts except <u>PU</u>; although influence from the family <u>SNL</u> on the translations cannot be excluded, neither can it be proven. Other south Italan sources which speak of the event are the <u>Anonymus barensis</u>, which also notes it at the year 860, and the <u>AnBeni</u>, which speak of it at the year 861. Both of these chronicles note that the city was taken by the emperor. What is the solution? Was it Louis II, called 'emperor' in the West, or the Emperor in Constantinople, Michael III?

Louis II was in Italy in 860, in pursuit of two rebels, and got as far as Benevento; although one of the rebels sought

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 250

Paulus Diaconus, Continuatio romana, MGH-SRL p. 282;

Annales regni Francorum, ad an. 781, p. 56; Annales q. d. Einhard, ad an. 781, p. 57; cf. Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. 6; an English narrative and summary of these events may be found in Richard Winston, Charlemagne: From the Hammer to the Cross (New York: Vintage, n.d., but after 1954), pp. 152-160.

3Anonymus barensis ad an. 860; AnBen, ad an. 861, p. 115.

refuge in Bari, it seems that Louis did not chase him that far. The Emperor Michael III had his hands full in the East: He set out in the spring on an expedition against the Arabs, but had to return to the capital in haste to deal with the Russian siege (18 June 860 to sometime on or before 5 June 861). Thus he certainly could not have been present himself at Bari, nor could he have spared an army for an Italian campaign. The set out in the East: He set out

The variant date provided by the vulgar mss ART, 789, is an interesting reading, because there was a Byzantine army in Italy during the course of the indiction which ran from 1 September 788 to 31 August 789. These forces had been sent from Constantinople to try to restore the Lombard throne to its rightful heir, according to Theophanes, although Einhard says that they came to take revenge for the failure of a promise of marriage between the Frankish and Byzantine royal children. A combined force of Beneventan and Spoletan troops, along with two missi of Charlemagne and a few Franks, met the Byzantine army in Calabria and inflicted on it a crushing defeat. Bari did not fall in that year. And since all the vulgar mss which carry the reading are fairly late, and belong to the same subgroup, one may assume a scribal correction at some point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Böhmer, <u>Regesta</u> I 496-497, nos 1216 1-q.

The texts relating to this attack and to Michael's activities are analyzed in A. A. Vasiliev, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860 [Mediaeval Academy of America Publications, no. 46] (Cambridge 1946); see especially pp. 90-106, 188-202, 210-211, 216-218.

Theophanes, <u>Chronographia</u> I 464, cf. the translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, II 308; <u>Annales Regni Francorum</u> ad an. 788, p. 82 and <u>Annales q. d. Einhardi ad an.</u> 788, p. 83.

Louis II besieged Bari on two other occasions, in 852, when he was unsuccessful, and then again from 867 to 871, when he took the city. Could the present notice refer to either of these occasions? From the fact that Lupus says the city was taken, the siege of 852 must be excluded. The final conquest of the city (see Lupus 37) on 3 February 871 is the other possibility, but only if the 'emperor' is in fact Louis. It is significant that the AnBen speak of the fall of Bari to the emperor, while they never refer explicitly to Louis by any title except king.

If the reading 'constantinopolitano' is correct, then the entry could only refer to the entry of the Byzantine forces into Bari on Christmas 876. Lupus records that event erroneously at the year 875, the eighth indiction -- the date is two years too early according to the dating conventions normally used in the chronicle -- and the fact that the present notice for the year 860 and that for the final entry of the Greek forces into Bari are both recorded under the eighth indiction, leads one to suspect that the notice at 860 is a misplaced reference to the events of 876. It was shown above that Lupus is in fact a compendium, and so this kind of confusion causes no surprise.

34 As was noted above, this entry is misplaced.

Michael III was murdered in the palace of St. Mamas around the

¹See Böhmer, Regesta I 473-474, no. 1154a, and the bibliography there noted, for further information on Louis' campaign in 852. Böhmer is of the opinion that the present entry refers to the events of that year (p. 507 no. 1239b), but he was using Pertz's edition of Lupus, in which 'constantinopolitano' was relegated to the apparatus. For the fall of Bari, see below, 37.

third hour of the night between 23 and 24 September 867; at that point Basil succeeded to the throne, and reigned until his death on 29 August 886, a total of nineteen years. As for the figures given here, other Italian sources note that Basil ruled eleven years by himself; it is not inconceivable that such a number, written in Roman numerals, may have been augmented in the course of transmission.

The parakoimomenos was normally but not always a eunuch. As chief of the service of the imperial bedchamber, he watched the whole night through to guarantee the security of the emperor. The position involved certain economic priveleges, and some of the parakoimomenoi had extensive powers. The spelling in the text of Lupus is reflected in a tenth-century Greek dedicatory inscription, parakinoumenos. In some of the Latin scripts,  $\underline{k}$  in fact resembles  $\underline{sc}$ ; since in these same scripts  $\underline{sc}$  and  $\underline{st}$  are often confused, these two groups of letters have been replaced by  $\underline{k}$  in the edition.

Different writers give different dates for the coronation of Leo and Alexander, sons of Basil I. Grumel indicates that Basil's son Constantine was made co-emperor in 869, Leo sometime after 870, and Alexander shortly after 871; Ostrogorsky prefers a date after Constantine's death in 879 for the coronation of Alexander and his association in the reign; but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 114; cf. p. 131; Theophanes continuatus, <u>Vita Michael</u> c. 45, p. 210; cf. <u>Vita Basilii</u> c. 27, pp. 254-255.

For example, the catalgoue of emperors in the <u>Chronicon</u> s. <u>Benedicti casinensis</u>, p. 486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, p. 305. <sup>4</sup>See V. Laurent, ''Ο μέγας βαΐουλος', EEBS 23 (1953) 194.

the south Italian sources seem to prefer a date around 877 or 878, all agreeing on eight or nine years of co-rule by Basil with his sons. A. Vogt dates Leo's coronation at Epiphany 870, but notes that Christmas 869 is also a possibility. Skylitzes notes that Alexander's association in the reign was begun in Basil's third year of sole rule.

- arrival at Benevento, and the data provided may be interpreted to give dates as early as 862 or as late as 873. But from Louis' correspondence, it is evident that he was already in Italy in 866; thus his pre-campaign capitulare, which directs the troops to meet at Lucera in March, must have been written in 865, and not 867, which is the date given by the Chron. s. Ben. cas., and his entry into Benevento should be dated to December 866. Since the fourteenth indiction ran from 1 September 865 to 31 August 866, neither Lupus nor the AnBen, which parallels Lupus, has the correct date.
- 36 Before Louis could devote his attention to the siege of Bari, he had to provide some security in his rear.

  This he did by making sure of the loyalty of the cities of

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Grumel, Chronologie, p. 357; Ostrogorsky, Byz. State, p. 233; Chron. s. Ben. cas., p. 486; Capasso, Monumenta II 1 no. 2; RNAM I 9 no. 3 and 14 no. 4; A. Vogt, 'La jeunesse de Léon VI le Sage', Rev. Hist. 174 (1934) 401; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 134; F. Halkin, 'Trois dates historiques précisées grâce au Synaxaire', Byzantion 24 (1954) 14-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 866; Chron s. Ben. cas. c. 4, pp. 469-471; Erchempert, Historia c. 32, pp. 246-247; Ado Viennensis, Chronicon ad an. 868, p. 323; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica, I 36, p. 605; Chron. sal., cc. 106, 109, pp. 106, 121; Catalogus regum Langobardorum et Italicarum brixiensis et nonantulus, MGH-SRL 502; Böhmer, Regesta I 506 nos. 1235a-g; v. Gay, Italie, p. 72 and Musca, Emirato, pp. 91-97.

Campania, either by accepting their submission voluntarily offered, or by conquering them in the cases where that was Then with the siege of Bari under way, it was necessary. necessary to capture the smaller centers in Apulia, too; and by taking the territory between Bari and Taranto, he would cut the land links between the besieged city and the Arabs in the other great seaport. The Chron. s. Ben. cas. also records the destruction of Matera by fire; Erchempert lists the cities of Matera, Venosa, Canosa and Oria, but the Chron. sal. notes only that Louis subdued the small cities, without listing them. 1

Bari fell to Louis on 3 February 871, after a siege of four years.

During those years, it seems that there was quite a lot of activity, both military and diplomatic. In summary:

- 867 Spring: siege of Bari begun; August: siege interrupted because the soldiers could not stand the heat of the Apulian summer, and were sickening; Louis returns to Benevento.
- 868 Early in the year: a Byzantine ambassador is received by Louis in Benevento; an accord is reached, whereby Louis' daughter is be-trothed to Basil's son Constantine; Basil will provide a fleet for the assault on Bari:

March: Louis still in Benevento;

Siege continues slowly.

869 Spring: Louis's brother Lothar requires his support in his marriage difficulties, and Louis's attention is distracted from the siege;

September: the Byzantine fleet arrives to help at Bari, but does not find Louis;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Erchempert, <u>Historia</u> c. 33, p. 247; <u>Chron. sal.</u> c. 107, p. 106; Chron. s. Ben. cas. c. 4, p. 471; Chron. vult. I 358; Böhmer, Regesta I 507 nos. 1239c-d; v. Gay, Italie, pp. 74-75, and Musca, Emirato, p. 96.

the fleet retires to Corinth;
Toward the end of the year: the amir of Bari
pursues the Frankish rearguard as it is
bound for winter quarters, steals many of
its horses, and uses them for a raid on
San Michele on Monte Gargano, whence he
returns to Bari;

Louis winters in Benevento.

Spring: the siege continues, possibly with the help of Croatian naval elements;

A Byzantine naval squadron continues to operate in the Adriatic, and is of some help to Louis;

Bari is completely isolated;

Louis sends some help to the Christian cities of Calabria, which have called on him.

871 3 February: Bari falls to Louis.1

The date of the fall of Bari is noted differently in different sources. The choice is between 2 and 3 February. Although the date 2 February was widely accepted on the basis of texts such as Ioannes Diaconus of Venice, a calendar from Monte Cassino, dated by Lowe as contemporary with the events here recounted, notes the fall of the city on 3 February; this is a significant confirmation of Lupus' date, in spite of his

The sources consulted for this brief reconstruction of this chronology (for an expanded account see Musca, Emirato, pp. 96-116, where the sources are paraphrased in Italian, compared and weighed) are the following: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Thematibus 11, pp. 96-98; DAI c. 29, pp. 126-129; Theophanes continuatus, Vita Basilii c. 55, p. 293; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 147; Zonaras, Epitome III 424-426; Erchempert, Historia c. 33, p. 247; Cronaca capuana, p. 229; Chron. sal. cc. 103, 107-108, pp. 104, 106-121; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 36. pp. 605-606; Ioannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., p. 19; AnBen, and AnBen, ad an. 866, p. 116; Andreas Bergomas, Historia c. 14, pp. 227-228; Ioannes Diaconus, Gesta episc. neap. c. 64, pp. 434-435; Chron. vult. I 357, 358-359; Regino of Prüm, Chronicon ad an. 867-871, pp. 578-583 (the fall of Bari is not mentioned); Hincmar of Rheims, Annales ad an. 868-869, pp. 92, 98-99, 105-106; A1-CUyūn wa'1-Hadā'iq ad an. 258 Hijrah, (ms quoted in Musca, Emirato, p. 115-116, note 30, q. v.); see also Gay, Italie, pp. 89-101 -- following several eminent historians, including in the first place Muratori, Gay has taken the personal name of the emir of Bari, Sawdan, as the title

error in noting the year, and it seems only right to accept
the testimony of such local sources over that of one who was
not present, or even near, such as Ioannes Diaconus of Venice.¹
When one considers the type of sources used in the compilation
of Lupus, one is not surprised by Lupus' mistake in the year;
further, it was not unusual for Mediaeval chroniclers to record
the outcome of an event at the point where it was first mentioned,
by a sort of casting forward (or casting back in cases where the
result is noted and the causes are listed); Erchempert, for
example, speaks of the fall of Bari in the same paragraph in
which he records the beginning of the siege, without noting
the passage of so many years.²

The captivity of Louis is reported in many sources.

In brief, Louis had proposed another alliance to Basil, asking him to send a fleet to prevent the revictualling of Taranto from Africa and Sicily, while Louis' army was engaged in the siege of the place. The letter in which this proposal was made

<sup>&#</sup>x27;sultan' (see Nicola Cilento, <u>Italia meridionale longobarda</u> [Milano-Napoli 1971], p. 319), but this is an error found in both the Greek and Latin sources dealing with Bari; it is unfortunate that Gay did not make better use of Amari's <u>Biblioteca arabo-sicula</u>, which he cites in translation, for in it this error does not occur; Musca, <u>Emirato</u>, p. 115 note 30 quotes from the <u>AnBen</u> published in the <u>MGH</u>, although the page reference is to Bertolini's edition, where the entry cited does not appear.

¹Ioannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., p. 19; E. A. Lowe, 'Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino', Quellen und Forschungen zur lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, ed. L. Traube, vol. III,3 (Munich 1908), p. 15; Musca, Emirato, pp. 114-116, and p. 115 note 30 -- he accepts Lupus' day but not his year, using instead 871.

<sup>\*</sup>Erchempert, <u>Historia</u> c. 33, p. 247; on chroniclers' habits in casting forward or casting back, see Romilly J. H. Jenkins, 'The Chronological Accuracy of the "Logothete" for the Years A.D. 867-913', <u>DOP</u> 19 (1965) 91 ff.

was written from Benevento, after the fall of Bari. It seems that the Longobardi grew tired of Louis' presence, however, and of having his authority flaunted before them. There was a plot, in which even Sawdān, the ex-amīr of Bari, seems to have played a part; Louis was captured after resisting three days in a tower of the ducal palace -- his armies, scattered through the castles and cities of southern Italy, or dispersed, were not able to do much to help him. After forty days, however, Louis, his wife and his daughter were freed, on the condition that they swear an oath to quit southern Italy, not to return unless summoned, and not to take revenge for the revolt and captivity, which lasted from 13 August to 17 September.

a renewal of Muslim attacks. The Frankish siege of Taranto was lifted, and the forces of that city, newly reinforced by sea, began to raid in all directions. There were attacks in Campania, Salerno was put under siege, there were raids in the Adriatic. Faced with all this hostile activity, and unable to turn to Louis because of the revolt and imprisonment inflicted on him, the Prince of Benevento had to turn elsewhere for help,

AnBen, ad an. 872, and AnBen, ad an. 871, p. 116; Andreas Bergomas, Historia c. 34, p. 247; Ioannes Diaconus, Gesta episc. neap. c. 65, p. 435; Chron. sal. cc. 107-109, pp. 106-122; Chron. vult. I 359; Regino of Prüm, Chronicon ad an. 871, p. 583 (he attributes the incident to corruption by the Greeks); Hincmar of Rheims, Annales ad an. 871, pp. 117-118; Cronaca capuana, A and B, p. 300; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, DAI c. 29, pp. 128-131; Theophanes continuatus, Vita Basilii cc. 56-57, pp. 294-296; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 147-149; Zonaras, Epitome, pp. 426-428; see Musca, Emirato, pp. 117-127, and Gay, Italie, pp. 101-103, as well as Böhmer, Regesta I 514, nos. 1251a-b.

and so entered into relations with the Byzantine commander in Otranto, around 873. In the midst of all this, the Muslim forces in Taranto managed to procure the release of Sawdan, the ex-amir of Bari who had been a prisoner in Benevento; and it is at this point that the gastaldus (Longobard governor) of Bari decided to call in the Byzantines, so that the city would not have to face further threats of Muslim domination. When Gregory entered Bari and received the submission of the city, the gastaldus and the principal citizens were sent to Constantinople as hostages for the city's good faith.1

The date given by Lupus is not accurate. Although his 875 corresponds with the eighth indiction, Christmas fell on Sunday in that year; if Lupus' dates be corrected to correspond with our calendar, then December 875 is December 874, and Christmas fell on Saturday. In 876, however, 25 December did fall on Tuesday, 'feria tertia' as Lupus records -- but he should have written 877, tenth indiction. Vera von Falkenhausen has noted that Pope John VIII wrote a letter to Gregory, welcoming him to Italy and asking him for help; the letter is dated mid-April. the tenth indiction, which means 877; had Gregory been in Bari since 875, it would be strange for the Pope to be addressing him for the first time two years later. It is worth noting that the AnBen, give the year 876.

2Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316; Falkenhausen, Heerschaft, pp. 18-19 and p. 19 note 128; letter of John VIII in MGH-Epp

VII 45 no. 47; AnBena ad an. 876, p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Erchempert, Historia cc. 34-35, 38, pp. 247-249; Ioannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., pp. 19-23; AnBen, ad an. 875, AnBen, ad an. 876, p. 116; Chron. vult. I 359; see Gay, Italie, pp. 109-110, and Musca, Emirato, pp. 127-132.

From a Latin document Gregory's titles appear to be primicerius protospatharius et bajulus. The primicerius was the first of any order in the hierarchy; there were many among the eunuchs of the palace, and it was both a function and a dignity. The protospatharius, or 'first swordsman', is attested as a dignity from the eighth to the twelfth century. lus was was in charge of the education of the children of the imperial family, and also had charge of everything that would contribute to their physical and intellectual development. From all of this, one may surmise that Gregory stood extremely high in personal power and influence, and had the emperor's full confidence: an important man for an important job, that of re-establishing Byzantine power in southern Italy. He is last mentioned in the document cited above, dated 885.1 Lupus and the Anonymus barensis (which depends on the same source in this section) are the only writers to call Gregory 'strategos'.

39 The reconquest of Taranto was an important part of the re-establishment of Byzantine rule in southern Italy.

Lupus is the only western source to note this important victory, but it is mentioned in several Byzantine writings, including Theophanes continuatus, Skylitzes, and the Chronicle of the Logothete, which places it after 1 May 880. Theophanes, and

¹The document may be found in Trinchera, Syllabus, p. 1 no. 1; on the primicerius and the protospatharius, see Oikonomides, Listes, pp. 300 and 297, on the bajulus see V. Laurent, 'Ο μέγας βαΐουλος', EEBS 23 (1953) 193-205, especially pp. 200 and 201, where Gregory is mentioned; for more on Gregory, see the dossier by Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 74 no. 1 and the calendar of his correspondence on pp. 161-162, nos. 1-4; see also R. Guilland, 'Les Patrices stratèges byzantins', pp. 379-380, and Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 506.

Skylitzes after him, gives an incorrect chronology, putting this campaign immediately after the fall of Syracuse (May 878), yet they provide details of the operations; in brief, the fleet won victories in Sicily and the Aeolian islands, and then set out for Calabria, where it cooperated with a large army, with contingents from six themes. The joint expedition then proceeded to conquer Calabria (and Apulia), and finally laid siege to There the army split into two wings, each with its Taranto. own commander. The wing under the commander-in-chief had to bear the brunt of the Arab attack, and the commander died when the commander of the other wing refused to come to help. the end, the second commander rallied, won the battle, and entered the city. The chief results of these operations were that the Byzantines were in control at least of the coastal areas of most of Southern Italy, and the Arabs were deprived of their headquarters and great naval base at Taranto. The second commander was eventually exiled for his treason.

The AnBen<sub>1</sub> and the AnBen<sub>2</sub> note Aio's succession to his brother Radelchis at the year 885, the third indiction. Radelchis had become Prince in January 881 according to the AnBen<sub>1</sub> and reigned for three years and six months, according to the AnBen<sub>2</sub> and most of the other catalogues of Princes; thus his deposition should be dated to June or July 884. But there are two sources, the Chronicon vulturnense and the Catalogus

Theophanes continuatus, <u>Vita Basilii</u> cc. 65-66, pp. 305-306; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 156-157; Georgius monachus continuatus, pp. 845-846; see Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 19-20 and Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 112-114.

regum langobardorum et ducum beneventanorum, which assign to Radelchis a reign of three years, eight months and twenty-one days, and a reign of this length would put his deposition in the latter part of September 884, at the earliest, or October, as noted in Lupus alone of all the sources. Almost all the catalogues assign Aio a reign of precisely six years, without mentioning for him any extra months or days, as they do for other princes, and those which note a month for his death say October. The chronology to adopt, then, seems to be as follows:

Radelchis: January 881 to late September or October 884;
Aio: October 884 to October 890.

In recording this matter, the <u>AnBen</u> seem to be using the Byzantine style, while Lupus is once again off by a year, since his October 884, second indiction, converts to our October 883.

Basil I died on 29 August 886, so once again Lupus is off by a year. Leo VI died on 11 May 912, Alexander on 6 June 913; the twenty-six years, then, would apply to Leo if it is inclusive, to Alexander if the count is exclusive, but it cannot be accurate for both of them. For the length of the joint reign of Leo and Alexander with Basil, see the comments on paragraph 34, above.<sup>2</sup>

2Grumel, Chronologie, p. 357; Theophanes cont., Vita Basilii c. 102, pp. 351-352, and Vita Leonis c. 1, p. 353 and c. 32, p. 377; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 170; bibliog. to parag. 34.

AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 885, p. 117; Catalogus beneventanus sanctae Sophiae, ed. O Bertolini, BISI 42 (1923) 160; Chron. s. Ben. cas., p. 488; Catalogus regum langobardorum et ducum beneventanorum, p. 494; Chronicon ducum et principum Beneventi, in Capasso, Monumenta I 9, and commentary on pp. 103-105; Chronicon vulturnense II 6; Erchempert, Historia c. 48, p. 255; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 141-142.

fered by a Byzantine army under the patrician Constantine, sent to Apulia to put down the uprising led by the Prince Aio of Benevento. The revolt was provoked by the Byzantine commander Theophylact, who had been defeated by the Arabs at Garigliano, but took several Beneventan towns on his way back to Bari. Aio, having learned of the death of Basil I, responded to Theophylact's provocation by rising and capturing Bari. When the news reached Constantinople, the new emperor, Leo VI, sent out the relief force; upon its arrival it suffered a defeat, but eventually took back Apulia, and the city of Bari.

Lupus' date for this event is too early. Skylitzes notes that the fall of Bari to the Beneventan forces took place after the death of Basil (29 August 886) became known in Apulia. Given the fact that ninth-century communications were rather slow, the fall of the city should be put several months after the death of Basil. Again, it would have taken time for the news of the fall of the city to reach Constantinople and to be considered, and for the reinforcements to be sent and to arrive on the spot, particularly since movement was difficult during the winter. The month noted by Lupus for the initial defeat of the army, June, is reasonable, but in 887, not in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Erchempert, <u>Historia</u> cc. 66, 71, 76, 80, pp. 260-264; Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> I 47, p. 614; <u>AnBen, ad an.</u> 888, p. 117; <u>Chron cap.</u> A, p. 304; <u>Chron. sal.</u>, c. 142, p. 149; Theophanes continuatus, <u>Vita Leonis</u> c. 6, p. 356; Georgius monachus, p. 852; Symeon magister, p. 701; Leo grammaticus, <u>Chronographia</u>, p. 266; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 141-145, and Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 21-22.

In the sources, there is no indication that the final defeat of Aio and the recapture of Bari took place much later than this initial Byzantine setback. The Cronaca capuana notes that Aio and a certain patrician of Constantinople fought each other, and that at the end the patrician won; this is noted at the year 888, the sixth indiction. Such a date (the sixth indiction ran from 1 September 887 to 31 August 888), sometime late in 887 or early in 888, seems reasonable for the re-establishment of the Byzantine hegemony in Apulia. In summary, this seems to be the chronology:

886, autumn: Aio takes Bari

886-7, late autumn-winter: the news of the revolt reaches Constantinople;

887, spring: an army is sent from Constantinople to Apulia (campaigns in those days began in the spring because of the difficulty of travel. both by land and by sea, in the winter);

887, June: the initial defeat of the Byzantine

forces:

887, after 1 September, to 888, early in the year: the Byzantines are again in control of Bari and Apulia.1

Constantine's titles were patrician and ent the toxπέζης. The title of patrician was known until the twelfth The eni της τρασιέζης was in charge of the service at the table of the Emperor or Empress, and his duties included both the provisioning and the ceremonial. usually a eunuch, and had a sizeable staff under his orders. From his high rank and his court position, it is apparent that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 174-175; Chron. cap. A, p. 304; Theophanes continuatus, Vita Leonis, c. 6, p. 356; Gay's dating, Italie, p. 144, which seems to put the reconquest of Bari somewhat later than the chronology proposed here, is followed by subsequent writers on the incident.

Constantine was chosen from circles of power in the court of Constantinople, as was the case with Gregory the imperial bajulus.¹ Lupus alone among the western sources preserves some part of the Greek for Constantine's court position, with the words 'stratigo Trapezi'.

on paragraph 40. The AnBen2 and the Catalogus beneventanus s. Sophiae assign Ursus, who was Aio's ten-year-old son, not his brother, a reign of one year and six months, but the Chron. vult., the Chron. ducum et principum Beneventi, and the Chron. s. Ben. cas. are agreed on a one-year reign. Indeed, this shorter reign corresponds well with the reality of the Greek entry into Benevento on 18 October 891.

44, 45 The Byzantine forces under Symbatikios besieged

\*AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 891, p. 117; Catalogus beneventanus s. Sophiae, p. 161; Chron. vult. II 6; Chron. ducum et principum Beneventi, p. 9; Chron. s. Ben. cas., p. 488; for the story of the Greek occupation of Benevento, see the commentary on the next two paragraphs.

<sup>10</sup>n the patrician, see Oikonomides, <u>Listes</u>, pp. 75 and 294-295, and the bibliography there cited, notes 40-41. On the eni της τραπέζης, the same work, pp. 305-306, and Bury, Administrative System, pp. 125-126 will provide useful infor-On Theophylact, the Byzantine commander who provoked the rebellion of Aio, all we know is contained in the notices in Erchempert, <u>Historia</u> c. 66, p. 260, and Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 47, p. 614, and all writers use these data; e. g., Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 73, no. 5; Guilland, 'Les patricesstratèges', p. 383 (where he follows Gay, Italie, p. 142); Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 507. Falkenhausen's dossier on Constantine, Herrschaft, p. 75, no. 6, was compiled before Thurn's edition of Skylitzes was published, and so does not note that that author, Synopsis, pp. 174-175, confirms the title of patrician assigned Constantine by the western sources (including the Chron. cap. A, p. 304); see also Falkenhausen's register, Herrschaft, p. 162, no. 5. Constantine is also mentioned in Guilland, loc. cit., and Pertusi, loc. cit.

Benevento from 13 July to 18 October 891, when they entered the city. Once installed there, they remained three years, nine months and twenty days, and then were driven out by the 'Franci', the forces of Guido, Duke of Spoleto, on 7 August 895. Guido then ruled for over a year, was replaced for a while by the Empress Ageltrude, and finally by her brother Radelchis, who had been deposed in favor of Aio in 884. Symbatikios and his successor George both issued documents from the palace in Benevento, but George's successor, one Barsakios, seems to have restored the administration to Bari, and left only a turmarch in Benevento, this sometime after George's death in 894.

Symbatikios, who was apparently of Armenian extraction, was the first commander to have among his titles that of strategos of Longobardia, and this fact leads one to suppose that the Byzantine territory in Apulia was organized as a theme at about this time. The fact that the names of several themes are contained in the title noted by Leo Ostiensis ('imperialis protospatharius et stratigos Macedonie, Tracie, Cephalonie atque Longibardie') has occasioned some discussion on whether all these themes were under the rule of the same strategos, or whether the title implies only that the same general had under

Anonymus barensis ad an. 891 and 894; AnBen, and AnBen, ad an. 892, 895, 898; p. 118; Catalogus regum langobardorum et ducum beneventanorum, pp. 494-496; Chron. s. Ben. cas. c. 26, p. 498; Annales cavenses ad an. 891-896, p. 188; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 49, p. 615; Chron. sal. cc. 143-147, pp. 150-154; Chron. vult. II 6; Chronicon ducum et principum Beneventi, p. 9; Trinchera, Syllabus, pp. 2-3, no. 3; see Gay, Italie, pp. 146-149, and Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 22, 76-77, 162-164.

his command contingents from the various themes listed. The first mention of a strategos of Longobardia alone occurs in a document dated to the year 911.

- Melisianus is otherwise not noted in the sources, although the family of the Melissenoi is not unknown in the history of Byzantium.
- 4, 47 On the death of his brother Muḥammad on 16 February 875, Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Aghlab came to the throne by supplanting his nephew, whom he had sworn to uphold. Although he began his reign with a reputation for uprightness and justice, that reputation changed to infamy as a bloody tyrant. In the year 901, the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mu<sup>C</sup>tadid Billāh, moved to anger against Ibrāhīm by the complaints of his injustice lodged against him by his subjects, sent to him an ambassador, through whom Ibrāhīm was required to abdicate and to present himself before the Caliph. He made a display

<sup>2</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 77-78, no. 11; not mentioned in Pertusi, 'Contributi'.

Listes, pp. 75-76 and 351-352; also 'Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les thèmes de Céphalonie et de Longobardie', REB 23 (1965) 121-124; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 24-25; Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 501; Gay, Italie, pp. 171-172; D. Zakythinos, 'Le thème de Céphalonie et la défense de l'Occident', L'Hellenisme contemporain 8 (1954) 305-306, 309, and 'Meletai peri tes dioiketikes eparchiakes dioikeseos en to Byzantino Kratei', EEBS 18 (1942) 52; Guillou, Aspetti, p. 170. On Symbatikios, George and Barsakios, see the dossiers in Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 76-77, nos. 8-10, and the calendar of documents on pp. 162-164; see also Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 508, and Guilland, 'Les patrices-stratèges', pp. 383-385.

of his contrition, and after abdicating in favor of his son, set off for the East, which he hoped to reach after completing the two Muslim duties of the Hajj and the Jihād, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy war against the infidel; he would go to the East by way of Sicily, the Italian mainland, and the lands of the Byzantine Empire. 1

After landing at Trapani and gathering forces, Ibrāhīm went to Palermo, where he stayed a while, and then moved on to the east coast of the island. There he took Taormina, which up to this time (1 August 902) had remained in Byzantine hands. After mopping-up operations in the area, he went to Messina, crossed the Straits of Messina, and began the siege of Cosenza on 1 October.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>On the fall of Taormina, the Greek sources limit themselves to brief notices with no details: cf. Theophanes continuatus, <u>Vita Leonis</u> c. 18, p. 365; Symeon Magister, c. 9, p. 704; Georgius Monachus, c. 25, pp. 860-861; for a prophecy, see the <u>Vita S. Elia il Giovane</u>, cc. 49 and 67, pp. 74-77, and the commentary on pp. 168-169; see also the <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>, Greek, c. 37, p. 336, and the <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>, Arabic, p. 39; the accounts that are most complete are those of the Arabs: Ibn al-Athīr, p. 241; An-Nuwayrī, pp. 452-453; Ibn Khaldūn,

¹Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 240-242, gives an account that shows Ibrāhīm in a favorable light; Ibn cAdsari, Al-Bayān, gives only a very brief notice with no details; An-Nuwayrī, pp. 451-453, gives a rather longer account, in which he records one of the charges laid by the North Africans against Ibrāhīm, to whom the prospect of going to the Caliph's court was not at all attractive -- thus he made a show of his penance, sent to Baghdad to tell the Caliph that he was going on pilgrimage, and then sent another messenger a short time later to say that the pilgrimage was put off, and that he was going on jihād instead; Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 474-476, notes among Ibrahim's crimes the murder of servants, concubines, and even his daughters, so that no one could even keep count of the victims -- Ibrāhīm abdicated on the order of the Caliph and proceeded to the jihād in Sicily and Italy; Ibn al-Khatīb, p. 475, notes only that Ibrāhīm set out on the holy war, but not his disgrace before the Caliph.

After his arrival in Calabria, Ibrāhīm received ambassadors from several Italian cities, who requested of him the usual terms for the surrender of a city before it was taken by the sword, but he refused to give them terms, and set about the siege of the city of Cosenza.<sup>1</sup>

Here, however, the fighting did not go well, in spite of the fact that Ibrāhīm had put his sons and other trusted officers in charge of the operations at the gates of the city, for the amīr himself was ill with dysentery, and kept to himself -- the army did not see him exercising the command of the siege. The disease grew steadily worse; finally he was unable to sleep; then at the end he was afflicted with hiccoughs (the Arabic, fuwāq, can also mean 'death-rattle'), and died. The command of the army was given to Ibrāhīm's grandson, Ziyādat Allāh, and when the people of Cosenza asked

p. 475; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, p. 475; Romualdus salernitanus ad an. 902, p. 163, and Garufi's note no. 6; Iohannes diaconus, Translatio, p. 457 and note 1 (extract from ms Babmerg, E. III. 14); for a narrative, see Amari, Storia II 99-104. The date of the beginning of the siege of Cosenza is found in an-Nuwayrī, p. 453.

Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242, and an-Nuwayrī, p. 453, both mention the ambassadors and Ibrāhīm's refusal of terms, but it is not clear from their narrative that there are any from cities other than Cosenza; that fact is found in Iohannes Diaconus, Translatio, p. 455, along with the confirmation of the refusal of terms. The difference between the conquest of a city and its surrender on terms is great in Muslim law and practice. If the city is taken by the sword, then the combatants may be killed, as they were at Taormina (although they may be enslaved instead, or emancipated with or without payment of ransom), their families are enslaved, and all property passes to the Muslim community. But if a city surrenders on terms, then the inhabitants retain their lives, their freedom, and their property, although their status is inferior and they are held to the payment of special taxes; see the SEI, articles 'Dhimma', pp. 75-76, 'Djihād', p. 89. 'Djizya', pp. 91-92, 'Kharadj', pp. 245-246.

once again for terms, they were not denied. The army waited for the foraging parties to rejoin it, and after collecting the jizyah from the inhabitants of Cosenza, the Arabs returned to Sicily, and eventually to Africa. There is a discrepancy in the sources which mention the burial place of Ibrāhīm, for Ibn al-Athīr says that he was buried in al-Qairawān, and an-Nuwayrī says Palermo.¹

The Arab sources are not in total agreement on the date of Ibrahim's death. They agree on the month of Dhu algacdah in the year of the Hijra 289, but give conflicting dates: Saturday the eighteenth, Saturday the nineteenth, and Monday the seventeenth. The day of the week and the day of the month agree only for Saturday, 18 Dhū al-qacdah 289, the date provided by an-Nuwayrī and al-Khaṭīb. This corresponds Among the Latin sources, a Monte Casto 23 October 902. sino calendar and the Bamberg codex E.III.14 are in agreement on 13 October for a truly spectacular meteor shower, and for the death of Ibrāhīm. Iohannes Diaconus, however, provides another date. On the Ides, the body of St. Severinus was discovered in the monastery dedicated to him, in the former Castellum Lucullanum on cape Miseno, which the authorities had ordered destroyed so that it could not fall into Ibrahīm's

<sup>&#</sup>x27;And so', says Amari (Storia II 116), 'one does not know which of the two lands is profaned by those bones'. The account here given is drawn principally from Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242, but the detail about the collection of the jizyah is taken from Ibn Khaldūn, p. 476. On the burial, see Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242, and an-Nuwayrī, p. 453; Ibn Khaldūn, p. 476, notes both traditions.

hands if he came to attack Naples. That night was spent in The next day the relics were moved to a place that had been prepared for them, and the day was spent in prayer, from dawn to dusk. The next day the bishop and clergy, the Duke and nobility, and all the people, went early in the morning to the field of the oppidum, and conducted the relics to the monastery. After these things had been completed, six days had not yet passed when there was a spectacular and terrifying meteor shower. It was learned later that Ibrāhīm had died in the same night. The Ides of October fall on the fifteenth, so the solemnities connected with the transfer of the relics of S. Severinus were completed on the seventeenth. The sixth day after that is the twenty-second (inclusive reckoning) or twenty-third (exclusive reckoning). Thus the date given by an-Nuwayrī and al-Khatīb finds confirmation in the account of Iohannes Diaconus, an eye-witness of the events he describes. Since the Muslim civil day ran from sunset to sunset, one may specify that Ibrahīm died during the night between 22 and 23 October 902.1

¹Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242: Saturday, 19 Dhū al-qacdah; Ibn cAdsari, Al-Bayān, p. 323: Monday, 17 Dhū al-qacdah; an-Nuwayrī, p. 453, and al-Khatīb, p. 475: Saturday, 18 Dhū al-qacdah; Lowe, 'Kalendarien', p. 31; Bamberg codex E.III.14, f. 351, cited in MGH-SRL 457 note 1; Iohannes Diaconus, Translatio, cc. 6-7, pp. 456-458. The text of c. 6 specifies the Ides of September, but that is an obvious error, and must be October. Ibrāhīm had crossed the Straits of Messina on 3 September; some time, a few days perhaps, passed between the crossing and his arrival before Cosenza, where he received the ambassadors of the Italian cities. Iohannes Diaconus tells us in c. 4 that the legates were detained several days before Ibrāhīm told them that he would not grant them terms, that he would come to conquer their cities. Even allowing for great

Ibrāhīm died of dysentery, as is noted by Ibn al-Athīr, by an-Nuwayrī, by al-Khaṭīb, and by Iohannes Diaconus. But there are other stories, too, about how he met his end. Iohannes Diaconus recounts a story of an apparition of St. Severinus, who promised his protection, and another told by a refugee to the Duke of Naples. According to this story, Ibrāhīm one night had a dream, in which a dignified old man appeared to him; when Ibrāhīm was insolent to his caller, he in turn struck him on the side with a staff he was carrying,

speed in the ambassadors' return to their home cities, it seems only fantastic that they could arrive at Naples, that the defensive measures could be begun, that the Castellum Lucullanum be ordered destroyed, all by 13 September. And then, the time elapsed between the translation of the relics and the meteor shower, six days, would put the death of Ibrahim almost two weeks before the siege of Cosenza was begun in earnest. is clear, then, that the month is October, not September. Amari, Storia II 116 note 1, fixes the date of Ibrahim's death at 23 October, but relies only on an-Nuwayrī and al-Khatīb -he was using a different edition of Iohannes Diaconus (p. 113 note 1), an edition with dates different from those here cited, and so concluded that the <u>Translatio</u> put the meteor shower and Ibrāhīm's death on 18 or 19 October. Another Arab source, Ibn Adsari, <u>Al-Bayān</u> (cited by Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 113 note 1: this passage of the Arabic text was not available to me), notes the meteors on the night between 27 and 28 October. An hypothesis that would account for all of the dates mentioned in connection with the meteors is that there was a series of meteor showers in October 902; Amari advanced this theory (Storia II 113 note 1), which is implicit in the following text from Ibn al-Abbar, Al-hulla al-siyara, ed. Husayn Monés, vol. I (Cairo 1963), pp. 174-175: 'And in Dhū al-qacdah . . . Ibrahim ibn Ahmad died, and from that period the stars were tossed about, and they were scattered like rain in all directions, so much so that that year is noted in the chronicles as the "year of the stars".' The observers at Monte Cassino, and the writer of the Bamberg codex, may have seen only the display on 13 October; if later they were informed that Ibrahīm died on the night of the meteor shower, they would have recorded that fact along with the shower they saw, not knowing that there may have been others.

thus giving Ibrāhīm a wound from which he suffered a great deal. The amīr then had one of the Christian captives brought in to him, and asked for a description of St. Peter. When the prisoner described the man in the vision, Ibrāhīm knew that he had a wound inflicted on him by a higher power, and died of it. The Vita di s. Elia il Giovane attributes the death of Ibrāhīm to the power of the saint's prayers. Finally, there is the story about the the thunderbolt, recorded in the Bari annals; perhaps the meteors were the inspiration for this account.

The sources do not agree on the place where Ibrāhīm died. Our chronicles say in the church of St. Pancratius, but Iohannes Diaconus says in the church of St. Michael. Guido Cimino, in an article published in 1957, cites a life of the Abbot Bertharius (ms in Monte Cassino), which also specifies the church of St. Pancratius; he then goes on to point out that Cosenza is in fact built on several hills, one of which bears the name of St. Pancratius, and furthermore, there was a church dedicated to that saint nearby. Thus it seems that the AnBa have the correct information, although if the church were within the walls, that would create some difficulties.<sup>2</sup>

lbn al-Athir, p. 242; an-Nuwayri, p. 453; al-Khatib, p. 475; Iohannes Diaconus, <u>Translatio</u>, cc. 7-8, pp. 457-458; <u>Vita di s. Elia il giovane</u>, ed. Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962), c. 53, p. 82; cf. Romualdus salernitanus <u>ad an</u>. 902, p. 163 ('Dei iudicio').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Iohannes Diaconus, <u>Translatio</u>, c. 8, p. 458; Guido Cimino, 'L'assedio saraceno di Cosenza dell'anno 902 e la morte di Ibrahim ibn Ahmad', <u>Atti del primo congresso storico calabrese</u> (<u>Cosenza</u>, <u>15-19 settembre 1954</u>) (Rome 1957), p. 170, note 3.

If our chronicles were perfectly consistent in their dating practices, they would have recorded these events at the year 903, indiction six; but one is no longer surprised by such inconsistencies.

- The <u>Anonymus barensis</u> also notes the passage of five hundred years between the death of St. Martin of Tours and the year 912. In fact, St. Martin died on 8 November 397. Bertolini has suggested an explanation for the fact that the AnBen record the death of Martin at the year 412; namely, a passage from Gregory of Tours' <u>Historia Francorum</u>, itself inaccurate, which states that between the Lord's passion and the death of St. Martin, 412 years had passed. If Lupus had before him either the text of Gregory, or one dependent on that, the error here found would be easily explained.<sup>1</sup>
- Constantine's coronation is 9 June 911, Philip Grierson and R. J. H. Jenkins have argued persuasively for 15 May 908. Constantine died on 9 November 959, or 960 in the indictional year, the date given by Lupus. The event noted here is Constantine's succession to the autocracy upon the death of his uncle Alexander on 7 June 913 -- Leo had died on 11 May

Anonymus barensis, ad an. 912; Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, ed. W. Arndt, MGH-SRMer I (Hanover 1885), IV 51 p. 188; cf. I 48 p. 55, where Gregory notes Martin's death correctly, in the second year of Arcadius and Honorius: i.e., 397; AnBen ad an. 412, p. 106, and Bertolini's note 1; see Jacques Lahache and Maria Liverani, 'Martino di Tours', Bibliotheca Sanctorum VIII cols. 1248-1291, esp. col. 1270.

912 -- and the forty-seven years commence with the succession, not with the coronation.

of the river Liris, from a point above the village of S. Ambrogio sul Garigliano to the sea, which it joins in the Golfo di Gaeta at a point between the Marina di Minturno and Baia Domizia (13°15'48"E, 41°11'45"N). Liutprand of Cremona speaks also of a mountain called Garelianus, where the Saracens had a fortified encampment where they kept their families and booty; P. Fedele identifies this with the hill now known as Monte d'Argento, which still had the ruins of mediaeval fortifications atop it as late as the turn of the century.<sup>2</sup>

According to Leo Ostiensis, the Hypatus Docibilis I of Gaeta called in the Saracens of Agropoli to help against Pandenolfo of Capua, who was trying to dominate Gaeta. These new allies settled first at the Lago di Fondi, in a place cal-

¹Romilly J. H. Jenkins and Philip Grierson, 'The Date of Constantine VII's Coronation', <u>Byzantion</u> 32 (1962) 133-138; <u>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an.</u> 912, p. 119; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, pp. 352, 357.

<sup>\*</sup>Touring Club Italiano, <u>Italia</u>: <u>carta generale al 500.000</u> (Milan 1974), fol. 3, Italia meridionale, shows the river, and is the source for the coordinates of its mouth given here; but the hill is too small to be seen there, and one must consult a map drawn to larger scale, such as that of the Istituto Geografico Militare, <u>Carta d'Italia al 100.000</u> (1936 edition), fol. 171. This map shows Nonte d'Argento at a distance of 2.8 km (1.7 mi) up the coast from the mouth of the river, with an elevation of 47 m (155 ft), the only high point on the whole coast of the Golfo di Gaeta; thus whoever possessed this hill could survey all movement in the area, both by land and by sea; cf. Fedele, 'Battaglia', pp. 191-192; see Liutprand, Antapodosis II 45 pp. 296-297.

led S. Anastasia; then they moved to Formia, and finally to the Garigliano, which had become the border between the territory of Gaeta and that of Capua. Leo specifies that this all happened during the reign of Docibilis (867-913?) and Pandenolfo (879-882); thus 882 is the last possible date for the Saracens' establishment on the Garigliano.

The first attempt to dislodge the Saracens from their encampment was that in which the strategos Theophylact took part before he led the actions that provoked the Longobard rebellion mentioned above in paragraph 42; that was in the year 886. In the year 903 an attempt was made in June, when the forces of Capua-Benevento, Naples and Amalfi went against the encampment; but this attempt also failed when the Saracens received help from Gaeta.<sup>2</sup>

At that point, says Leo, Atenolfo of Capua-Benevento realized that he would need much stronger forces in order to dislodge the Saracens from their stronghold, and so sent his son Landolfo to Constantinople to get help from the Emperor Leo. Leo received him with honor, and promised to send the help requested. In the meantime, Atenolfo died (April 910),

Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> I 43-44, 50 pp. 609-610, 615; Liutprand, <u>Antapodosis</u> II 44 p. 296; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 251-252; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 420; Fedele, 'Battaglia', pp. 182-183.

<sup>\*</sup>See the commentary on paragraph 42; Chron. cap. A, p. 304, and Cilento's note 22, pp. 331-332; Chron. vult., p. 374; Cilento, loc. cit., points out that Amari, Storia II 192 note 3 and Gay, Italie, p. 159, were misled by the forged chronicles published by F. Pratilli in his new edition of C. Pellegrino's Historia principum langobardorum, into interpreting the data on this second attempt as indicating two separate actions several years apart.

Landolfo returned to Capua, and then the emperor Leo himself died (11 May 912). And so it seemed had died the idea of imperial help for the Italian city states against the Saracens of Garigliano.

As late as April of 915, Landolfo sent the Abbot John of Monte Cassino on a mission to Constantinople to renew the request for aid. At about that time, the Byzantine forces under Nicholas Picingli, strategos of Longobardia, quite unexpectedly arrived on the scene. Nicholas managed to gain to the league against the Saracens the cities of Naples and Gaeta, whose leaders, now imperial patricians, abandoned their Saracen allies. Salerno joined, and so did the Romans In witness to the difficulties raised and the and Spoleto. negotiations that had to be entered into, we have the text of a treaty stipulated in April or May 915. It takes the form of a grant to John and Docibilis, the rulers of Gaeta, by eleven members of the Roman nobility, acting on the Pope's initiative, and confirmed by Nicholas Picingli, strategos of Longobardia, by Gregory, consul of Naples, by Landolfo, imperial patrician, prince of Capua-Benevento and Atenolfo his brother, and by Guaimar, prince of Salerno. In exchange for Gaeta's breaking off its association with the Saracens and its adherence to the league against them, the parties guarantee it the lands it is already holding with Saracen help, under-

¹Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 52 p. 616; Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 357, 420. Historians have generally held that Landolfo was made imperial patrician on this occasion, in spite of the contrary assertions of the AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad ann. 915, 943, pp. 119-121, according to which he received the title in 915.

take to conclude no separate peace with the Saracens and to harry them from Italy, thus guaranteeing the Gaetans that they will not have to reckon alone with the wrath of their abandoned allies, and finally to defray Gaeta's war expenses and damages by a money payment.

Finally, the parties to the treaty and the Spoletans joined the attack and besieged the Saracens in their encampment for three months, from June through August 915. At the end, the Saracens realized that their situation was hopeless, set fire to their buildings, and tried to flee, but they were pursued and killed. And that was the end of Saracen settlements in southern Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Credit for this victory probably belongs to Nicholas Picingli, strategos of Longobardia. As direct representative of Constantinople, he had extremely high prestige in all of southern Italy, and had at his command a large contingent of both land and sea forces. Since alliances against the Saracens had been tried before, and had failed, it seems that the success of this one may well be attributable to the abilities of this newcomer, especially since he was the one who managed to detach Naples from its alliance with the enemy -- one may probably see in the Roman treaty also the results of his

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Vehse, 'Bündnis', pp. 187 and note 1, 198, 199, and the text of the treaty on pp. 202-204; Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> I 52 pp. 616-617.

I 52 pp. 616-617.

Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 52 pp. 616-617; Liutprand,

Antapodosis II 51-54, p. 298; AnBen, ad an. 916 and AnBen,
ad an. 915, pp. 119-120; Anonymus barensis ad an. 916; Chron.

vult. I 375; Chron. cap. A, p. 305 and Cilento's note 26,
p. 336; Liber pontificalis II 240-241.

persuasions. The Pope's role in the alliance does not seem to have been great, although without his cooperation and the concessions he was willing to make Gaeta in order to buy its adherence, the league would probably have failed. The diplomatic initiative was taken by the princes of Capua-Benevento. The papal embassy to Constantinople mentioned by Liutprand and accepted by most historians probably never took place. Given the fact that John and Landolfo were in consultation on these matters. it would have been superfluous for the prince of Capua-Benevento to initiate a new embassy to Constantinople in April of 915, if the Pope had sent one any time since his accession in March of 914. The very fact that the siege began in June in itself shows that it was not this embassy that provoked the mission of Nicholas Picingli: there would not have been time for the Abbot John to arrive in Constantinople, and for orders to go to Nicholas, and for the diplomatic negotiations witnessed by the treaty to take place, in so short a period.1

Lupus' dating is once again off by a year.

On the entry of the Longobardi into Italy, the sources

Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 52 pp. 616-617; Liutprand, Antapodosis II 51 p. 298; Fedele, 'Battaglia', pp. 189-190; Vehse, 'Bündnis', p. 196 and note 1, suggests that the kernel of Liutprand's story was provided by the earlier negotiations between Capua-Benevento and Constantinople; Runciman, Romanus, pp. 183-185, along with many other historians, interprets the sources differently; Gay, Italie, pp. 161-162. For the monuments which marked the battlefield, see Fedele, 'Battaglia', pp. 199-211, and for the results of the victory, see Runciman, Romanus, p. 185; the strategos is congratulated by the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus in his letter 144. Laurent, 'Contribution', pp. 308-310, thinks that Picingli may be a deformation of 'pinkernes'; see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 78 no. 13, and Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 509.

are not in perfect harmony. According to Lupus, the date of their first incursion would be 566. The <u>Chronicon salernitanum</u> in one place says 574, but in another specifies 568; Paulus Diaconus says that the Longobardi left Pannonia in April 568, and the <u>Annales beneventani</u> note June of that year as the date of their arrival, but then go on to note the same event a year later. The year 568 is generally accepted as the date of their arrival; thus it seems that Lupus has anticipated the matter by two years. <sup>1</sup>

- cen incursions in Italy should be 839. In fact, the other sources are not much divergent from this, although they are not in perfect agreement. The <u>Chronicon salernitanum</u> notes a raid on Brindisi during the reign of Sicardo (832- July or August 839), and Erchempert mentions their arrival at Bari among the disorders that followed the death of Sicardo. The <u>Chronicon venet</u>. puts the occupation of Bari thirty years before its reconquest, and that means 841.
- 52 Throughout the first half of the tenth century, the Hungarians were a threat to western Europe, and their raids are recorded in many chronicles both in Italy and beyond the Alps. The south Italian sources seem to agree on the month of February in the tenth indiction, and the Chron.

<sup>1</sup>Chron. sal. c. 1 p. 1 (574) and c. 2 p. 2 (568); <u>AnBen</u> p. 108; Paulus Diaconus, <u>Historia</u> II 7 p. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Chron. <u>sal.</u> c. 72 pp. 70-71; Erchempert, <u>Historia</u> c. 16 p. 240; Iohannes Diaconus, <u>Chron. ven.</u>, p. 119; cf. Musca, <u>Emirato</u>, pp. 17-26.

cap. A specifies further 'quarto die stante mense februarii'; these data translate to 25 February 922. Both recensions of the <u>AnBen</u> refer to this invasion as the second by the Hungarians; they note the first incursion at 899, as does Liutprand. Romuald of Salerno's account probably refers to the events of 937.1

It may be useful to examine the events recorded here with the revolt that broke out at about the same time in The background of the Calabrian events is provided Calabria. by Skylitzes, who narrates that Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his mother saw that it was not possible to fight against the Saracens in both East and West, especially since the Bulgarians had broken the treaty, and so they sent Eustathius, strategos of Calabria, to work out a treaty with the Saracens. The agreement provided that the Byzantines would pay 22,000 gold pieces a year, and the Saracens would not engage in further hostile activities. The treaty was concluded sometime between the years 915 and 917. Thus the Arab raid on Reggio in 918 is seen as the result of a payment missed or delayed because of the change in administration upon Euthymius' recall and the arrival of his successor, John Muzalon. fact that that raid is the only hostile action recorded be-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Anonymus barensis ad an. 920; AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 899, p. 118 and 922, p. 120; Chron. cap. A, p. 306, and Cilento's note 26, p. 337, where he translates the date as 4 February; Chron. vult. II p. 41; Rom. sal., Chronicon ad an. 926, p. 165 and Bertolini's note 5; Liutprand, Antapodosis II 9-15, pp. 290-291; v. Fasoli, Incursioni, p. 138, and Mor, Età feudale I 258.

tween 914 and 922 would be explained by the regular payment of the tribute after the Reggio raid (by internal troubles in Sicily before the treaty itself).

The money to pay the tribute, however, was collected from the local population, along with their other taxes. And so Muzalon rendered himself really odious to the people, and was killed. The people accused him of wanting to betray them into the hands of the Arabs, and they called in Landolfo of Capua to help them.<sup>2</sup>

Here, however, Runciman has suggested that Skylitzes may have confused the two revolts. The one in Calabria, he says, was an isolated and not uncommon incident, while that in Apulia was far more serious. Such confusion is not impossible, particularly since the Italian sources say nothing of Landolfo's going to Calabria, but concentrate instead on his occupation of Apulia. If Skylitzes has not confused the two revolts, it is hard to understand why he has no mention of the events in Apulia. And certainly there was no need

<sup>2</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 263; <u>Vita s. Eliae Spelaeotae</u>, (<u>AASS September III 843-888</u>), c. 54 p. 870; Runciman, <u>Romanus</u>, p. 187.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Opinion on the date of the treaty is divided: see Amari, Storia II 180-181; Gay, Italie, p. 202; Runciman, Romanus, pp. 186-188; Marius Canard, 'Arabes et Bulgars au début du Xe siècle', Byzantion 11 (1938) 216 note 1. See Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 262; Cambridge Chronicle - Arabic, ad an. 6426 (in BAS, p. 169, not reproduced in Cozza-Luzi); Cambridge Chronicle - Greek, p. 337. On Eustathius and Muzalon, see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 97-98, nos. 37-38; besides what Falkenhausen has to say on the two forms 'Muzalon' and 'Bizalon', the student of Greek palaeography will recall the confusion between beta and mu in some minuscle hands.

for outside intervention in Calabria, since the murderers of Muzalon were his own oikeioi, his own household. It seems far more likely, too, that Latin and Longobard Apulia would call in help from Capua-Benevento, than that Greek Calabria would do so. 1

Ursileo, patrician and strategos, was killed in a bloody battle against Landolfo at Ascoli, and the Lombard princes proceeded to occupy Apulia. From the surviving letters of the patriarch Nicholas Mysticus, the following story emerges: Ursileo gave some provocation, according to the letters sent to Constantinople by Landolfo and the whole community of Longobardia, and Landolfo tried persuasion to bring him around. When these gentle tactics failed, then Landolfo took up arms, defeated and killed Ursileo, and occupied areas of the province which had never before been part of the lands of Capua-Benevento. To crown it all, he asked to be made Nicholas reproves him for his strategos of Longobardia. improper actions, and then tells him that the emperors have decided to overlook his outrages, and would grant the request (seconded, as it was, by the whole community), but only on the fulfilment of several conditions. Landolfo was required to withdraw from the occupied territories, he was to renew his oath of loyalty, and he was to give hostages (either his wife was to take up residence in the Peloponessus, or his second son was to be sent to the Court in Constantinople).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Runciman, <u>Romanus</u>, p. 188, note 1; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 263; <u>Vita s</u>. <u>Eliae Spelaeotae</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

Although Landolfo may have withdrawn from Byzantine territory, there is no indication that he ever was named strategos; and around 925 he dropped his Byzantine titles, later to take up a title of the western empire, 'marchio' or marquis.'

Although Landolfo's request to be made strategos may at first seem shocking, nevertheless it is not at all absurd. First of all (as Falkenhausen has pointed out), it seems that Ursileo himself was likely of Longobard extraction, and it was not unusual for a native prince to hold the office of strategos in his territory. Furthermore, Landolfo enjoyed one of the highest Byzantine titles, he had had good relations with the court in Constantinople up to this point, and might well have expected another mark of imperial favor. Although Landolfo did not receive this office (were the conditions imposed by Constantinople deliberately made so difficult that he would not meet them?), another rebel a century later was to become the ruler of the province in the name of the emperor.<sup>2</sup>

According to what has preceded, then, the chronology of these events may be reconstructed as follows:

by 917 Eustathius' treaty with the Sicilians

¹Rom. sal., Chronicon, p. 164; Chron. cap. A, pp. 305-306, and Cilento's note 27, pp. 336-337 (although Cilento reconstructs Ursileo's title '<tunc>hypatus patricius', it should almost certainly be '<ant>hypatus patricius': see Oikonomides, Listes, pp. 287-294); AnBen. ad. an. 921, p. 120; Nicholas Mysticus, Letters, nos. 82-85, pp. 338-347 (no. 82 is addressed to Landolfo himself, no. 85 to all the people of Longobardia); Chron. vult. II p. 60; Gay, Italie, pp. 203-206; Runciman, Romanus, pp. 187-189.

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 33 and note 247; on Ursileo, Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 78 no. 14 and Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 509; Gay, Italie, p. 205; see below, paragraph 153.

- 918 Muzalon arrives; payment of tribute omitted or delayed; Reggio sacked
- 919-921 Payment of tribute regular, but its collection from the people arouses resentment
- 921 Muzalon killed; tribute omitted or delayed; Uprising in Apulia: Landolfo defeats and kills Ursileo before Ascoli and occupies the province
- 922 S. Agata near Reggio sacked (because of the omission of the tribute in 921, perhaps)
- ca. 925 Landolfo drops his Byzantine titles, and afterward receives the western title of 'marchio'; there is another strategos in Byzantine Italy.
- Oria lies on the Via Appia between Taranto and 5, 54 Brindisi. The details of this siege are known from the account of Ibn Adsari. In the year 312 (Hijrah), the chamberlain of the king of Ifrīqīyah, Abū Ahmad Jacfar ibn CUbaid, set out with a large fleet, intending to attack the Byzantines; he wintered in Sicily, and did not see action until the following year of the Hijrah (29 March 925 to 18 March 926), but then he attacked Byzantine territory from Sicily, and took many cities, among them Oria. There he killed six thousand males capable of bearing arms, and took ten thousand female prisoners. He also captured a Byzantine patrician, who was then freed on payment of a ransom of five thousand mithqal, or 21,250 gr (743.75 oz) of gold, an appreciable sum at the time. After that, he went away to Sicily, and arrived there on 20 July 925. There he wrote to the amir in Ifriqiyah, and told him of the conquest, and then finally went to Ifriqiyah,

¹Runciman, Romanus, pp. 186-189; Cambridge Chronicle-Greek, p. 337; Cambridge Chronicle-Arabic, p. 43; Mor, 'Difesa', p. 33 note 16, points out that Ascoli was always 'rather riotous' under Byzantine rule. The strategos in southern Italy in 925 was the one captured at Oria by the Saracens -- see the commentary on the next paragraph.

carrying the booty with him. There it was gathered together in one room, and caused great amazement for its quantity; it included jewels and silk brocade. 1

Among the prisoners was twelve-year-old Shabbetai Donnolo, who later became a famous physician and author; he left a brief account of this raid on Oria, from which one may now date the event. He says that the town was taken on Monday, 9 Tammuz 4685. Sometime later he was ransomed at Taranto with his parents' money, while his relatives were sold into slavery in Sicily and Africa. He thus provides us with another detail not found in al-Bayān, namely that there was a stop in Taranto; yet there is no record of a Saracen raid on Taranto until several years later. At any rate, we know that the conquest of Oria took place on Monday, 4 July 925. And once again, the Bari chronicles are inaccurate in the dating.<sup>2</sup>

Who the patrician was is not known. He might have been Ursileo's successor, temporarily residing in Oria until

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Ibn Adsari, Al-Bayan, p. 367; citing the Cambridge Chronicle - Arabic (in BAS p. 170, not reproduced by Cozza-Luzi), Amari, Storia II 203 note 3, says that Jacfar left for Sicily on 20 July, thus revising the account in al-Bayan, which specifies that he arrived on that day; Cambridge Chronicle-Greek, p. 337; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 285; Philip Grierson, Numismatics (Oxford 1975), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>A. Sharf, The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo (New York 1976), gives the Hebrew text of this section on p. 160. The dates are written out in full. The translation is found on p. 9, and in note 31, p. 129, Sharf converts the date to 4 July 925. Amari, Storia II 202 converts the same date as 1 July, while Runciman, Romanus, p. 190, says 9 July. In the face of such disagreement among persons who should know how to convert dates from one calendar to another, it was necessary to make a new conversion; for this the work of Isidore Loeb was used: Tables du calendrier juif depuis 1'ère chrétienne jusqu'au XXXe siècle (Paris 1886), tables XII and XV; Sharf's version is correct: Monday, 4 July 925.

Bari, the capital, was once more freed from Landolfo's hold; or he might have been on an inspection, or he could have gone there precisely to defend the place. Although previous writers have said it is not possible to determine whether the strategos taken prisoner at Oria governed Calabria or Longobardia, the fact that Oria was part of the theme of Longobardia makes it not improbable that it was that strategos who was captured. 1

The Arabic text of the <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u> speaks of a pact Ja<sup>C</sup>far made with the people of Calabria, and notes that he took two hostages, one Leo, bishop of Sicily, and the wālī of Calabria, by which term is probably meant the strategos. Amari thought that <u>Al-Bayān</u> and the <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u> spoke of two different treaties. Since the patrician captured at Oria was ransomed, it seems little likely that he would be taken hostage for the Calabrian pact; thus Amari is most probably correct.<sup>2</sup>

The treatment of the inhabitants of the captured city of Oria is quite consistent with Islamic practice at the period.<sup>3</sup>

¹The Terra d'Otranto was part of the theme of Longobardia: see Guillou, Aspetti, p. 177. Although the capture of Oria is mentioned by Romualdo Salernitano, Chronicon, p. 165, his account is terribly garbled, and attributes this incident to the Hungarians.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cambridge Chronicle, Arabic ad an. 6434 (BAS p. 170, not reproduced by Cozza-Luzi); Amari, Storia II 203 note 2. The hypothesis of two pacts allows one to account for the dating in the Cambridge Chronicle, which records these events in the indictional year 926. If Jacfar raided in Calabria after the capture of Oria, then he may well have arrived in Sicily after 1 September (and Al-Bayan's dating would have to be changed, as Amari suggests: the hajib left on 20 July); thus the chronicler would have recorded the entire expedition in that year.

\*See the commentary on paragraphs 4, 47.

The Eusebius mentioned by the AnBa is unknown.

6, 55 Siponto was a city on the south side of the promontory of Gargano, the 'spur' on the Italian boot.

The Michael noted in the chronicles was most likely Michael, prince of the Zachlumi, who is called 'anthypatus patricius' by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Michael in fact began his career by being hostile to Byzantium, but at some point he changed his attitude. The commentators on the DAI suggest sometime around 922 or 923 for this change in orientation.<sup>1</sup>

If Michael was a Byzantine patrician, then what was his business in Siponto? Different historians have interpreted the meagre information in diverse ways. Most of them, unaware of the imperial titles, have thought that Michael came to raid Siponto on his own account, acting against Byzantine interests; among these historians are Amari, Gay, and Runci-Mor has suggested that there was some arrangement between Michael and the Apulian rebels -- remember, it was around this time that the Longobard princes discarded their Byzantine titles. The commentators on the DAI suggest that Michael was helping the Byzantines against the Arabs, who from their nest on Gargano may have occupied Siponto. what nest on Gargano? Guillou suggests that this group of Slavs was only one of many that fled before Symeon of Bul-If, however, one keeps in mind not only Michael's garia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, <u>DAI</u> c. 33; commentary, pp. 137-138.

imperial titles, but also the situation in Apulia in 926, then the reason for his coming to Siponto may perhaps be found in the <u>AnBen</u>1 at the year 921, where it is noted that Atenolfo (Landolfo's brother) entered into Siponto. Could Michael not have come to win back the city for the Byzantines?<sup>1</sup>

The date is Monday, 10 July 926. St. Felicity of Rome's feast is celebrated on 23 November, not on 10 July, but she has a connection with that day through the seven Roman martyrs, supposedly her sons, who are commemorated then. The dating information in the AnBa is not internally consistent: The entry is recorded at the year 928, the indiction is for the year 927, while the correspondence between Monday and 10 July occurred in 926. Lupus' dating is correct.<sup>2</sup>

Romualdo Salernitano has so garbled his account that one hesitates to cite it at all, although he does note the Slavic incursion as well as truly hostile activity not mentioned by the other sources.<sup>3</sup>

7, 56 In the Arabic sources, the capture of Taranto is assigned to the year 313 (29 March 925 -- 17 February 926) or to the year 316 (25 February 928 -- 15 January 929). Ibn Khaldūn gives essentially the same account as Ibn al-Athīr, and they both date the event to 313. An-Nuwayrī does not dif-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 206-207; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 208; Runciman, <u>Romanus</u>, p. 190; Mor, 'Difesa', p. 32; <u>DAI</u>-com. p. 138; Guillou, <u>Aspetti</u>, p. 312; <u>AnBen</u>, <u>ad</u> <u>an</u>. 921, p. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Filippo Caraffa, 'Felicita di Roma', <u>Bibliotheca Sancto-rum</u> V cols. 605-608; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup>Romualdo Salernitano, Chronicon ad an. 926, p. 165.

fer in essentials, but dates the taking of Taranto to 316. All three specify that the city was conquered. Al-Bayān at 316 notes that Sābir raided the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, including the cities of Salerno and Naples in Campania, while the Arabic text of the Cambridge Chronicle attributes to the same leader the conquest of Taranto in the year of the world 6436, the indictional year 928. The Greek text of that chronicle notes merely the year 6436, with no further details for the dating. Since all accounts which name the leader name the same man, it seems reasonable to attribute the fall of Taranto to Sābir, and to date it on 15 August 928, however the discrepancies may have arisen in the sources. Once again, the Bari annals are incorrect in the year.

The treatment of the inhabitants of Taranto, a city that was conquered by the sword, was common Muslim practice in the epoch in question, as was noted above in paragraphs 4, 47 and 5, 54.

57 The <u>Chronicon salernitanum</u> gives a lengthy account of a battle fought between the **Lo**ngobard princes and

¹Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 253-254; Ibn Adsari, Al-Bayān, pp. 367-368; An-Nuwayrī, p. 436; Ibn Khaldūn, p. 477; Cambridge Chronicle-Arabic, p. 43; Cambridge Chronicle-Greek, p. 377; Anonymus barensis ad an. 927; Romualdo Salernitano, Chronicon, p. 165; Amari, Storia II 207-209; Gay, Italie, p. 208; Runciman, Romanus, p. 190; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 285. Since all the sources that name the leader of the Arab forces at Taranto name the same man, it seems only reasonable to suppose that they speak of one and the same raid. It would have made little sense for any war leader to raid a city in the year 313, kill all the males capable of bearing arms, enslave the rest of the population, and take booty besides, and then hope to find anything much in the same place only three years later.

the strategos Anastasius. The battle took place somewhere near the river Basentello, which runs approximately NW to SE Its course is about to the east of Irsina and Monteserico. 42.5 km (25.5 mi), and the indications for the place where the battle was fought are too vague to identify the spot. The chronicle says simply that the Longobard princes were encamped in a place that was quite safe, whose only approach was narrow. And yet the Greeks tried that approach, and They fled through the by-ways and woods, crywere defeated. From the fact that the AnBa specify the ing for mercy. Monteserico and Irsina as encampments of the Normans and Greeks just before a battle in 1041, one may wonder whether the same battleground was used. But the indications are not definite enough to allow more than a guess.1

This battle is probably to be dated at the beginning of the second Longobard revolt, sometime after the princes dropped their Byzantine titles; perhaps it even refers to the same event recorded by Lupus. The result of this revolt was a seven-year-long occupation of Longobardia by the Longobard princes, an occupation that was ended only by the intervention of Hugh, King of Italy, whose interest was engaged by presents from the Emperor in Constantinople. Perhaps it was about the time of the battle that Landolfo became marquis of the western empire.2

<sup>2</sup>Liutprand, Antapodosis IV 8-9, p. 317, Legatio 7 p. 348;

Chron. vult. II p. 60.

¹Chron. sal. c. 158 pp. 163-166; map by G. Vendola, Apulia-Lucania-Calabria,(1:250,000), folio 1; on Anastasius, see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 78 no. 15, and Pertusi, 'Contributi' p. 509.

- Not Ambrose, who died in 397, but Lamberto, who died on 19 June 932, after ruling the church in Milan since 921. King Berengar of Italy extracted from Lamberto a huge sum on his succession to the bishopric. Later Lamberto invited Hugh of Provence to come to Italy and take over the kingdom, this in opposition to Rudolf of Burgundy. Thus the bishop was one of the more important politicians in northern Italy during this period. Why is he mentioned here? Given the fact that the Longobard princes were in rebellion against Byzantium and had drawn closer to the Kingdom of Italy, it is not really surprising to find in south Italian sources some reference to an influential personage from that polity. The AnBa anticipate the date by a year.
- Leo Ostiensis dates this incursion of the Hungarians to the fourth year of Abbot Adalberto, or 937. The invaders came as far as Capua, and laid waste the area around the city, then they did the same at Benevento and at other Campanian cities. Finally they returned to Capua, and were encamped there twelve days, and thus the monks of Monte Cassino, now living in Capua, were able to ransom their men who had been captured. On their way North, the invaders were soundly defeated, and many of them were killed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gams, <u>Series Ep.</u>, p. 796; Liutprand, <u>Antapodosis</u> II 57-

<sup>58</sup> pp. 298-299, and III 12, 14 pp. 305, 306-307.

2AnBen, ad an. 937, p. 121; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 55
p. 619; Rom. sal., Chronicon, p. 165; cf. Mor, Età feudale I
148, 265-266, and Fasoli, Incursioni, pp. 167-171; Gay, Italie,
p. 214.

- Lupus' phrase, 'astante tres dies', is peculiar, 59 but preferable to the manuscript variant 'tertia die' because the date of the eclipse is 19 July 939, three days into the second half of the month. The scribal emendation to 'tertia die' is understandable, since the accusative in such dates was odd, the ablative normal; but 'tertia die astante' is 29 July, on which there was no eclipse. Oppolzer's eclipse 5102 of 19 July began about 8:06 local solar time, had a maximum phase value in Bari of about 9.2 (12 is the minimum value for a total eclipse on Oppolzer's arbitrary scale) at about 8:50, or very near the third hour, and was over at about 9:34. Since Lupus has the date and hour correct, his error on the day of the week, 'feria tertia' (Tuesday) seems odd, and the temptation to emend the archetypal text is strong; this is especially true because the correct reading, 'feria sexta' (Friday), if written in Roman numerals (uj) could easily have been confused for three (iij), since both u and ii consist of two minims, easily mistaken. Yet the fact that Lupus adopted abnormal dating phrasing to produce a three in his dating clause leads one to think that he wanted a series of threes, and so the 'feria tertia' has been retained as a genuine, though erroneous, reading.1
- Lupus is the only south Italian source to mention this Hungarian incursion, and the action at Matera, as well as the strategos and Pao. Fasoli dates the Hungarian invasion to 942, but Mor suggests that Lupus has confused Hungarians and Arabs in speaking of the raid on Matera. The strategos may have been

<sup>1</sup>Oppolzer, Canon, pp. 206-207 and map no. 103; see p. xxvi of the English edition; cf. AnBen, ad an 939, p. 121.

called Limnogalaktos. Nothing is known of Pao. 1

- 61 Most historians have given 10 April 943 as the date of Landolfo's death, although October has also been suggested. Lupus' dating, correctly interpreted, gives 21 April. The year is probably 943; since Lupus is so often incorrect by one or two years, there is no cause for surprise.
- 62 Hugh of Provence, King of Italy, died at Arles on 10 April 947, so Lupus' dating in this case is once again two years early. Romanus Lecapenus died on 15 June 948, so that the dating seems even further off. It seems, though, that Lupus may be referring here to Romanus' deposition, on 20 December 944, a date that falls within the indictional year 945. The notice about the Hungarians is probably to be referred to the year 955, when Otto I defeated the Hungarians decisively at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg.<sup>3</sup>
- 63 Absolutely nothing is known about this incident beyond what Lupus tells us.
- 9, 64 The sources seem to agree on the year 947 for this invasion by the Hungarians. Fasoli suggests that they may have been sent by Berengar, the regent for Lothar, son of Hugh of Provence, and that they may have come by way of the Via Flaminia. Who Platopodi was and why he was besieging Conversano are unknown, but his name seems Greek. As to the

Oman, History, pp. 122-125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Fasoli, <u>Incursioni</u>, pp. 174-175; Mor, <u>Età feudale</u> I 151, 266; cf. Benedetto, <u>Chronicon</u>, pp. 161-162; <u>Laurent</u>, 'Contributions', pp. 310-312; <u>Falkenhausen</u>, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 79, no. 17; Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 509.

<sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and <u>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an</u>. 943, p. 121, and Bertolini's

note 5; Grume1, Chronologie, p. 420, gives 4 October 943.

Rafaello Morghen, 'Ugo di Provenza, re d'Italia', EI 34,
p. 615; Runciman, Romanus, pp. 232, 236; on the battle of the
Lechfeld, see Böhmer, Regesta II 120-123; Fasoli, Incursioni;

plague, the <u>Chronicon salernitanum</u> records a similar incident in the principality of Salerno during the first years of Gisolfo's reign, which began in June 946; both authors may be talking about the same epidemic, although one speaks of men and the other of animals.<sup>1</sup>

This notice is probably to be taken together with 65 the previous one, which mentions the battle at Conversano, and with the notice of the AnBen2 at 949, which mentions that one John, magister militum, came to Siponto. Although Capasso identified this John as John III, Duke of Naples, he adduces no documents in support of his identification, and says that the entry is the only evidence he finds of that John's presence in Apulia. Skylitzes notes, however, that Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus despatched a fleet under one Makroioannes, in connection with military operations that have been dated to 951. It seems that the John noted by the AnBen2 may be this commander; the 'magister militum' could be a mis-reading of the prefix to the name, 'Makro-'. The capture of Ascoli could then be a result of John's landing in Siponto. Although the AnBen in general are more accurate in their dating than Lupus, the fact that they are not free from such errors tends to make this theory more attractive.2

1<u>AnBen</u>, and <u>AnBen</u>, <u>ad an. 947</u>, p. 122; Fasoli, <u>Incursioni</u>, pp. 179-181; cf. Rom. sal., <u>Chronicon</u>, pp. 165-166; <u>Chron. sal.</u>, c. 168 p. 171.

Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 266; RNAM II 21-22 no. 60 gives John III's titles as 'consul et dux'. Bertolini, AnBen p. 122 note 2 follows Capasso's interpretation, and Gay, Italie, p. 216 interprets this passage of the AnBen2 in the same way. Amari, Storia II 281 note 2 suggested a connection between this conquest of Ascoli and the campaigns treated in the next paragraph.

Mas not willing to pay the tribute to the Saracens, as his fatherin-law Romanus had been, and that he thought the matter should
be decided by battle. So he sent to Italy an army under the
command of the patrician Malakenos. This force was to join
with the forces under Paschalios, strategos of Calabria. At
the same time, the emperor sent a fleet under Makroioannes.
The leaders of the Byzantine forces mistreated the men under
their command, and when the leader of the Arab forces found out
that fact, he told his men to have no fear of fighting the Byzantine army, since the men had been mistreated. The two armies joined battle, and the Arabs won the day. The two Byzantine generals had a hard time escaping with their lives. 1

This account, however, obviously does not refer to the battle noted by Lupus, for here Malakenos died. Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn provide the solution for this seeming contradiction, for they record two battles, both of which took place near Gerace, the place noted by the Greek text of the Cambridge Chronicle. At the time of the first battle, al-Ḥasan, amīr of Sicily, had taken Reggio and was besieging Gerace. When he heard that the Byzantines were coming against him, he concluded a truce with the inhabitants of Gerace, and then faced the Byzantine army, which fled to Bari and Otranto. Al-Ḥasan proceeded to besiege Cassano, but after a month of useless siege, he concluded a truce with that city, and went to spend the winter in Sicily. The next year he returned to Calabria on the

¹Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 266.

orders of the Caliph al-Mansūr, and again laid siege to Gerace. There the Arabs and the Byzantines joined battle, and the Arabs were completely victorious. They slaughtered huge numbers of Byzantine soldiers. This is the battle noted by Lupus and the Cambridge Chronicle. Ibn al-Athir notes that it was fought on 7/8 May 852 (or during the night between them).

Skylitzes' account has led historians to believe that Malakenos was the leader of a special expeditionary force, and there is nothing in the Latin or Arabic sources to contradict this assumption. A Jerusalem manuscript, however, notes Arab raids on Calabria while Paschalios was strategos of that province, and while Malake<nos> was strategos in Longobardia. Laurent notes that this text was regarded with great diffidence in the past, not only because it is not in full accord with the story as given by Skylitzes, but also because Malakenos' name To account for Skylitzes' version of events, is deformed. Laurent suggests that Malakenos may indeed have been strategos in Longobardia before the raids, and forseeing renewed Arab attacks as a result of the refusal of tribute, may have gone to Constantinople to request reinforcements, which he then led to Calabria. Although one may wonder at Skylitzes' not having mentioned Malakenos' position as strategos of Longobardia, two seals published by Laurent establish beyond a doubt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 259-261; Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 480-481; Cambridge Chronicle-Greek, p. 338; Cambridge Chronicle-Arabic, p. 45; Amari, Storia II 282 note 2, where the date is misprinted as 7/8 April; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 286.

that he held that post, along with the titles of <u>anthypatos</u> patrikios and imperial protospatharios.

peror Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus sent John Pilatos the asekretis, or confidential secretary in the imperial chancery, to treat for peace with the Saracens, and his mission resulted in a truce. In the indictional year 954 a monk arrived in Palermo to conclude a truce (perhaps he was delivering the tribute?).<sup>2</sup>

Then, perhaps as the truce was about to expire, the emperor sent to Italy contingents of the Thrakesioi and the Macedonians under the command of Marianos Argyros, and a naval force under Krambeas and Moroleon. When the Arabs in Reggio heard of the arrival of these forces in Otranto, they fled in panic to Sicily. Marianos, the strategos of Longobardia and Calabria, used these troops and the fleet to recall the Campanian cities to their ancient Byzantine allegiance, and his presence in Campania is attested by a privilege he issued for the abbot of Monte Cassino in December 956.3

From the <u>Cambridge</u> <u>Chronicle</u> we learn that there was

<sup>&#</sup>x27;On Malakenos, see Pertusi, 'Contributi', pp. 509-510; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 80 no. 19; Guilland, 'Patrices sous Constantin VII', p. 205; Laurent, 'Contributions', pp. 312-314, and the citation from the Jerusalem manuscript on p. 313. On Paschalios, see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 80 no. 18; Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 510; Guilland, 'Patrices sous Constantin VII', pp. 210-211. For other accounts of these events, see Amari, Storia II 279-292, and Gay, Italie, pp. 213-214.

<sup>\*</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 266; Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, p. 310; <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Arabic, p. 45.

Theophanes Continuatus, <u>De Constantino</u> c. 30, pp. 453-454; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 266-267.

also Arab military activity at that period. On 9 August 956, CAmmar, the brother of the amīr Hasan, arrived from Ifrīqīyah with a fleet, and wintered in Palermo; then, at the beginning of the season, he went raiding in Calabria. In that same year the protokarabos Basil destroyed the mosque in Reggio, captured the town of Termini, and then encountered Hasan in Mazzara, and killed a large number of Basil's activity in Reggio and in Sicily was the Arabs. most likely contemporary with CAmmar's raid on Calabria; otherwise it would be difficult to account for Basil's temerity in attacking Termini, a town only 45 km/27 mi from Palermo, if the large fleet had still been there. Even more difficult to account for would be his raiding on the western coast of Sicily, even further from Byzantine territory, if he had any reason to believe that the Arab fleet could descend It is most likely that both these raids took place sometime in the spring of 957.

The next thing known about Marianos Argyros is that he was attacked by CAmmar and Hasan. The Greek and Arab sources are not in agreement on the outcome of the battle, but it seems that unfavorable winds brought the Arabs out of the battle second best, and that one of their ships was captured by the Byzantines. One Arab historian, Ibn al-Khatīb, indicates that on more than one occasion the Arab

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Cambridge Chronicle--Arabic, BAS 174-175; Amari, Storia II 289-291; Gay, Italie, pp. 216-218. Basil's title means 'ship's commander'.

fleet met with disaster because of the weather. In any event, it was around this time that a truce with the Arabs was concluded, a truce that lasted for quite a few years.

Based on the available sources is the following reconstruction of the probable chronology:

956 9 August: CAmmar arrives in Palermo with a fleet, winters there;
December: Marianos Argyros active in Campania:

pania;

CAmmār raids in Calabria, while
Basil raids in Sicily;
After Arab attack on Marianos Argyros
31 Aug.: is inconclusive; a truce is concluded with the Arabs, and lasts several years.

The editor has inserted the indiction in this entry in order to bring it into conformity with the rest of the chronicle.

Neither the persons who were burned, nor the reason for their burning, is recorded elsewhere. The form 'Clemens' has been adopted rather than the forms transmitted by the

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Cambridge Chronicle--Arabic, BAS 175; Theophanes continuatus, De Constantino cc. 30-31, pp. 453-455; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 266-267; Ibn al-Khatīb, Acmāl al-Aclām, Centenario Amari II 476; Amari, Storia II 288-291; Gay, Italie, pp. 216-218. For more on Marianos Argyros, see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 81 no. 20, and pp. 165-166, documents nos. 12 and 13; cf. Guilland, 'Patrices sous Constantin VII', pp. 190-192. The reading of the Bonn edition of Cedrenus, 'Romanos Argyros', has been corrected in Thurn's edition of Skylitzes, whom Cedrenus is reproducing verbatim in this section. On the truce concluded at about this time between the Byzantine emperor and the Caliph, see S. M. Stern, 'An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph al-Mucizz', Byzantion 20 (1950) 239-258, where the Arabic report of the embassy is edited and translated.

manuscripts, especially because the manuscript form is not found in the Apulian notarial documents, and may well be no more than a mistaken expansion of an abbreviation for 'Clemens'.

- Constantine died on 9 November 959, which is in the indictional year 960; thus Lupus' dating is correct. Romanus II succeeded, and ruled from 10 November 959 until 15 March 963. Adralisto and Ismael are not identifiable, but the name Adralisto occurs frequently in the south Italian notarial documents. Ismael is probably an Arab raider, but whether acting on his own or in some official capacity is an unanswerable question.<sup>2</sup>
- Crete in fact did fall to the Byzantine army commanded by Nicephorus Phokas in March 961, after a siege that had begun the year before, and lasted through a rough winter. The conquest was particularly important because it deprived the Arabs of one of their most effective bases of anti-Byzantine operations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See any of the volumes in the <u>CDB</u>; see Cappelli, <u>Abbre</u>-viature, p. 54, col. 1.

The Greek sources are not in agreement on the date of the death of Constantine: Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 247, says 9 November 959, while Theophanes continuatus, De Constantino c. 54, pp. 468-469, and Symeon Magister, De Constantino c. 9, p. 756, say 15 November. -- See above, on paragraph 42.

<sup>3</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 249-250; Theophanes continuatus, De Romano cc. 7-13, pp. 473-479; Leo Diaconus, Historia, I 3-9, II 6-8, pp. 7-16, 24-29; Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil (Beirut) vol. VIII 545; Cambridge Chronicle--Greek for marginal note reproduced on p. 88; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 284; Schlumberger, Nicephore Phocas, pp. 77-96 (detailed account); I. B. Papadopoulos, He Krete hypo tous Sarakenous (Athens 1958), pp. 90-94 (based mostly on Leo Diaconus).

In the world-year 6469 (indictional 961), a group of Sicilian nobles was in Africa for religious reasons, and obtained from the Caliph al-MuCizz permission to proceed against Taormina, and the siege began the following May. Then on a Thursday in December of the world-year 6471 (indictional 963, or 962 in our reckoning), the city fell. This is the account in the Arabic version of the Cambridge Chronicle. The other Arabic sources mention the matter with far fewer details (bare be the account cited!), and only an-Nuwayri's report provides the exact date: five days remaining in the month of Dhū al-Qacdah in the year 351 H; this translates to 26 December 962. Since this date fell on a Friday, there seems to be a disagreement between this datum and the account of the Cambridge Chronicle, which specifies a Thursday, but the conflict is only apparent, and is easily resolved when one bears in mind that the Muslim day began at sunset. By assuming that the city fell after sunset on Thursday, 25 December 962, the historian is able to reconcile the two dates, for such a time would have been reckoned as 26 December by a Muslim writer. An-Nuwayrī also notes that the name of the city was changed to al-MuCizzīyah, in honor of the Caliph. The Greek text of the Cambridge Chronicle notes the second fall of Taormina in the world-year 6471.1

¹An-Nuwayrī, p. 438; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, p. 481; Ibn Abī Dīnār, p. 532; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 263; Abū al-Fidā', p. 408. Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 297, dates the event to 24 December 962, and Nallino, using an-Nuwayrī, revises this to 25 December (p. 297, note 1); but as we have just noted, an-Nuwayrī's phrase translates to 26 December; v. Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, pp. 180, 286. <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Arabic, BAS 174-175; Greek, p. 338.

As Amari pointed out, the economic advantages of this conquest were considerable for the Saracens: They entered into full possession of the eastern part of Sicily, and increased the income of the State by imposing the jizyah and the kharaj on the Christian population. The military advantages, of course, are self-evident, for the conquest removed the Byzantine enclaves, and united the island under the government in Palermo.<sup>1</sup>

The eclipse noted by Lupus is Oppolzer's number 5152, of 17 May 961. The maximum phase of this eclipse, visible at Bari around 8:40 local solar time, had a value of about 9.1 on Oppolzer's arbitrary scale, where twelve is the minimum value for a total eclipse. The other eclipse that occured in this indictional year, number 5151 of 21 November 960, was not visible in Bari.<sup>2</sup>

Lupus records correctly the date of the reconquest of Crete, and it is likely that the date he gives for the eclipse is also accurate. But once again there is a discrepancy of two years (indiction four instead of indiction six) in his notice for the conquest of Taormina. This is yet another indication that the chronicle was put together from more than one source.

71 Romanus died on 15 March 963, and Nicephorus was crowned on 16 August, after being proclaimed by his troops,

Amari, Storia II 295.
Canon, pp. 208-209, and map 104; v. p. xxvi of the English edition.

and after putting down the resistance offered by Joseph Bringas, who had controlled the government during Romanus' reign. Nicephorus' death on 10 December 969 falls in the indictional year 970, so that Lupus' seven years for the length of the reign is not incorrect in the system he uses.

Otto I came to Rome for his coronation as emperor on 2 February 962, and left after about two weeks. He was back in November, and departed in January 963, but had to return in June to deal with the treachery of John XII, who had formed an alliance against him. Since Lupus' habit with dates is to record them correctly, or to anticipate them, it seems likely that he is referring to Otto's presence in Rome either in November 962 (indictional 963), or in June 963.<sup>2</sup>

The maximum phase of Oppolzer's eclipse number 5156 visible in Bari at about 16:53 local solar time on 1 October 962, had a value of about 7.1.3

After the fall of Taormina, the Arabs invested Rametta, the last Byzantine stronghold in Sicily. The people managed to send to the emperor, to tell him what the situation was, and to request a relief force. Nicephorus granted their request in the first year of his reign, by sending out a large expedition of both land and sea contingents. The army was com-

Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 253; Symeon Magister, De Constantino c. 9, De Romano c. 1, p. 756; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 284-285; cf. AnBen, and AnBen, ad an. 963, p. 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 963, p. 123 -- Bertolini says in note 4 that the AnBen<sub>2</sub> are probably referring to the coronation; cf. Chron. sal. c. 169, pp. 171-173; Böhmer, Regesten II 149-169; Dönniges, Jahrbücher, pp. 85-97.

<sup>3</sup>Oppolzer, Canon, pp. 208-209.

posed, in part at least, of Armenians, Rūs, and probably Paulicians, and was under the command of Manuel Phokas, the bastard son of Nicephorus' brother Leo. The naval force included ships equipped with Greek fire, and was under the command of the patrician Nicetas. After setting out, probably in the spring of 964, the expedition arrived either in Calabria or Sicily on 2 October (the Cambridge Chronicle -- Arabic breaks off after the date without naming the place). Arabic sources note that Manuel arrived at Messina during Shawwal 353 H (11 October -- 8 November 964, indiction 8). Manuel met with initial successes, and entered into possession of Syracuse, Taormina, Lentini and Termini. Then he made a fundamental error, and instead of consolidating his position, he pushed on to Rametta. There he was engaged by the Saracen forces (the Sicilian Arabs had received reinforcements from Ifrīgīyah). Although at first the battle went well for the Byzantines, in the end they were unable to deal with the numbers thrown against them, and with the terrain (rocky and wooded). Besides these difficulties, they faced perhaps a greater one in the lack of cohesion in their forces, who were scattered. The Saracens slaughtered Manuel and almost the entire army -- there were very few who escaped to Reggio. After this, the Saracens made an attack on the beachhead, and managed to capture not only several ships, but even Nicetas, who was sent to the Caliph as a prisoner of war. The date of the battle is given by the Greek text of the Cambridge Chronicle as 24 October 6473, indiction 8; that date corresponds well

with the date noted by an-Nuwayrī, at the middle of Shawwāl 353 H, or 24-25 October 964 (indiction 8, indictional year 965) -- again, one must bear in mind that the Muslim day began in the evening. 1

general who played a role in the elevation of Nicephorus
Phocas to the throne. His reward seems to have been his promotion to the high rank of magistros. There were only twentyfour men with such rank at this period, and they held the fifth
place in the hierarchy of titles. Nicephorus is the first man
with this title to hold the governorship of Byzantine Italy.
He was sent out not long after Manuel's defeat, and was himself defeated in a naval battle, in May or July. Although
the Cambridge Chronicle--Greek dates this battle in indiction
8, Falkenhausen notes that the dates in this section of that
Chronicle are unreliable, and prefers Lupus' dating.<sup>2</sup>

On the arrival of the Longobardi in Italy, see the comments on paragraph 50, above.

¹The most complete Greek narrative is that of Leo Diaconus, IV 7-8, pp. 64-68; cf. Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 261-261; the Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 338, provides the date of the battle. Among the Arabic works, the most important are those of Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 263-266, and an-Nuwayrī, pp. 439-440; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, p. 481; Ibn Abī Dīnār, p. 532; Abū al-Fidā', p. 408; Cambridge Chronicle--Arabic, BAS 176 (the end of the work). Liutprand, Legatio c. 43, pp. 356-357, alludes to these events. Gay's summary of the campaign may be found in Italie, pp. 290-291; a more complete narrative is that of Amari, Storia II 300-309, although this account seems to have some inadequately documented facts.

<sup>20</sup>n Nicephorus Hexakionites, see Laurent, 'Contributions', pp. 315-316; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 81-82; no. 21; Guilland, 'Patrices sous Constantin VII', p. 201; Pertusi, 'Contributi', p. 510; Vita s. Nili iunioris, ed. J. M. Carophylus,

- 74 According to the diplomatic evidence, although Otto was in Italy in 967, he was chiefly in the North and in Rome. The battle with Abū al-Qāsim was fought by Otto II in 981. The confusion in this entry is, again, evidence of the composite nature of the chronicle.
- Otto I was in Capua in January 968, and received 75 an embassy from Constantinople. Although the ambassadors came to negotiate a peace, Otto had already decided to fight, unless the court of Constantinople provided an imperial bride for his recently crowned son and heir, Otto II. The siege of the city of Bari, the prelude to the projected conquest of Apulia and Calabria, was begun in March 968, but was soon broken off when it proved impossible to take the city. Otto sent Liutprand to Constantinople to re-open the negotiations for peace and an imperial bride for the younger Otto. Liutprand arrived in the imperial city on 4 June 968, and after a totally unsuccessful and unpleasant mission, was permitted to depart only on 2 Octo-In the meantime. Otto had been in the North. The date of the new invasion, the invasion of Calabria, is not completely certain, but the diplomatic evidence puts Otto in Ravenna on 2 October, and outside Ancona on 2 November. At the time of the eclipse (Oppolzer's number 5169, with maximum phase value of 10.5, visible in Bari about 9:23 local solar time on 22 December 968), the emperor was with the army in Cala-

PG 120 (Paris 1864) col. 105. On the rank of the magistros, see R. Guilland, 'L'ordre (taxis) des Maîtres (ton magistron)', EEBS 39-40 (1972-1973) 14-28, and Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 294. On the battle, see the Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 339; cf. Liutprand, Legatio c. 43, pp. 356-357; Amari, Storia II 311.

1Böhmer, Regesten II 198-209.

bria. It is probable that Lupus has recounted the entire invasion at the point where it began, with Otto's departure from Ravenna. From the fact that Liutprand witnessed the eclipse on his way home from Constantinople, it is evident that the bishop's account of his unsuccessful mission was not the cause of the renewed attack on Byzantine territory, for Otto was already in the field. It is not at all unlikely that Otto had understood only too well the meaning of Liutprand's long absence, and of the lack of communication. In this case, no news was not good news; and Otto acted accordingly. This interpretation is suggested by Liutprand's remarks in his Legatio, that Otto would so interpret his absence and silence, and would punish the Byzantines for the situation. Further important details are not available from the sources, but this campaign seems to have been without permanent results.

John I Tzimiskes was the lover of the Empress
Theophano, and with her collusion arranged the murder of
Nicephorus Phocas on the night of 10 December 969.2

<sup>2</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 279-293; see Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 292-293.

¹Böhmer, Regesten II 219-220; Dönniges, Jahrbücher, pp. Dümmler, Jahrbücher, pp. 454-459; Liutprand, Legatio cc. 1, 11, 53, 58, 64, pp. 347, 349, 359, 360, 362; Chron. sal. c. 173, p. 170; Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 339; AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 969, p. 124, and Bertolini's note 3; Cilento's commentary to the Cronaca capuana, p. 339; Romualdo salernitano, Chronicon ad an. 968, p. 167, says erroneously that Otto took Bari; Widukind, Rerum gestarum saxonicarum libri tres, ed. K. A. Kehr, MGH-SRGS V (Hanover [1904] 19254) 122; Heriger and Anselm, Gesta episcoporum tungreneium, traiectensium et leodiensium, ed. R. Köpke, MGH-SS VII, II 25, p. 202; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 464; Oppolzer, Canon, pp. 208-209, and map 104; Gay, Italie, pp. 304-311.

- Arab may have been named Abū al-Qabā'il, according to Amari.
  But Lupus mentions the same event at the year 992, paragraph 91, and in any case the Marquis of Spoleto in 972 was not Transmundo, but Pandolfo of Capua-Benevento, whom Transmundo did not succeed until October 982, under Otto II. Atto, the son of Transmundo, is mentioned in a document dated 1017, as Gay points out.
- 78 Passaro is unknown, but may well be a native of southern Italy, since the name is not uncommon.
- Zachary, probably a Greek, is unknown. Ismael seems to be used in the chronicles of Byzantine Italy as a generic name for the Muslims, who are also called Saracens or Agarenes; Ismael was the son of Hagar. A marginal note in a Greek manuscript from Byzantine Italy uses the name in this sense: 'The Frank descended on Calabria, and he struck the Saracen, and killed a great many of them. And the Frank returned to Italy, and Ismael to Sicily'.'
- 80-81 From the <u>Vita s. Nili iunioris</u>, we learn that the Byzantines were building ships in southern Italy, both to protect their own possessions, and to attempt once again the reconquest of Sicily. From the fact that Ibn al-Athīr says that the Muslims drove the enemy out of Messina in 365 H, during the month of Ramadān, it seems that the city must have

¹Thus Amari, Storia II 365 and note 3, has misinterpreted the matter; see Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 326 and note 2; Uhlirz, <u>Jahr</u>-bücher--Otto II, p. 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cozza-Luzi, <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>, pp. 123-124.

passed under Byzantine control once again. From Ibn al-Athīr we learn that the Saracens did not stop at Messina, but crossed the Strait and raided in Calabria and Apulia during 365 and 366 H (10 September 975-29 August 976, 30 August 976-18 August 977). Gravina is among the places mentioned by name in the Arabic sources, along with Céllara, Tiriolo, S. Agata, Taranto and Otranto. Although Oria is not named, it is probably included in the phrase 'and many other places'.'

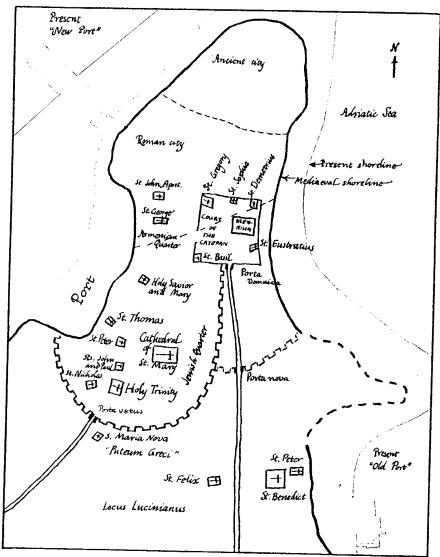
The period noted by Ibn al-Athīr, from Ramadān to the end of 365 H and 366 H, corresponds to the period from 3 May 976 to 18 August 977. Ibn al-Athīr says that after raiding at Céllara and Cosenza, Abū al-Qāsim returned to the capital, and that it was the next year that he went on another raid, in which he raided Taranto, Otranto and S. Agata, but Abū al-Fidā' recounts only one campaign, and few details. It seems that the raids recounted are likely the work of one raiding season, spring through late autumn 976. Lupus, using the indictional year, naturally covers the events in two entries, since for him 1 September began the year 977.2

Lupus says that the siege of Gravina was unsuccessful, while Romualdo Salernitano says that the city was taken. Amari suggests that the inhabitants paid tribute, and that such an act could give rise to both interpretations.<sup>3</sup>

¹Ibn al-Athīr, p. 268; cf. Abū al-Fidā', p. 412 and Hājjī Khalīfah, p. 524; <u>Vita s. Nili iunioris</u> c. 60, cols. 104-105; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 286; <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Greek, p. 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, p. 268; Abū al-Fidā', p. 412; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Romualdo salernitano, <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 970, pp. 168-169; Amari, Storia II 366-371.



BARI about the middle of the eleventh century; after G. Musca, 'L'espansione urbana di Bari nel secolo XI', Quaderni Medievali 2 (December 1976) p. 64.

John I Tzimiskes died on 10 January 976, and was succeeded by Basil II and Constantine VIII, sons of Romanus II.

- The <u>Anonymus barensis</u> dates the founding of the monastery of St. Benedict in the year 978, indiction six, and it is the date Musca accepts. A list of the abbots of this monastery, in a document dated 1071, names Girolamo as the first abbot. He is named by Johannes Diaconus as still in office in 1003, when the monastery was being used by the Saracens as a strong point in their siege of the city; the monastery lay outside the walls, but close to them.<sup>2</sup>
- 82 Once again, Lupus gives a date that is about two years in advance of the events it recounts. Bishop John was still alive in 980, and Archbishop Pao calls 983 his third year as Archbishop of Bari.<sup>3</sup>
- Lupus is the only source to mention this incident, and he has given rise to much speculation about its motivation. Gay, for example, says that Andrea was put to death by a high Byzantine functionary, probably because the imperial government wanted to remove from the Latin see of Oria all jurisdiction over the coastal cities, and most particularly over Brindisi, up to this time a dependency of Oria. However anxious the Byzantines may have been to establish Greek dioceses in Apulian

<sup>2</sup>Anonymus <u>barensis</u> <u>ad an</u>. 978; Johannes Diaconus, <u>Chron</u>. <u>ven</u>, pp. 166-167; CDB IV 91 no 45; Musca, 'Espansione', pp. 48-49.

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¹Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 312; Leo Diaconus, <u>Historia</u> X 11, pp. 176-178; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 358; Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine</u> <u>State</u>, pp. 298-299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 154 and note 1056; CDB I 12 no. 7.

cities, one finds it difficult to imagine that their program would necessitate the murder of a bishop. Further, protospatharius' was a title in the Byzantine system, not a function, so Gay seems to assume too much: There is no reason to assume that Porfirio was acting in any official capacity. As Falkenhausen points out, although the see of Brindisi was claimed by Bari, Oria and Monopoli, many of the seemingly conflicting claims are settled without difficulty if one assumes that Lupus has again made his usual dating error of one or two years, for in that case, no two of these cities claim Brindisi at the same time. One Porfirio was put to death by the governor John Ammiropulos in 989; if he is the Porfirio mentioned here, then he finally paid for his crime, whatever its motivation.

In the city of Ascoli had been taken by Conon, count of the Alemanni and Saxons, during the invasion of Otto I in 969; here it seems that the city was still under Longobard-German occupation, and that its people were engaging the people of Siponto, which was under Byzantine rule. But we do not know the reasons for the conflict, nor the people involved: Was it a fight between two garrisons, or was it a popular movement? Was the reason the conflict between two great powers, or was it a local quarrel over something like water rights? There is no way to find out. The place of the battle, in vado Somilo', at the ford of the Somilo, cannot be identified, at least from

Gay, Italie, pp. 363-364; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 154 and note 1056, along with the bibliography there cited; Gams, Hierarchia, p. 909, lists Andrea as the only bishop of Oria before 1486.

the maps of the Istituto Geografico Militare on the scale of 1:100,000.1

and protect his empire, by taking over the Byzantine lands, and by driving out the Saracens besides. The <u>Annales sangallenses maiores</u> name the Byzantine territories of Apulia, Lucania and Calabria as the objects of Otto's campaign. On hearing of Otto's plans against the Muslims, Abū al-Qāsim, amīr of Sicily, proclaimed a jihād against the German emperor, and mobilized his forces. Otto may have chosen this particular time because the Byzantine provinces were somewhat weak, or at least seemed so: Not only did they suffer from raids by the Saracens, but also they were further disturbed by internal dissensions, and several cities were in rebellion against the government in Constantinople?

Otto was in Italy as early as December 980, and spent most of 981 in and around Rome. He arrived in Apulia, at the city of Lucera, during September 981, and from there he went to Benevento, with the intention of proceeding against the Saracens and Greeks, but had to turn his attention to Campania to deal with dynastic matters in Salerno. He seems to have ignored

¹Romualdo salernitano, <u>Chronicon ad an</u>. 968, p. 167, and <u>Chron. sal</u>. c. 173, p. 176; Mor, 'Difesa', p. 33 note 16; Istituto Geografico Militare, <u>Carta d'Italia al 100.000</u> ([1910, 1926] 1936), folios 164-165, 174-176, 183-185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Annales sangallenses maiores, ed. Ildefonsus ab Arx, MGH-SS I (Hanover 1826) 80; Thietmar, Chronicon III 20 pp. 122-123; v. Lupus, paragraph 85; and document no. 19 in Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 168-169; Amari, Storia II 376; Gay, Italie, p. 328 note 1 -- Gay's summary of the events leading up to this campaign may be found on pp. 326-331; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 269.

similar troubles in Benevento, and proceeded to the campaign in Byzantine territory.

Once in Byzantine territory, Otto stopped before Matera, and according to the documents, was there during Janu-The next documents are from Taranto, and are dated between 16 March and 26 May. Since the distance between Matera and Taranto is not great (about 60 km / 36 mi), Otto must have been at Matera until March. There is some question about whether Otto actually occupied these cities, for the sources give conflicting accounts. Thietmar's chronicle, for example, says that Taranto fell easily to Otto; yet all the diplomas he issued indicate that he was outside the city. At Matera. too. all the documents are dated from outside the town. maintains that Otto occupied these places, and that he must have had some good reason for staying outside. Falkenhausen has suggested instead that the Byzantines used in Otto's case the same strategy they used with the Saracens: They abandoned the undefendable countryside without a struggle, and limited themselves to defending the fortified cities.2

From Taranto Otto proceeded to Calabria. He left the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Böhmer, <u>Urkunden</u>, p. 32; and see the dating discussion in Sickel, 'Itinerario'; cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 331-333.

Böhmer, <u>Urkunden</u>, p. 32, nos. 591-594, and the list published by Sickel, 'Itinerario', nos. 11-18, pp. 302-303, and his remarks on pp. 307-323; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 333-334, holds against Otto's occupation of these cities; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 52; Uhlirz, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, pp. 174-177, 257, says that Taranto was captured. There is no reliable evidence that Otto captured Bari on this campaign, or even that he was closer to the city than Matera and Taranto; see Gay's remarks, <u>Italie</u>, p. 334.

Empress Theophano and the court in Rossano, and proceeded to march south, and finally encountered the Muslim forces. After a first brief encounter, these forces shut themselves up in a fortified town, from which Otto drove them. Later on, he met the entire army; the first impetus was successful, the Muslim center gave way, and Abū al-Qāsim was killed. But then the Saracens rallied, and the German forces suffered a truly crushing defeat. Otto himself escaped alive, although most of the army was killed or captured: He escaped the battle-field, and managed to get out to a Greek ship that was passing, and was taken aboard. The captain wanted to take Otto to Constantinople, but was persuaded to make a stop at Rossano so that the Empress Theophano and the treasure could be brought on board. At Rossano, however, the Emperor escaped from the ship by a clever trick, and rejoined the court.

As to the effects of the battle, one can only say that it was a misfortune for both the Germans and the Arabs. The Germans suffered a loss of prestige, and with most of the army lost, Otto was forced to leave southern Italy. He was back at Rossano after the battle, from there he made his way to Salerno and Capua, then to Verona, and finally to Rome, where he died

¹Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 269-270; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, p. 478; Ibn Khaldūn, p. 482; Abū al-Fidā', p. 410; Ibn CAdsari, Al-Bayān, p. 369; cf. Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 340; AnBen₂ ad an. 982, p. 126. In view of the complete agreement between the Latin and Arabic sources on the identity of Abū al-Qāsim, amīr of Sicily, it is not possible to entertain seriously the hypothesis, recently advanced, that Bullicassimus is to be identified with some Slav by the name of Vulkašim, who had crossed the Adriatic to fight Otto, but is otherwise unknown to any source; see Guillou, Aspetti, p. 313.

on 7 December 983, leaving as heir his three-year-old son, Otto III, and an empire faced with dissension because of the perceived weakness of the central authority. The Saracens lost the amīr, and had to return home. As a result, they were occupied with internal difficulties, and did not raid in Byzantine territory for several years: Lupus records the next raid at 986. This fact may explain why the south Italian chronicles regard the battle as a victory for Otto, when all other sources call it a disaster. The Byzantines reaped all the advantages from the conflict, for with the Germans and Arabs both otherwise occupied, the Byzantines were able to enter into control of all southern Italy, without challenge. 1

The place and date of the battle have occasioned some controversy. First of all, Lupus calls the place 'civitas Columne', while Romualdo of Salerno calls it Stilo, which in Greek means 'column'. Amari originally favored Stilo, but later changed his opinion, and identified the battle-ground as Capo Colonna, near Crotone, while Gay favored Crotone itself. Either site would satisfy the scanty descriptions in the chronicles, and the area of Capo Colonna-Crotone is, according to Amari, at about the limit of the day and night's sailing time mentioned by Thietmar between the place where the Emperor was picked up and Rossano, while Stilo is considerably further off. The date, too, has been disputed, but

¹Sickel, 'Itinerario', pp. 302-303; Böhmer, <u>Urkunden</u>, pp. 32-33; Uhlirz, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, pp. 180, 259; cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 340-341; Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 394-395.

Ibn al-Athīr says that the date was 20 Muharram 372 H, which converts to 15 July 982. Thietmar, on the other hand, prefers three Ides of July, or the thirteenth. In any case, since the Muslim chroniclers in general are more accurate in their dating (and the more so in the case of the death of a martyr) than are the Latins, Ibn al-Athīr's date would be preferable. But there are some Latin sources that cite the fifteenth, as Uhlirz points out. Thus the time and place of the battle are 15 July 982, and probably Capo Colonna.¹

85-86 Kalokyros Delfina is the first of the Catepans mentioned by Lupus, although he is the fifth man to bear the title in Bari. The title is itself an indication of an administrative change (see the Introduction). The brothers Sergio and Teofilatto are perhaps to be identified with the protospatharius Sergius killed by the Baresi on 15 February 987, and with the Teofilatto taken prisoner by the catepan Gregory Tarchaneiotes in 999. Delfina took back Ascoli in December 982. His official titles are preserved in a document he issued in August 983 in favor of the Bishop of Trani: Anthypatus patricius and Catepan of Italy. After being relieved by Romanus sometime in indictional 985, Delfina took part in a rebellion and paid for it with his life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 84 no. 32 and pp. 168-169, document no. 19.

¹Romualdo salernitano, <u>Chronicon</u> ad an. 981, p. 168; Thietmar, <u>Chronicon</u> III 21, pp. 124-127; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 337; Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 378 notes 4 and 5, and additional bibliography there cited; cf. Sickel, 'Itinerario', pp. 296-297; Uhlirz, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, pp. 260-261.

Otto died on 7 December 983, indiction 11, so Lupus is once again mistaken by a year.

It is the fact that Bari was taken by this catepan that tells us that it had been in rebellion and out of Byzantine control.

- 87 A Romanus is named as governor of the Byzantine provinces in the <u>Vita s. Sabae iunioris</u>, and is blamed for driving many towns over to Otto's side. Falkenhausen suggests that the author of that work may have confused the names of two catepans who were in office just a few years apart; that is, the Romanus mentioned here, and someone else; but she goes on to point out that the name Romanus is so common that one can not exclude the possibility that there were two catepans by the same name who held office in Byzantine Italy in a short period.<sup>1</sup>
- According to the <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Greek, the date is 1 September, indiction 14, our 1 September 985. Lupus, using the indictional year, is correct in his dating. 'Ayía Kuguará is the Greek name of Gerace. The <u>Cambridge</u> <u>Chronicle</u> notes that another town taken in the same raid was Bovalino.<sup>2</sup>
- 89 Sergio the protospatharius may be the Sergio, brother of Teofilatto, who handed Bari over to Kalokyros Del-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 83-84, nos. 31 and 33, and pp. 167-168, document no 18; <u>Vita s. Sabae iunioris</u>, c. 22. 

<sup>2</sup>Cambridge <u>Chronicle</u>--Greek, p. 340; Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 395 and note 3, p. 396; Romualdo salernitano, <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 987, p. 170.

fina in 982, but the identification is not certain. It is not known why he was killed by the Baresi.

'Mortuus est' is strange Latin indeed for 'occisus est'; it may be a reflection of a Greek source, for in Greek the verb θνησκειν, to die, was used with passive forms and a construction of agency to mean 'to be put to death', and was used particularly in judicial contexts. Nicholas was a κειτής, or judge, and again, the Greek form of the title leads one to think of a Greek source. Adralisto and the reason for his death are unknown. 1

Lupus normally records events in the indictional year in which they occurred, or anticipates the true date by one or two indictions. The only eclipse visible in Bari in the period so limited was Oppolzer's number 5213, of 18 May 988. The maximum phase of this eclipse, visible around 14:55 local solar time, had a value of about 1.7.2 The eclipse, then, is misdated; whether the two other incidents are recorded correctly or not is a question that cannot be answered.

20 This incident is not recorded in other sources, but it is known that the Sicilians were active on the mainland in this period: The <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Greek notes the fall of Cosenza in this indictional year. The raids were therefore extensive, and covered all of Byzantine Italy.<sup>3</sup>

At this period the empire was beset with troubles on

¹See above, paragraph 85; see the remarks in the Introduction on the Greek construction.

<sup>2</sup>Oppolzer, Canon, pp. 210-211 and map 105.

<sup>3</sup>Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 340.

all sides, and with internal difficulties besides. There was a series of rebellions against Basil II, the Bulgarians were in arms again, and the Fatimids were expanding their power in the East. Basil could hardly have spared troops for the defense of Italy, when the core of the empire was so threatened. Further, the hostile actions in Italy were no more than a series of raids; there is no indication that the permanent conquest of territory was the goal of the Sicilians, as it was of the Bulgarians and Fatimids, so the threat in the West was far less grave than that in the East.

John Ammiropulos, anthipatus patricius, arrived in Bari in February 989; this notice in Lupus and a parallel one in the Anonymus barensis are the only sources to mention his arrival. Two documents are preserved from the period of his administration, which seems to have been rather long, since the next Catepan known to history is Gregory Tarchaneiotes, who arrived in Bari in indictional 998 (although there may have been a period between John's recall and Gregory's arrival-see paragraph 97). One document is a privilege for a church in Bari, the other for Montecassino.<sup>2</sup>

Leo of Canne is otherwise unknown, unknown too is the reason for his death. Nicholas the judge is probably the same who put to death Adralisto in 987, and Porfirio may perhaps be the murderer of Bishop Andrea of Oria in 979.

¹Ostorgorsky, <u>Byzantine State</u>, pp. 298-315; cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 367. ²Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 84 no. 34, and pp. 170-171, documents nos. 24-25; <u>Anonymus barensis ad an</u>. 989.

The phrase 'mense februarii' has been adopted from the vulgar mss, as noted in the apparatus. The presence of a blank space in one of these, and the specification of February in three of the others, led us to believe that there may have been such a phrase in the original from which the vulgar mss derive. Since the vulgar mss seem not to have added anything to the chronicles in translating them, it seemed that such a phrase might well have been part of the authentic tradition, and so we have adopted the phrase.

- Bubales is unknown, as is Peter, although a document dated 1003 mentions a son of Peter the excubitus. The exkoubitoi, excubiti, exkoubitores, were one of the tagmata, or divisions of crack troops maintained by the empire. They were normally stationed in the capital and in nearby provinces, or in case of necessity, even further away. An analogy may be found in the armed forces of the United States: The tagmata would correspond to the regular army, and the themata to the National Guard of each State. The reasons for the deaths of Bubales and Peter are unknown.
- 23 Lupus and the identical passage in the Anonymus barensis are the only sources for this incident, in which the Saracen raids on Byzantine Italy are seen to continue. The Count Atto killed in this battle along with many Baresi is the same as the Atto mentioned by Lupus at paragraph 77.

Oikonomides, <u>Listes</u>, p. 330; Ahrweiler, 'Administration', pp. 24-32; Bury, <u>Administrative System</u>, pp. 57-60; cf. Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 122-123; CDB IV 16-17, no. 8.

Taking the two accounts together, one can deduce that there were two phases to the action; in the first, Atto and his troops were victorious, and put the Saracens to flight; in the second, these men turned and made a stand at Taranto, and defeated their pursuers. The background of this incident is unknown, and among the intriguing questions that arise from it is that of how the son of the Marquis of Spoleto happened to be leading troops from Bari. One may speculate that in face of a common enemy, some accommodation was reached.

- 24 This is the only notice about this famine and the high price of grain. The readings 'et annone caritas' is accepted on the strength of the witnesses S and C, while the other vulgar mss reflect only a part of C's reading. The full text of C runs thus: 'fu gran carestia et fame per tutta Italia', where the mention of fame and transitation together, although they mean approximately the same thing, seems to reflect a text much like that of S, albeit misinterpreted. The other vulgar mss have no tautology, for they omit the words 'et fame'. This is one of the passages whose presence in the vulgar mss could be interpreted as a reflection of an influence from theta on delta, although arguments against such an influence are equally strong. See the discussion in the Introduction, and the stemma codicum.
- 95 Chrysostom's succession to Pao seems to have been totally regular and without incident. Again, Lupus and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Anonymus barensis ad an. 991; cf. Amari, Storia II 396, and Gay, Italie, p. 368.

parallel passage in the <u>Anonymus</u> are the only sources to mention this matter, although Chrysostom is mentioned in several documents. From the name one may speculate that Chrysostom may have been Greek.

There is no mention of this incident in the 12, 96 Arabic sources. Among the Latin sources, only the three Bari chronicles and Romualdo of Salerno speak of it. The AnBa are incorrect in the year, but give the month when the city was taken; even so, there is a conflict between the two mss of the AnBa. The editor has chosen the variant offered by  $\underline{P}$ , 'mense septembris', and rejected the reading of ms  $\underline{U}$ , published by Pertz. Among the reasons for this choice is the fact that  $\underline{P}$  generally has more accurate readings than has  $\underline{U}$ , in those cases where it is possible to verify the account from other sources; thus one is led to believe that the same would hold true even in cases where there is no possibility of controlling the reading in other accounts. Another reason is the fact that September is quite late in the year to start a siege, at least in an era when the campaigning season was normally over by the beginning of winter. Perhaps the copyist who first wrote 'December' had in mind the months of the year, rather than the length of the siege (December is the fourth month of the indictional year). At any rate, September seems the better reading for the end of the siege, on both historical

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 154, and the bibliography there cited; and p. 171, document no. 27; Gams, Series, p. 856.

and palaeographical grounds.1

This entry presents some difficulties in inter-97 pretation. It seems that Lupus may have made his usual twoyear dating error. In this case, the Excoubitos Theodore can be identified with Theodore, the imperial Excoubitos of Longobardia, who in indictional 998 set up an official commission in the town of Lucera. Now if someone other than the catepan is exercising functions that normally would belong to the governor, one may believe that he is acting in some extraordinary situation. Falkenhausen suggests that he is the topoteretes, or lieutenant, of the catepan, and is acting between the recall of John Ammiropoulos and the arrival of Gregory Tarchaneiotes. His murder may then be seen as the price he paid for abuse of This may be the correct interpretation of the events. In any case, it seems that the commander of the detachments of the tagmata stationed in the provinces were called topoteretai. In the provincial organization before the reform which changed the title of the governor from strategos to catepan, the persons who were immediately inferior to the catepan were the tourmarchai, who were also called merarchai; one of these, the merarches, was always with the strategos, and could assume command of part of the army. We suggest, then, that the word in the text, marco, may represent the result of a twofold confusion: First, the recently obsolete term merarches may have been written in place of the newly correct term topoteretes, especially

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Romualdo Salernitano, <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 994, p. 171, and Garufi's note 5.

since the functions of the new topoteretes were analogous to those of the old merarches. Given the time and place in which the chronicle was written, one may assume that the word was written with the standard abbreviation for er, thus: marca. In subsequent transcription, the abbreviation was probably ig-The ending in  $-\underline{o}$  instead of the  $-\underline{a}$  or  $-\underline{i}$  to be expected from a Greek word in -ns may be seen as an attempt to regularize the ending of what was now perceived as a masculine proper name. Yet another explanation is available in the reading of the Anonymus barensis, which has Macro Theodoro, taking the form in question as the Greek augmentative prefix: 'Big Ted', as it In this case, Lupus' reading may be explained by the common phenomenon of the metathesis of adjacent consonants in a Greek word. In general, the probability of an explanation's being true is inversely proportional to its complexity; but in the present case, since Greek sources were used for some parts of the chronicle, and both Greek and Latin were in use among the population, either proposal may be correct; hence the unresolved archetypal reading between obeli.1

Although Pietro is not mentioned again, Smaragdo is seen in the next paragraph dealing with a Saracen, and entering Bari by force, and in paragraph 100 is seen captured by the new catepan, Gregory Tarchaneiotes. Although his ultimate

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 117-118, 122; Bury, Administrative System, pp. 41-42, 51-52; Ahrweiler, 'Administration', pp. 24-32, 80-81; Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 108-109 note 65, 110-111 note 69, 329, 341. It is generally thought that the tagmata stationed in the provinces were independent of the governors; if this was indeed the case, then the situation presented by the Excoubitos of Longobardia's exercise of civil authority as the catepan's topoteretes seems to be an anomaly.

fate is unknown, one suspects that it may not have been pleasant. Although a person by this name signed a foundation document for a monastery in the year 992, as imperial protospatharius with the function of topoteretes, and another person by the same name appears as imperial krites, the identification of either with this troublemaker seems unlikely; further, the name is rather common in Byzantine Italy, and the document signed by Smaragdo the topoteretes is signed also by Smaragdo the 'adbocator'.'

Busitu may have been named Abū Sacīd, as Amari suggested, but more likely was Abū as-Sayyid, since Nallino notes that the pronunciation of that name at the time would have been 'Bū-s-Sīd' -- and this name occurs in Greek and Arabic documents from Sicily, in various Greek transcriptions. The connection between Smaragdo and this qā'id, or military commander (Amari translates 'condottiero') seems to be that after the murder of Theodore the culprit fled to the Saracens, and then returned to Bari with their help. The 'porta occidentalis' is the one called 'porta vetus' on the map, and the road leads to Canosa and Bitonto. What precisely Smaragdo and Abū as-Sayyid had in mind is a matter for speculation; if their intention was to take the city by storm or surprise, then they obviously failed.<sup>2</sup>

'Codice cupersanense, pp. 60-62, no. 27; CDB I 14 no. 8; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 396 and Nallino's note 5; Musca, 'Espansione', p. 48, and map, p. 64; cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 368, who goes perhaps too far in his assertions, which seem to be speculation rather than deductions based on the sources.

- of protospatharii to hold the position of catepan of Italy, and he filled the office for quite a long time, from indictional 999 to July 1006, when his successor arrived in Bari. Gregory is also the first representative known to history of a family that distinguished itself in the course of the following centuries. Still preserved are several documents from the time of his administration, dated between 998 and 1001. Nothing else is known of the siege of Gravina, but Teofilatto may be the one mentioned in paragraph 85, who turned Bari over to Kalokyros Delfina. Was he taken prisoner in Gravina?
- Smaragdo was captured, finally, and one may assume that he atoned for his murder in a rather unpleasant way. Otto II died in Rome on 23 January 1002. The fact that Lupus has misdated the death of Otto does not mean that he also misdated the capture of Smaragdo, but there is no way to verify the date from other sources.<sup>2</sup>
- 12-101 Saphi may be the rebel Luke referred to in a diploma of Gregory Tarchaneiotes as the <u>kaphirios</u> (from the Arabic kāfir, adherent of a non-Muslim religion); Luke had terrorized the area around Tricarico in Lucania at the head of a band of Muslim soldiers from Sicily. The form Safi may be a bad reading of the Greek vestion of the Arabic term, but the <u>s</u> in place of the <u>k</u> and the absence of the <u>r</u> tend to argue

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 84-85, no. 35, and pp. 171-173, documents nos 26-31.

<sup>2</sup>Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 415.

against this explanation, particularly since many, if not quite all of Lupus' errors in names of non-Latin derivation seem to originate in phonetic rather than in literal confusion. Amari speaks of this siege, and names the leader Safi, but Nallino suggests the form Sāfī. The fact that the man in question is characterized as apostate and qā'id indicates that he is a former Christian now leading a Muslim military force. Falkenhausen notes that there is little likelihood that more than one such could be operating in Byzantine Italy at the same time, and so identifies known renegade Luke with the otherwise unknown apostate and qā'id Safi; this is an identification which seems completely justified by the sources available. The name Safi, however, can be better explained with reference to the Arabic name Sāfī than with reference to a misreading of kaphirios; could Luke not have adopted such an Arabic name on becoming Muslim?

The siege of Bari began on 30 May (adstante maio secunda die) and lasted until 22 September (usque ad decimum Kalendas octobris). Lupus' date for the end of the siege, the feast of St. Luke, or 18 October, finds no echo in any independent source, and may be no more than a reflection of Sāfī's Christian name, now hopelessly confused. The AnBa and Lupus seem to contradict each other when they speak of the year of these events, for the AnBa speak of 1003, while Lupus speaks of 1002. But the contradiction is only apparent. Lupus reports the entire action in the indictional year in which it was begun, 1002,

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 52 and p. 173, document 31; Guillou-Holtzmann, 'Katepansurkunden', pp. 6-8, 12-19; Amari, Storia II 397 and Nallino's note 3.

while the AnBa choose to record the incident in the indictional year in which it ended, 1003. This date, 1003, indiction 1, finds confirmation in an inscription from the harbor of Vieste, a small port at the tip of Gargano. The inscription recounts that on 3 September 1003, indiction 1, the Doge Pietro stopped in Vieste on his way to relieve the city of Bari from a Saracen siege (it also says that he had with him a hundred ships). Johannes Diaconus of Venice, a contemporary of the events, notes the relief of Bari in the year 1004, the tenth of Doge Pietro; but in this he contradicts himself, for earlier in the chronicle he noted Pietro's accession at the year 991. According to the calendar then in use in Venice, the year 991 ran from our 1 March 991 to our 29 February 992; even so it does not necessarily follow that Johannes Diaconus would have counted 1001 as Pietro's tenth year, since it was the custom in some places to count as the first regnal year the full calendar year next following the coronation or accession of the ruler in question. Johannes' 1004, then, is simply a mistake, and can not stand against the tenth year of Doge Pietro (1001 or 1002), the Vieste inscription, and the Bari chronicles.1

¹Johannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., pp. 148-149, 165-167; the inscription is from V. Giuliani, Memorie storiche, politiche, ecclesiastiche della città di Vieste (Naples 1768), p. 63, as reproduced in Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 52-53, note 387; Cappelli, Cronologia, p. 10; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 428; Gay, Italie, pp. 368-369, favored 1003 and totally misinterpreted the dating clauses, so that he says the siege began early in May, and lasted until 20 September; Amari, Storia II 397 accepted the year 1004; Falkenhausen, loc. cit., speaks of the year 1003; Hirsch and Bresslau, Jahrbücher, p. 145 and note 2, adopt 1002; Sickel, 'Itinerario', pp. 306-307.

The details of the siege, few as they are, come from the chronicle of Johannes Diaconus. Pietro II Orseolo learned of the siege of Bari, and ordered preparations for its relief. He left Venice with the fleet on 10 August, and drew near to the city of Bari on the eighth day of the Ides of September. This converts to 6 September, but there may be some confusion, because in the next paragraph the chronicler has the relief expedition arrive on the feast of the Nativity of Mary, or 8 September. Either the fleet was drawing near to Bari on the sixth, but did not actually enter the harbor until the eighth; or the word 'Idus' has crept into the text where it should not be or perhaps the transmission of the numeral suffered, and eight came to be written for an original six. At any rate, Pietro was welcomed with great joy after the fleet entered the harbor unharmed after being attacked; he brought fresh supplies for the city as well as the fleet and its forces. He worked out a plan with the catepan, Gregory Tarchaneiotes, and the citizens: Armed men were sent out into the suburbs, and a naval attack was launched; after a three-day battle, the Saracens saw that they were beaten, and sneaked away during the night.1

To return to the dating: If the Venetians and Baresi set to battle at once, then the three days of battle might be the sixth, seventh, and eighth of September, and so the contradictory dates given by Johannes Diaconus could be reconciled. But the result can not be reconciled with the Bari chronicles,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Johannes Diaconus, <u>Chron. ven.</u>, pp. 165-167; cf. the other works cited in the last note.

which put the final deliverance of the city much later in the month. The following chronology for the events here recounted seems the most likely:

Siege begun ('adstante majo secunda die', 30 May 1002 Lupus); Pietro sets out from Venice with a fleet 10 August of 100 vessels ('sancti Laurentii in solempni die', Johannes Diaconus;
'cum naues C', Vieste inscription);
Pietro and the fleet are at Vieste ('Septi: 3 September die III', Vieste inscription); The fleet enters the harbor of Bari after 8 September fighting off the Saracens who try to prevent the relief of the city ('in suae [sc. sancte Marie] natiuitatis festo', Johannes Diaconus); After three days of battle by land and 22 September by sea, the Saracens acknowledge defeat by sneaking away by night (the twenty-second may be the date the flight was discovered, rather than the date on which it occurred).

Venice's intervention is explained by the fact that it had received important concessions in the empire in return for an agreement to defend the empire if necessary. Even without a formal arrangement of that sort, Venice would have been quite interested in Bari, since the power that controlled that city was in a position to close the Adriatic to the Mediterranean; it would hardly have been to Venice's commercial advantage to have such a city controlled by any but a friendly power. 1

There is no other notice about this event; it seems to be just another in the continuing series of Saracen raids on Byzantine territory. Montescaglioso lies to the SSE

Jahrbücher, p. 145 and note 3; R. Cessi, 'Venice to the Eve of the Fourth Crusade', CMH-IV/1, pp. 267-269; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 369.

of Matera, at a distance of 12.5 km/7.5 mi in a straight line; the town is about 23.5 km/14.1 mi from the sea.

103 According to Skylitzes, Dyrrachium had fallen to Samuel of Bulgaria late in the 990's, but was handed back to the Byzantines before the year 1000. Since Lupus does not report any other event later than its occurrence, it is not likely that he has done so here; thus Skylitzes' account and Lupus' probably do not refer to the same incident. Lupus' is the only reference to this matter. But it is well known that the sources for the hostilities between Bulgaria and Byzantium before Basil II's final defeat of Samuel are rather scanty, and so this event cannot be discounted merely because Lupus is the only source to mention it.1

104-105 Little is known about Alexius Xiphias.

Lupus records his arrival in July 1006, and his death in Bari in 1007. This can be limited to the period between March, when he issued a document, and 31 August, the end of the indictional year. He belonged to a family that gave the Empire several military functionaries at this period.<sup>2</sup>

John Curcuas arrived in Italy in May 1008, and died sometime between 1 September 1009 and March 1010, when his successor, Basil Mesardonites, arrived. It is true that the AnBa mention Curcuas as governor at the time of the outbreak of Meles' rebellion, which they date to 1011; but since

¹Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 342-343; Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine</u>
<u>State</u>, p. 310.

²Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 85 no. 36 and pp. 173-174, documents nos. 32-34a.

there is a record of a document issued by Mosardonites in August 1010, it is evident that the entry in the AnBa is mis-dated.

107, 14 Lupus dates the outbreak of the rebellion in 1009, indiction 8. The AnBa choose 1011, but say that it was against Curcuas, who died between March and August 1010, (see parag. 106). Skylitzes also chooses the year 1011, but he telescopes the account of the entire course of the rebellion from its inception to its suppression (1009 to 1018) into a few brief sentences; he is probably as unreliable for this matter as are the AnBa. The AnBen, agree with Lupus in assigning the hard winter to the year 1009. Although Skylitzes also notes a hard winter before this rebellion, it does not necessarily follow that the winter that was difficult in southern Italy was also difficult in Constantinople. Lupus' dating is definitely preferable here, since it can be corroborated by independent documents.

Bitetto can be found on the map at a distance of about 15 km/9 mi SW of Bari. The battle that took place in this small town was probably Melo's first success against Byzantium.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad ann. 1009, 1010, p. 130; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 348.

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 85 no. 37 and pp. 174-175, documents nos. 35-36a, 37.

associates this success at Bitetto with the taking of Bitonto noted in the <u>Annales beneventani</u> published by Pertz (MGH-SS III 173-185), p. 177, at the year 1009, but this notice is taken from Pratilli's forgery; see Bertolini, <u>AnBen</u>, pp. 11-12, note 1.

what happened in Irsina is not entirely clear. Ismael may or may not be Meles; some German sources give him this name, and so do the AnBens. Whether the Ismael mentioned here is Meles or some Arab (we have seen that Ismael may be applied to any otherwise anonymous Arab), the notice in the AnBa is the only record of this action. The fact that Cosenza was taken by the Saracens in August 1009 shows that there was hostile activity from that quarter, and so Saracen involvement at Irsina can not be categorically excluded. Chalandon would like to see in this incident evidence of an alliance between Meles and the Saracens, and cites the precedent of Smaragdos and his friends.

Is the Patianos who is said to have fallen at Irsina the same Patianos whose demise is reported also in 1017? If so, then in one account or the other there is a gross error. The simplest solution, to be sure, is that favored by Chalandon, who rejects the identification. The sources are too scanty to provide a definitive solution, and in such a situation there is no reason to assume that either of the chronicles is inaccurate.<sup>2</sup>

Lupus' note that the Saracens' taking Cosenza was in

<sup>&#</sup>x27;AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 1017, p. 131; Chalandon, <u>Domination nor--mande</u>, pp. 43 and 54-55 note 6; Chalandon apparently overlooked the entry in the <u>AnBen<sub>2</sub></u> since he asserts that Ismael appears for Meles only in the German sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 44, 55-56 note 6; Mathieu, <u>Wm. Ap.</u> I 74-76 commentary, p. 265, also declines to make the identifications that were nevertheless adopted by Hirsch, <u>Annales</u>, p. 5 and Bresslau, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, p. 328. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, and Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, do not address the question.

violation of some pact is a most interesting bit of information, since it shows that some sort of agreement had been worked out between the Byzantines and the Saracens of Sicily (or Africa). In the Arab chronicles there is no notice about this capture of Cosenza, but Amari speculates that the qā'id was probably named Sa<sup>C</sup>īd.<sup>1</sup>

Basil Mesardonites arrived in March 1010; his earliest document of which a record remains is dated in August of that year. His last document is dated August 1016, and Lupus notes his departure in indictional 1017, just before an event which he dates in November. So the length of Basil Mesardonites' tenure is from March 1010 to sometime between August and November 1016.<sup>2</sup>

André Guillou has identified Basil Mesardonites as the author of an official dedicatory inscription now found in the Museum of the Basilica di S. Nicola in Bari. From the titles Basil applies to himself, it follows that he has some connection with the imperial family. From this fact, Guillou argues fairly persuasively for the identification of Basil Mesardonites with the Basil Argyros whom Basil II sent to southern Italy to quell Meles' rebellion, according to the account of Skylitzes.<sup>3</sup>

One would be happier with the identification if one knew why this catepan always used the surname Mesardonites,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Amari, Storia II 398.

Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 86 no. 38 and pp. 175-176, documents 37-39a.

Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 191-200.

at least in those documents which have come down to us and bear his name, rather than the name Argyros. Guillou speculates that Basil may have wished to avoid the use of a form that was a common personal name in Byzantine Italy, or that he may have preferred to use the name of his mother's family, or even that Mesardonites may have been his own family name, but that he was adopted by the Argyroi. In spite of this desideratum, the identification itself seems reasonable, and is accepted, for example, by Giosuè Musca in an article published in 1976. On the basis of this identification, the editor has accepted Guillou's suggestion that the text of Lupus at the year 1016 be emended from 'obiit in Butrinto' ('he died in Butrinto') to 'abiit in Butrinto' ('he went away to Butrinto'). The emendation takes into account the fact that Basil Argyros continued his career in the East at least until 1021-1022.1

Nothing is known of this Silitto, but the name is not uncommon in southern Italy. It is not clear what happened. Lupus says that Silitto did the burning, but the Anonymus, drawn from the same source as Lupus, says that Silitto and other men were burned in a tower by the inhabitants of Trani. Bresslau interprets this to mean that there was a victory for the revolutionaries in Trani, and that they then burned their enemies along with the tower in which they

Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 199-200; Musca, 'Espansione', pp. 50-51; N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites à Byzance', Byzantion 11 (1936) 32; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 354-355.

had taken refuge; but since Silitto is a south Italian, not a Greek name, the passage from the Anonymus could just as easily be interpreted to mean that the Byzantine party had won, and burnt the rebels in a tower. It is unfortunate that the sources are directly contradictory, and that even the contradictory accounts are susceptible of opposite interpretations. 1

This passage seems to be misdated, as was the 15 last notice from the AnBa. There is no corresponding entry in Lupus, but the Anonymus reports that in 1011 Mesardonites worked on the government building. It would be strange had the catepan set about the reconquest of the capital only after being in Italy for three years; the project would require greater priority that that. The siege, then, began on 20 April 1011, and lasted until 18 June of the same year. Leo Ostiensis says that the Baresi were unable to put up a long resistance to the large army sent from Constantinople, and that they basely surrendered themselves and their city to the catepan, and tried, moreover, to hand Melo over as well. But he anticipated this, and fled by night, along with his brotherin-law Datto; they went first to Benevento, then to Salerno, finally to Capua. Melo continued to try to find a way to free his homeland from the domination of the Greeks; Datto and his family went to Montecassino, and were settled finally

The index to any of the volumes of the CDB will show how common the name Silitto was in Byzantine Italy. Bresslau, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, p. 148; cf. Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 44, and Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 402.

in a papal tower on the Garigliano. In the meantime, Melo's wife, Maralda, and their son, Argiro, were taken and sent to Constantinople.

The <u>castellum</u> was the seat of government. According to Guillou, the complex probably included not only the judicial and military headquarters of the province, but also the offices of the fisc; there was space for the guard, if not for the entire garrison, almost certainly a prison, and several churches or chapels (S. Eustrazio, S. Demetrio, S. Basilio, S. Sofia), and even arable land within the walls. The site of the complex is now occupied by the Basilica di San Nicola. The Bari inscription cited in the commentary on paragraph 108 bears out the notice of the Anonymus, that Mesardonites worked on the structure.

The clause 'where the Greek magnates now have their headquarters' ('ubi sedes est nunc Grecorum magnatum') is an indication that this section of the chronicle (or its source) was written down while the Greeks were still in control of the city.

109 Henry II was crowned in Rome on 14 February 1014. Lupus alone reports the incident at Cassano.<sup>3</sup>

110-111 Grumel lists a comet visible in Europe in February 1015.4

The Samuel mentioned here is the Tsar of Bulgaria,

Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 37, pp. 651-652.

<sup>\*</sup>Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 201-202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Böhmer, <u>Urkunden</u>, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, p. 472.

who had been waging war with Byzantium since the 990's. In
July 1014, the Bulgarian army was surrounded, many were killed,
and many taken prisoner. Samuel himself escaped. Basil II
had the captives blinded, and sent them back to Samuel. In
each group of one hundred men, there was a one-eyed guide.
Samuel collapsed on seeing these soldiers returning, and died
on 6 October 1014. He was succeeded by his son, Gabriel Radomir, who was murdered in 1015 by his cousin John Vladislav,
the son of Aaron.¹

Lupus and the Anonymus are the only sources to mention this siege of Salerno. Amari points out that a military rebellion in Sicily in 1015 had led to the weakening of the Sicilian army by the emigration or exile of large numbers of the standing force, and in consequence, the raiders at Salerno in 1016 must have come from Africa.

Basil Argyros whom Skylitzes names as one of the officers sent to Italy to quell Melo's rebellion. From another passage in Skylitzes, we know that this general was active on the Empire's eastern frontier about 1021, and thus it is clear that he did not die in Butrinto, as Lupus says he did. Guillou suggests that Lupus' text, 'obiit in Butrinto' ('he died in Butrinto'), be emended to 'abiit in Butrinto' ('he went away to Butrinto'). Now the text just cited, with the verb 'obiit' ('he died') is unquestionably the archetypal text, since all the mss agree

<sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 348-349; Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine</u>
<u>State</u>, p. 310.

2Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 399.

on the reading. Furthermore, it makes sense as a statement, although it is in error; there is no anomaly of morphology or syntax. In such a context, a proposal for emendation must be scrutinized rather closely before it can be adopted.

The proposed emendation, from 'obiit' to 'abiit', is simple, a matter of one single letter. But the substitution of  $\underline{o}$  for  $\underline{a}$  is unusual in the Beneventan script, and hardly more likely in other scripts in which the chronicle may have been copied. Even as a phonetic phenomenon, such an exchange Guillou indicates that a Greek source is not entirely common. may lie behind this clause and the following one, and that is But from this probability he goes on to suggest that Lupus took an original  $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon$ , 'he went away', for  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon$ , 'he died'. It is true that the two words have several letters in common,  $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}\hat{\eta}\lambda\hat{\theta}\hat{e}$ ,  $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}\hat{e}\hat{\theta}$  we, yet it is difficult to imagine that the letter group  $\underline{\eta}\underline{\lambda}$  could be taken for  $\underline{\epsilon}$ , or that  $\underline{\alpha v}$  could drop out entirely; and even in a highly abbreviated script the two words would not have had the same configuration. This argument, then, seems palaeographically improbable. A better argument, one not advanced by Guillou, comes from the range of meanings of the verb ἀπέξχομαι. In both classical and later Greek, it meant not only 'go away', but also 'die'. Anyone who has ever studied a language not his own knows how easy it is to become confused on such matters, and to take a word in the other language in one of its significations not truly appropriate to the passage being dealt with. Guillou's suggested emendation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Guillou, <u>Aspetti</u>, pp. 191, 195-196.

has been accepted more on this semantic argument than on the much weaker palaeographic argument. Thus whoever read the original Greek source is believed to have taken  $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon$  to mean 'he died' (or 'he passed away') rather than 'he went away'. which would have been more appropriate in the context. Although no corruption is evident from the text as it stands, since the passage is correct in morphology and syntax, and makes sense as a statement, yet the fact that it is erroneous leads one to suspect that all is not well, since Lupus is correct most of the time. Once suspicion is aroused, one begins to look about for possible clarifications of the situation. Since Lupus used Greek source material, it is quite likely that he used such a source for this passage; and if he did so, then he could have fallen into his error in the way suggested above. And on the strength of these arguments, the emendation has been received into the text.1

Butrinto was a port on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, on the mainland opposite the northern end of the island of Kerkira (Corfu). It is now a ruin, and lies just north of the border between Greece and Albania.

The next clause presents a somewhat different case, since anomalies of morphology or syntax are evident. The archetypal text is, 'et occisus est Leo frater Argiro'. How is it

as Butrint on the inset for the island of Korkira.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Guillou, <u>Aspetti</u>, pp. 191, 195-196; Lowe, <u>Script</u>, pp. 284-285; Liddell and Scott, <u>Lexicon</u>, and <u>Lampe</u>, <u>Lexicon</u>, s. v. ἀπέρχομαι.

to be understood? At first glance, it seems that 'Argiro' may be a frozen form used as a genitive; the sense would then be that the man who was killed was the brother of some Argiro. But if it were so, this would be the only instance in the whole chronicle where Lupus uses a second declension frozen form as It is regrettable that the name Argyrus does not occur in the genitive to provide a positive example, and that in consequence one can argue only from Lupus' use of other second declension names. But this practice is always to use the regular genitive ending, -i. Given this usage, it seems unlikely that Lupus intends a genitive by the form found in this passage. So what is it? On the assumption of a Greek source underlying the reading, Guillou suggests that the phrase be understood to mean 'his brother, Leo Argyros, was killed', which in Greek would probably have been written '  $\dot{\epsilon}\phi$ ove $\dot{\psi}\theta\eta$ Λέων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Άργυρός. Lupus would then have reproduced here, as in other passages mentioned in the Introduction, the word order of the Greek source. 'Argiro' is to be taken as a nominitive, part of the name 'Leo Argyros', and 'frater' is in apposition. The possessive was somehow lost, but for single words to drop out in the transmission of a text is not an uncommon phenomenon. In this particular case, where the archetypal text does not make clear sense as it stands, a solution to the difficulty is not only readily available, but also plausible both palaeographically and historically. Editorial intervention seems entirely justified, and so the archetypal text has been altered by the insertion of '<ejus>', and

the punctuation has been arranged in an appropriate way, to yield 'et occisus est Leo, frater <ejus>, Argiro'.¹

Kontoleon Tornikios had served as strategos of Cephalonia before his appointment as catepan of Italy, according to the compressed account of Skylitzes. His tenure in Italy was quite brief, less than a year: He arrived in May, and after three defeats at the hands of Melo and the Normans, was relieved in December. The first battle took place just after Tornikios' arrival, and Lupus' account leads one to believe that the leader of the Byzantine forces at this encounter was not the new catepan himself, but the commander of the imperial exkoubitoi stationed in the Catepanate of The battle had been prepared by Melo, Longobardia. had been busy in the years since his earlier defeat, trying to find some way to drive the Greeks from southern Italy. He may even have gone to Germany to seek help from Henry II, since Leo Ostiensis mentions that he went there twice -- the only trip the other sources mention is the one he made after his final defeat. At any rate, in 1016 or early 1017, Melo had an interview with a band of Normans who came to Capua. After finding out their situation, he made a military alliance with them, then went off to Salerno and Benevento to recruit other followers. With the combined forces, Melo entered Apulia, and

Guillou, Aspetti, p. 191.

won three victories over the Byzantines. The first battle took place in May 1017, and was fought, according to Mathieu, either in 1'Arenella or near the Colle d'Arena, a sandy hill a few hundred yards/meters from the Fortore. The second battle was fought on 22 June, at Civitate, and it seems that the commander of the Byzantines was the catepan himself, while Patianos died. In fact, Amato of Montecassino speaks of Byzantine reinforcements between the first and second battles, and that circumstance could be explained by Kontoleon Tornikios' joining the troops in the field and bringing the new troops at his disposal. Lupus alone calls this a Byzantine victory, and the fact that the next battle is deeper in Byzantine territory shows that Lupus has erred. Lupus does not mention the third battle, which at a place which Leo Ostiensis calls Vaccarizza; the form is reflected in Amato and in a later official document. The place has been identified as a location somewhere to the east of Troia, where there was once a church dedicated to S. Giusta: Mathieu notes that such a location is shown on Vendola's map, between Troia and Foggia. This battle, too, was a victory and the rebels. Leo Ostiensis says that Melo the Normans gave chase to the fleeing Byzantines, and pursued them as far as Trani. The forces of the rebellion then were in control of all of northern Apulia.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 348; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 86 no. 39; Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> II 37, pp. 651-653;

Lupus' second notice of the arrival of Kontoleon

Tornikios is probably due to the fact that he used several sources in compiling his chronicle.

Basil Boioannes arrived in Bari in December 1017, and was relieved in September 1028. His was one of the longest and one of the most successful terms as governor in Byzantine Italy, and included not only the suppression of Melo's revolt, but also the founding of several new fortified towns in northern Apulia to guarantee the defense of that region. Basil's surname appears in different forms in different sources, as was noted in the Introduction. Abalantes the patrician is unknown, as is his reason for coming

Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> I 21, p. 28; <u>Wm</u>. <u>Ap</u>. I 57-76 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 263-265 and 343-344; Angelo Caruso, 'Il sito della terza battaglia tra Melo e i Bizantini del 1017 e il diploma del catapano Boioannès per Troia del 1019', Byzantion 28 (1958) 421-431; Vendola, Apulia 1; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 410-411, Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 53-55, Bresslau, Jahrbücher, pp. 152-154 and 327-329, AnBen, and AnBen, ad an. 1017, p. 151. On the arrival of the Normans in Italy, see Einar Joranson, 'The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy -- Legend and History', Speculum 23 (1948) 353-396; the author collects and evaluates the texts regarding the arrival of the Normans in Italy, and distinguishes one French and two Italian traditions. According to the Italian traditions, the first Normans were pilgrims on their way home, and arrived either in Salerno or on Monte Gargano; they were then invited to recruit other Normans and to come and take Apulia from the Greeks. The French tradition says that the first Normans in Italy went there because they had incurred the wrath of their feudal lord, and fled their homeland. Joranson argues persuasively that only the French tradition is historical. Earlier writers defended one or the other of the Italian traditions, or tried to reconcile them and the French version; some of them rejected the Italian traditions, but without reaching Joranson's sweeping conclusions. Mathieu cites Joranson, but apparently does not adopt his conclusions (Wm. Ap. I 11-27 com., pp. 261-262).

to Italy. It should be noted that Lupus gives us only his title, patrician (a higher title than Boioannes' protospatharios), without telling us what his function was. Giannazzo and Romualdo are completely unknown from other sources. Ligorius the topoteretes may have had the function of lieutenant governor, or he may have been the commander of a division of one of the tagmata stationed in Italy.

114, 16 Lupus' dating is to be preferred to that of the AnBa, since Melo died in Bamberg on 23 April 1020.2

Canne was located about 8.5 km/5.1 mi from the mouth of the river Ofanto, on the right bank. The battle fought there in October 1018 (indictional 1019) was a decisive defeat for Melo and the Normans, and marked the collapse of the revolt. Melo sent some of the surviving Normans to Salerno, and others to Benevento, and then went to Bamberg to try to persuade Henry II to intervene personally in the affairs of south Italy, or at the very least to provide military aid for another attempt against the Greeks. But before anything could be done, Melo died. Henry had named him Duke of Apulia, either on this occasion, or sometime earlier (when he had sought aid before, or at Henry's coronation).3

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Mathieu, 'Noms grecs', pp. 299-301, and <u>Wm. Ap.</u> I 84-86 com., p. 265; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 86-87, no. 40, and pp. 176-183, documents nos. 40-49, also 'Boioanne, Basileios' <u>DBI XI 227-229</u>; our Introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Notae sepulchrales babenbergenses, ed. Ph. Jaffé MGH-SS XVII (Hanover 1861) 640 and note 32; Ph. Jaffé, Monumenta bambergensia, Bibl. Rer. Ger. V (Berlin 1869) 37, 558.

TCI Italia 3; Wm. Ap. I 91-103 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 265-266; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 37, pp. 651-653; Amato, Ystoire I 22, pp. 29-30, says that there were Norman rein-

An immediate result of the battle was the reestablishment of Byzantine prestige in southern Italy. The Prince of Capua (where Melo had spent a lot of time during the period between his defeat in 1011 and his invasion of Apulia in 1017) sent a set of keys to the city to the Emperor in Constantinople, in token of his submission. New fortified towns were established in northern Apulia, among them Troia, Melfi, Dragonara, Civitate and Castel Fiorentino, to guarantee the defense of that part of the province, which had proved only too vulnerable to invasion.

115 The leader of this band of Saracens is unknown from other sources; he was active in Byzantine Italy from 1020 to 1025, but only Lupus and the Anonymus speak of him. Amari thought that Rayca was Apulian, not Arab.<sup>2</sup>

Whom Lupus means by the amīr who died in this year is not clear. On 14 May 1019, Jacfar, amīr of Sicily, was deposed, and on 13 February 1021 the fanatical Fatimid caliph al-Hākim disappeared; could Lupus be referring to either of these? If he means Jacfar, then he has postdated the event, unless the notice be taken to mean that news of the matter reached Bari only after the beginning of the indiction, a circumstance not

<sup>2</sup>Amari, Storia II 401; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 417.

forcements before this battle; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 411-412; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 56-57; Bresslau, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, pp. 155, 329.

¹Cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 411-417, Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 57-60, Bresslau, <u>Jahrbücher</u>, pp. 156-157, and Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 55-56. Falkenhausen, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 177-179, document no. 41, describes and discusses a diploma dated June 1019, in which Boioannes sets the boundaries of the new city of Troia; the text may be found in Trinchera, <u>Syllabus</u>, pp. 18-20, no. 18.

at all impossible. If Lupus is speaking of al-Hākim, then he is once again anticipating. If, on the other hand, he is applying the term to Melo, something no other source does, then the use would have to be regarded as sarcastic and deprecatory. Melo in fact died on 23 April 1020, so Lupus is correct on this date. The title of Duke of Apulia was granted Melo by Henry II, as was noted in the commentary on paragraph 114.1

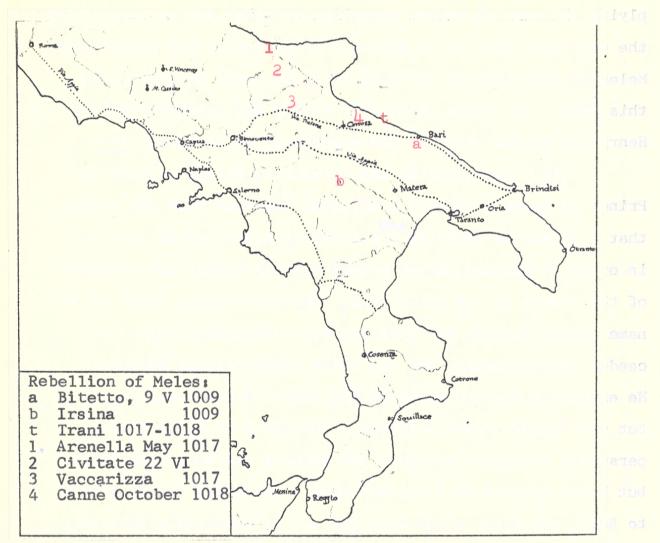
According to Leo Ostiensis, Boioannes sent the 116 Prince of Capua a large sum of gold, together with the request that a Byzantine force be permitted to cross Capuan territory in order to capture Datto, Melo's brother-in-law and co-leader of the revolt in its early days. The permission, asked in the name of the Empire, was granted, and a Byzantine force proceeded against Datto, who was taken completely by surprise. He endured a two day siege in his tower on the Garigliano, but was finally taken prisoner. The Abbot of Monte Cassino persuaded Boioannes to spare the Normans who were with Datto, but Datto himself he could not save. Datto was led in chains to Bari, and after a few days was put to death as a parricide: He was sewn into a sack and thrown into the sea. paragraph, Lupus provides the date of his entrance into Bari, and some details. Was the entry on an ass a parody of Christ's entry to Jerusalem intended to mock Datto?2

The following chronology of Melo's revolt is based

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>M. Canard, 'Al-Ḥākim bi Amr Allāh', EI-N III 50; Amari, Storia III .

SLeo Ostiensis, Chronica II 38, p. 653.

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<sup>18.</sup> Canapé, 'Al-Rakim bi Amor Allab', El-V lil 50; Amari, Storia lil ...
Storia lil ...
\*\*Lec Cotiensis, Chronica II 38, p. 653.

on the sources cited in the commentaries on paragraphs 107 through 116:

1009 May 9 Later	The revolt begins; Bitetto taken; Battle at Irsina;
1010 March Later	Basil Mesardonites arrives; Uprising in Trani;
1011 April 20 June 18	Mesardonites lays siege to Bari; Bari taken; the revolt collapses, Melo and Datto flee while Maralda and Argiro are taken and sent to Constantinople; Mesardonites reworks the government center;
1014 February 14	Henry II crowned;
1011-1016 (?)	Melo makes a trip to Germany to seek help from Henry II; perhaps on this oc- casion he receives the title of Duke of Apulia (if not in 1018);
1016 September- October	Basil Mesardonites departs;
1017 May	Kontoleon Tornikios arrives; Battle at Arenella or Colle d'Arena between the rebels and the Byzantines under Patianos, local commander of the exkoubitoi;
June 22 ?	Battle at Civitate; Patianos killed; Battle at Vaccarizza-S. Giusta, the Byzan- tines are pursued as far as Trani;
December	Basil Boioannes arrives;
1017-1018	Topoteretes Ligorius takes back Trani, which had rebelled;
1018 October	Battle at Canne, end of the revolt; Melo flees to Henry II;
1019 June	Troia and other cities founded;
1020 April 23	Melo dies in Bamberg;
1021 June ca. 10? 15 some days later	Datto captured; Led into Bari; Executed.

Melo was not the only pilgrim to Henry II's 117 Pope Benedict VIII also made the trip across the Alps to seek out the emperor in Bamberg and enlist his help. has been some speculation that Melo made the trip to Bamberg in the Pope's company, but the point can be neither proved nor disproved. At any rate, Henry decided to intervene. beginning of 1022, he was at Ravenna, while two other bodies of troops under the leadership of the archbishops of Aquileia and Cologne took other routes, and were to meet with Henry's group later on. The corps under the Archbishop of Aquileia had no difficulty in carrying out the mission assigned to it, but the group under the Archbishop of Cologne met some resistance in carrying out its task of securing the submission of the Campanian cities. Although the Abbot of Monte Cassino fled at the approach of this army, and the prince of Capua finally surrendered, Salerno resisted successfully a siege of Naples was pacified without difficulty.1 forty days.

The siege of Troia began early in April, and lasted through June. Henry finally had to abandon the siege without any results at all, for the newly-founded city resisted him without flinching, and was rewarded by Boioannes, who, in a document of January 1024, granted the city important privileges and exemptions because its people had shown such faithfulness to the empire during this siege.<sup>2</sup>

¹Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 62-63 and bibliography. 
³The document is summarized and discussed in Falkenhausen, 
<u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 181-182, no. 46; cf. Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 63-65, and Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 419-422.

- There is nothing in the Arab sources about this incident, but Amari suggests that the Arabic name reported as Jacfar may have been Abū Jacfar, a name by which the new amīr of Sicily, al-Akhāl, was also known. Palagiano is a small town NW of Taranto on the Via Appia, and Mottola is about 5 km/3 mi north of Palagiano. Apparently Boioannes built it to help contain raids from the direction of Taranto.
- There is no other record of the event in the cathedral of Acerenza. There would be no great miracle in the crucifix's breaking, so that 'great sign' seems the better translation.

It seems that Acerenza and Matera may have shared the same bishop at this period, while they form one diocese after 1444. Stefano II was bishop from about 978 to about 1029.

- 120 There is no other record of this hard winter.
- Following the defeat of Bulgaria, in the spring of 1018 the rulers of Croatia, the brothers Gojslav and Krešimir III, recognized Basil II as their overlord. He accepted their voluntary submission, bestowed on them the title of Patrician, and dismissed them with rich presents. Gojslav died not long afterward. In 1024 there was a revolution in Venice against the Orseolo. Šišić thinks that Krešimir may have taken advantage of the disorder and may have attacked some of the

¹TCI <u>Italia</u> 3. \*Gams, <u>Series</u>, p. 843.

Dalmatian cities, which Boioannes was required to defend.

To do so, he crossed the Adriatic with the Baresi, captured

Krešimir's wife and son, brought them back to Bari, and then
sent them off to Constantinople. Nothing more is known of the

Patricissa, who had this title from her husband's patriciate;
even her name is unknown.

Henry II died on 13 July 1024. Conrad II succeeded him, and was King of Germany from 8 September 1024, King from Italy from March 1026, and was finally crowned emperor on 26 March 1027. He died on 4 June 1039.

123, 17 Orestes the koitonites was one of Basil II's faithful eunuchs, according to Skylitzes. The koitonites was a functionary in the imperial bedchamber. Basil wanted to reconquer Sicily, and so sent this army ahead. Skylitzes notes that it was a large army, but does not name the contingents as do the AnBa; Russians, Vandals (Amari thinks these are probably Varangians), Turks, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Macedonians and others. These are tagmata composed largely of mercenaries, although the Macedonians are certainly recruited from within the empire; perhaps the 'others' mentioned in the AnBa are also Byzantine rather than foreign tagmata. Reggio was restored, according to the AnBa, and Ibn al'Athīr's account lends support to this notice; although he does not name Reggio specifically, he says that the Muslims were chased

<sup>1</sup>F. Šišić, <u>Geschichte der Kroaten</u> (Zagreb 1917), pp. 203-204; <u>Anonymus barensis ad an.</u> 1024.

2Grumel, Chronologie, p. 415.

out of Calabria, and quarters were built for the Byzantine army. From the Anonymus we learn that Boioannes and the Baresi even landed in Messina. When Basil II died in the evening of 15 December 1025, the plans for the reconquest of Sicily were abandoned, and as the AnBa say, all of these men returned with no results.

Both our chronicles are in error about the date. This is also the first entry where Lupus records an event after its occurrence. The correct dating is found in the Anonymus, who notes these events at 1025, and the death of Basil in indictional 1026, and therefore correctly. last series of clauses in the AnBa's entry presents some anomalies of grammar. Although there is no particular problem with the ablative absolute, 'peccatis prepedientibus', the nominative absolute that follows it, 'mortuus in secundo anno Basilius imperator', is the more surprising because of its nearness to a correctly used ablative absolute. The last clause begins with the relative 'qui', although one would have expected 'hi'. As was pointed out in the Introduction, the grammar of the chronicles no longer adheres to classical models; this 'sentence' is another example of that fact.

The Anonymus is more precise than Lupus in recording

¹Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 378; Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, pp. 301, 305; Amari, <u>Storia</u> II 423 and note 1, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 271-272; cf. Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 88-89, Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 428-429 and Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, p. 33; see Ahrweiler, 'Administration', pp. 24-36, esp. pp. 32-35.

the episcopal succession, because he notes that John died in June. He agrees with Lupus in calling John 'bishop', and Bisantius 'archbishop'. Indeed, it seems that it was only under Bisantius that the papacy recognized Bari as a metropolitan see. It is worth noting that, although historians have conceded that Bisantius was a Latin bishop, his seal is in Greek. Bisantius died in 1035.1

The archetypal text of the first clause reads, 124 'uenit Eustachius cum filiis basilico et mandatora'. is evidently something wrong with this, since the text as it stands has led previous editors (Caracciolo and Pertz) into thinking that the words following 'filiis' were proper names. It is known that persons in the imperial administration had the title of mandator, and that commands from the emperor could be called mandata. One is tempted at first to think that Eustace is an imperial mandator, βασιλικάς μανδάτωρ. there is the 'et' between the 'basilico' and 'mandatora'. Besides that, 'mandatora' would have be be an accusative, and there is no justification for that in the Latin text, nor would there have been in the Greek text which presumably underlies this reading. Lupus often uses the same frozen form for the nominative and accusative, but when he declines proper names, he gets the endings right. Instead, it seems that Lupus was

The text of the bull of John XIX, granting metropolitan rights to Bisantius, may be found in the CDB I 21-24, no. 13; see Gay, Italie, pp. 362, 427, Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 68-69 and 82 note 4, Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 152, 159, 183-184. For Bisantius' seal, see Laurent, Sceaux, pp. 730-731, no. 923.

probably using a Greek source, and that the -ra ending on 'mandatora' is the chronicler's misreading of the standard Byzantine abbreviation for the word basilikos, 'imperial': (It may be worth noting that the epigraphical and numismatic abbreviation for this word is R.) Further on in the text (paragraph 135, q.v.) is an instance in which the interpretation of -ra here suggested is the only one possible. We propose, then, that the 'basilico' written out in the text is to be understood as a marginal gloss on etalpha, that it was misunderstood, and so found its way into the text -- and at the wrong place (as often happens with glosses). The suppression of the gloss and the expansion of the abbreviation yield the text as printed: 'uenit Eustachius cum filiis {basilico} et mandato basilico' ('Eustace came with his sons and an imperial mandaton\*).1

The use of the phrase 'honorem catepani' is somewhat unexpected. The normal Greek word used in speaking of public offices was agia . Although one might have expected 'officium' as a translation, it must be remembered that the range of meanings of 'honos' is fairly well co-extensive with that of εξία. On the assumption that there was a Greek source for this passage, one can appreciate that Lupus' rendering is quite good -perhaps much better than he himself imagined.

Boioannes is recalled, along with Orestes. Falkenhausen

\*Cf. Lidell and Scott, <u>Lexicon</u>, and Lampe, <u>Lexicon</u>, <u>s. v.</u> áfía, with Lewis and Short, <u>Dictionary</u>, <u>s. v. honor</u>.

<sup>10</sup>ikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, pp. 298, 310; Lampe, <u>Lexicon</u>, <u>s. Y</u>.

tentatively identifies the new catepan as Christopher Burgaris. He is attested as catepan in a document dated September 1028 (indictional 1029), and was relieved by Pothos Argyros in July 1029. Part of the reason for his recall along with Orestes may well have been the defeat they suffered before Reggio. The fact that Christopher was already in Italy, and received the appointment to the office of catepan through an imperial messenger, leads one to speculate that he may have been the topoteretes, or lieutenant governor, under Boioannes. Could he have been in the field when his appointment came?

stantine VIII is 11 November 1028. The feast of St. Martin of Tours is celebrated on 11 November, while that of St. Martin I, Pope and Martyr, is celebrated on the twelfth. A close reading of the text of Skylitzes, however, would yield a somewhat later date. According to this text, Romanus and Zoe were married on the twelfth, and Constantine died some days later. Ostrogorsky dates Romanus' ascension to the throne to 15 November. Zoe was Constantine VIII's daughter, and her husband was Romanus III Argyrus.<sup>2</sup>

126 Raica appears again, this time in the company of the amīr of Sicily. The inhabitants of Obbiano bought peace by handing over the 'strangers' or 'outsiders'; Amari assumes, plausibly, that by this term Lupus means the members

\*Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 374; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 321-322.

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Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 87-88, no. 41, and 184 document no. 50; <u>Cambridge Chronicle</u>--Greek (ed. Cozza-Luzi), p. 86.

of the Byzantine garrison. Obbiano itself may be the town of Uggiano, as Gay suggested, a small town 32.5 km/19.5 mi E by S of Taranto (Uggiano Montefusco); Uggiano la Chiesa, however, lies 6 km/3.6 mi SW of Otranto. Gay means the first, but if 'Obbiano' has become 'Uggiano', then Lupus could be referring to either of these towns.1

- 127 Pothos Argyros may have been a relative of the new emperor, Romanus III Argyros. He arrived in Italy in July 1029, according to Lupus, and although the Anonymus notes his death in a battle with the Saracens in 1031, he issues his last Italian document in March 1032. Both Lupus and the Anonymus note the battle with Raica in Bari, but nothing else is known about it.<sup>2</sup>
- Guaimar IV of Salerno had been associated in the reign of his father, John II Lambert, from 988, and succeeded to the principality in 999. He died in March 1027. Here is another instance of Lupus' dating an event two years later than its occurrence, and in this case, it is mixed in with correctly dated events. It is evident, again, that Lupus used many sources.<sup>3</sup>
- 129 The capture of Cassano is confirmed by the Greek text of the Cambridge chronicle, which provides the

<sup>3</sup>Grume1, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 421.

¹Amari, Storia II 402; cf. Gay, Italie, p. 433, and Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 82; see Vendola, Apulia 2. ²Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 88 no. 42 and p. 184, documents nos. 51-53; K. M. Konstantopoulos, 'Ο κατεπάνω Ίταλίας Πόθος Ἄργυρος', Byzantis 2 (1912) 397-403; Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1029, 1031.

more precise date of 11 June. The date of the battle between Pothos Argyros and the Saracens is 29 July. Although many Byzantines may have fallen, Pothos was not among them, as was noted in the commentary on the last paragraph.

130 The new arrival is the catepan Michael. The two words recorded by Lupus in place of his name are an excerpt from his title, which was quite lengthy. His seal reads: πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτριμίνου τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰπποδρόμου καὶ βήλου τῶν οἰκειακῶν καὶ κατεπάνω Ἰταλίας. This collection of titles and charges indicates that Michael was one of the most important men in Constantinople, since he was one of the twelve superior judges at the tribunal of the Hippodrome, the most important court in Constantinople. The troops he brought with him were from the Anātolikon theme, although Ahrweiler's researches have shown that such names now indicated a tagma recruited in a particular geographic locality rather than a thematic army. <sup>2</sup>

and fought in Calabria and Sicily, but (as Falkenhausen points out) disappears from the sources after the arrival of George Maniakes in 1038. Although Skylitzes calls this catepan Leo, the documents that are preserved give him the name Constantine. The fact that the chronicles name him protospatharius while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>CDB IV table 1; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 88 no. 43, 185 document 54; Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, pp. 322-323, 196 note 209, 299, 305; Ahrweiler, 'Administration', pp. 34-35; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 434-435.

his title in the documents is patrician may indicate that he was promoted while he was in Italy.

Romanus III Argyros died on 11 April 1034.

Michael IV the Paphlagonian married Zoe and reigned from

12 April 1034 until 10 December 1041.2

Argiro may be the son of Melo. Certainly he was the most distinguished Barese of that name in this period. It was probably his return from exile that the Anonymus mentions at 1029, calling him 'Argiro senex'. In the passage parallel to the present entry in Lupus, the Anonymus calls the man in question 'Argiro veterano'; thus he specifies 'old Argiro' in both entries, almost certainly to identify the two. On the assumption that this is indeed Argiro the son of Melo, Guillou suggests that the reading of the archetypal text, 'obiit' ('he died'), be emended to 'abiit' ('he went away'), since Argiro the son of Melo was active well into the 1050's.3

The present notice and a parallel in the Anonymus are our only sources for this incident. The Anonymus gives bare facts: 'Obiit Bisantius archiepiscopus. Et electus est Romualt protospata. Postmodum missus est cum Petro fratre

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 88-89, no. 44, and p. 185, documents nos. 55-56,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 389-390; Psellos, <u>Chronographia</u> III 24-26, pp. 49-52; Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 358; cf. Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine State</u>, pp. 323-324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Guillou, <u>Aspetti</u>, p. 196; for more on Argiro see the commentary on paragraphs 134-136, 19. If the Anonymus is indeed speaking of Argiro the son of Melo, then from his language we have an indication of the period at which this section of the Anonymus was put together; some time during the late 1050's or in the 1060's, when Argiro was an old man, but before he died.

suo Constantinopoli; et postea electus est a cuncto populo Nicolaus, intronizatus est'. The AnBa indicate some of Bisanzio's achievements, and indicate the affection he enjoyed with his people. When the AnBa say that he was founder of the church of the bishopric of Bari, they probably are referring to his work on the cathedral, noted by the Anonymus in 1034. Since Pertz did not use ms  $\underline{P}$  for the AnBa, his edition omits the word 'episcopatus', and the faulty text has given rise to difficulties of interpretation, since it could be taken to refer either to the foundation of the archbishopric, or to the work on the cathedral. With the new text, it is clear that the work on the cathedral is intended. What precise incidents gave rise to the notice that Bisanzio was terrible and fearless against all Greeks? From his name, does it not seem that he is Greek himself? One can speculate that the clause means that Bisanzio resisted civil domination of his church, or perhaps that he declined to cooperate in efforts to detach his see from the Roman patriarchate; but without further data, these speculations remain just that.

Romualdo the protospatharius was domesticus and turmarch. The domesticus of a theme was a member of the governor's staff; Oikonomidès suggests that he may have been in command of a contingent of a tagma, at the disposal of the governor. The turmarch was the civil and military head of one of the major subdivisions of a theme. Thus it is abundantly clear that Romualdo was an extremely important local notable, even if we are not able to fix his offices with any greater precision than that

already achieved. Constantinople evidently wanted to block Romualdo's accession to the see of Bari; he might have proved uncontrollable. He was summoned to Constantinople, and the Anonymus notes that his brother Pietro was also sent there. This is not the only time that the two of them go to Constantinople, for in 1051 they oppose the newly appointed Duke of Italy, Argiro, and are sent to Constantinople in chains. Nicholas was then elected to the vacant see, on 9 August, although the dating clause is somewhat irregular with its mention of the word 'intrante', proper to the Bologna usage, along with the Julian date. A document of May 1036 shows Nicholas in his first year.

133 At this time Sicily was involved in a civil war. The amīr al-Akḥal had requested help from Byzantium, and had been given the title of μαγωτρος. But he was defeated and killed. Yet the island was still in a state of confusion, and the Byzantine forces were sent to make the most of the situation. George Maniakes, one of the Empire's most able generals, was the commander of the expedition, but was afflicted with Stephen, a member of the imperial family, as commander of the fleet. Among the troops taken to Sicily was a group of Normans sent by Guaimar of Salerno, led by Arduino the Lombard. This band of warriors left Byzantine service after suffering some insult from Maniakes, and returned to the mainland. The ex-

¹CDB I 17-19, no. 10; CDB IV 17 no. 8, 43 no. 21a, 51 no. 24; Cod. cav. VI 61 no. 911; Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 341; Ahrweiler, 'Administration', p. 37; Bury, Administrative System, p. 43; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 113.

pedition had considerable success at first, and most of eastern Sicily fell to the Byzantines. Then an argument broke out between Maniakes and Stephen, who had allowed the Arabs to escape by sea to Palermo after an important battle. Maniakes rebuked Stephen and struck him, and as a result of Stephen's charges against him, was recalled to Constantinople and thrown into prison. After that the expedition not only could not advance, it could not even hold on to what it had already won. By 1042 all was finished, and in the meantime Arduino and the Normans had been busy on the mainland, as we shall see further on.

Michael Spondyles is not to be identified with Michael Dokeianos, as Amari thought. The deformation of his name may be due to popular pronunciation [sfondilis]; the r may have come from mispronunciation, or from a reading error, particularly if a Greek ms source was used. The name Dokeianos in many ms readings has an 1, thus: Dukliano, and this letter also seems gratuitous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 405-407; Psellos, Chronographia VI 72, vol. 2, pp. 1-2, gives a description of Maniakes; Gay, Italie, pp. 436-437, 450-453; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 88-95; Amari, Storia II 438-453; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 71-73.

<sup>2</sup>Amari, Storia II 440; on Spondyles, see Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 370, 377-379 -- his participation in the Sicilian expedition is not mentioned; see also Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 72, note 544. Prof. N. Oikonomides suggested this solution for the orthography of Spondyles' name in conversation. In fact, the letters σφ would probably have been written more or less thus: σφ, and such a combination could later have been taken by an inexperienced reader in such a way that he would transcribe it into Latin with the letters sfr. In a similar manner, the 1 in Dokeianos name might have come from a bad reading of a Greek ms, where κει would probably have been written more or less thus: ως; again, an inexperienced reader might transcribe this as kli. It is regrettable that one does not know precisely how these names were pronounced in Byzantine Italy, for palaeographical speculations remain unsatisfactory.

134-136, 19 Nicephorus Dokeianos arrived in February 1039, and was killed on 9 January 1040 in a rebellion at Ascoli.

The 'conterati' were infantry armed with the a spear about fourteen feet long with a head of at least nine inches, and a thong towards the butt. In the present case, it is fairly clear that they are local troops, since their leader bore a name, Musando, that occurs with some frequency in south Italian documents. But the precise implications of these notices in the AnBa and Lupus are matters on which there is no agreement. Gay speculates that the conterati were local troops conscripted as reinforcements for the Byzantines in Sicily, that they refused to depart for the front, and instead rose in rebellion. Chalandon speaks of a rebellion of local militia, perhaps caused by new exactions. Guillou sees here an indication of the moment in which the administrative reforms (10th-11th cent.) noted by Ahrweiler were put into effect in Italy (i.e., thematic forces replaced by tagmata). The meaning of 'excutere' is chiefly 'shake out'; it can mean 'send away', or even 'to inspect' (one shakes the thing, something falls out): it can also mean 'disperse'. It seems that the catepan probably made a diligent effort throughout the province to gather these troops together, either for duty in Sicily or at home. The fact that they dispersed after taking Bari, that some of them were from as far away as Ascoli, tends to support this interpretation.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>J. F. Haldon, 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries', <u>BMGS</u> 1 (1975) 11-47; Oman, <u>History</u>, p. 48; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 118-121; Guillou, 'Italie byzantine', p. 174; Gay, <u>Italie</u>,

Who these conterati were, then, is not entirely clear. It is clear that they were local, and that they were light-armed infantry. It is also beyond a doubt that they mutinied or rebelled, and killed the catepan on 9 January, as well as the imperial krites. But whether they were the remnant of the thematic army, levies called up for the Sicilian campaign, or the militia of the cities, is an open question. They were finally dispersed after entering Bari on 25 May with Argiro, the son of Melo. Romano of Matera, Giovanni of Ostuni and Musando are otherwise unknown.

On Argiro, both the AnBa and Lupus show him working with the conterati at first, and then turning against them. The AnBa say that the conterati entered Bari with Argiro on 25 May, but do not mention that there had been a siege. Lupus notes a siege in May, after which Argiro enters Bari. According to the AnBa, Argiro turned against Musando and the conterati after the entry into Bari, while Lupus notes the entry into the city after Musando was taken prisoner. The Anonymus does not mention Musando. All three Bari chronicles declare that the conterati were dispersed.

Argiro was the son of Melo, who led the rebellion against the Byzantines from 1009 to 1018. In 1010, Argiro and his mother

pp. 454-455; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 96; Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, p. 335.

were taken to Constantinople; he did not return until 1029. He seems to have gone there again in 1034, if the notice in Lupus is correctly interpreted. He will play an increasingly important role in the events of Byzantine Italy in the next few years. 1

'published' by Gustave Schlumberger, of a Choirosfaktes, a judge of the Armenian legions in Sicily; no date is given. Schlumberger, however, does not publish the seal, but only mentions it, with a reference to an article by A. Mordtmann. This author, too, only mentions the seal, without publishing the inscription or assigning a date, but does note that the family is from the Peloponnese. If the owner of this seal should happen to be identical with the Michael Choirosfaktes killed by the conterati, then the position of this krites in the provincial administration would need to be reevaluated.<sup>2</sup>

20, 137 Michael Dokeianos arrived in Longobardia from Sicily, where he had been taking part in the campaign led by Maniakes, and had replaced him as commander, according to Skylitzes. He was to return there after being thrice defeated by the Apulian rebels and the Normans. He died in 1050 in a battle with the Pechenegs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Guillou, 'Production and Profits', p. 108; A. Petrucci, 'Argiro', DBI IV 127-129; L. Bréhier, 'Argyros', <u>Dictionnaire</u> d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris 1930) 94-95.

Ahrweiler, 'Administration', p. 86 note 1; Schlumberger, Sigillographie, p. 636; Am. Mordtmann, 'Plombs byzantins de la Grèce et du Péloponnèse', Revue archéologique n.s. 34 (1877:2) 48.

<sup>3</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 425-426; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 89 no. 46 and p. 186, document no. 57.

Dokeianos' first activity upon his arrival in the province, sometime between September and November, seems to have been a punitive expedition against Ascoli, where he hanged one man for his participation in the murder of the catepan Nicephorus Dokeianos by the conterati. It seems that he entered Bari in November before engaging in another expedition in Bitonto, where he hanged three men, according to the Anonymus, and blinded four (the AnBa say simply that he hanged four men, while Lupus does not mention the incident). This order of events is that of the AnBa, while Lupus and the Anonymus do not mention Bari.

Arduino was a Lombard by birth, and had been connected with the Archdiocese of Milan. He apparently was the leader of the Normans sent to the Sicilian campaign by Guaimar of Salerno. A dispute arose between the Normans and the Byzantine commander. According to Skylitzes, it was a question of pay, while western sources say that the division of the booty was at stake, and the Normans felt they were not getting their fair share. Arduino was beaten when he approached Maniakes for redress of the grievance, but hid his resentment. Then he and the Normans left Sicily, apparently with Maniakes' permission, and returned to the mainland. It seems that the Normans returned to Campania, while Arduino went to the catepan, Michael Dokeianos, and obtained from him an appointment as topoteretes in Melfi.

In this account we follow, in general, the interpretation put forward by Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 91-95; cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 453-454 and R. Manselli, 'Arduino', DBI IV

Melfi was on the very border of the Byzantine province of Longobardia, and in a position to control the approaches from the principality of Benevento. The fact that Arduino was in charge of so sensitive a post may be taken to indicate how trustworthy Dokeianos thought he was, and thus also hint at Dokeianos' own incompetence as governor. Arduino, according to Leo Ostiensis, set out from Melfi, saying that he was going to Rome to pray, but instead went to the Norman Count Rainulf of Aversa, to invite his old acquaintances, the Normans, to join him and conquer Apulia. (Note that the fact that Arduino went to Aversa to get in contact with the Normans shows that they had returned to their own places upon their return from Sicily, and did not begin their raiding at once, as Malaterra would have it.) Melfi now became the headquarters of the revolt, after being taken over without a fight by Arduino's Normans; and before long, Venosa, Ascoli and Lavello were in rebel and Norman hands.1

21 According to William of Apulia, Dokeianos had been to Sicily and returned before this battle.2

The river by which the battle took place is the Olivento, which flows between Melfi and Venosa; it joins the Ofanto just

<sup>60-61.</sup> It should be noted that the Greek writers are generally favorable to Maniakes, and blame the disaffection of Arduino on his successor.

Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 66 pp. 675-676; Malaterra, Historia sicula I 8, pp. 11-12; Wm. Ap. I 245-253 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 269-270; Chron. breve North. ad an. 1041, col. 1083; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 453-456 and also Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 94-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Wm. Ap. I 254.

south of Montemaggiore. The form of the river's name contained in both P and U is clearly influenced by vernacular usage, and would seem to be an ablative plural. The substitution of u for unaccented o is a common south Italian dialectal phenomenon; the exchange of b and v may be due to pronunciation, but is one of the more common substitutions met with in the Beneventan script. The form that appears in the critical text, d'Vlibentis, although not precisely Latin, indicates the most likely solution of the form found in the mss, dulibentis.

The dating phrase, 'decimo septimo intrante' is rather odd, since the <u>consuetudo bononiensis</u>, whose use is indicated here by the word 'intrante', would normally designate this date as 'decimoquinto exeunte'. In paragraph 137, Lupus reports the day of the week, but not the date; in fact, 17 March 1041 did fall on Tuesday.<sup>2</sup>

The Russians and the Opsikianoi at this point in the history of the empire would have been tagmata of Russian mercenaries, and of Byzantine professionals enrolled in the thema of Opsikion, but not a thematic army. The Russians may have been Varangians, but Lupus at least uses the form 'Guarani' to designate that division.

Montepeloso is the modern Irsina, and is some distance from the site of the battle at the Olivento. If the battle took place at the point where the Via Appia crossed the river, then the Byzantine troops would have had to follow the Via Appia

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Vendola, Apulia 1 and TCI Italia 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

SE to Gravina, then turn W and climb up to Montepeloso, an elevation of 549 m/1812 ft; the total distance is about 87.5 km/52.5 mi.<sup>1</sup>

Montemaggiore is on the northern, or left bank of the Ofanto, NNE of Lavello. That the battle was fought on the northern side of the river may be deduced from the fact that the Greeks, returning to Irsina, had to cross the river, where many of them were drowned because of a sudden flood, at least according to the accounts of Amato and Leo, who depends on him. According to the same sources, the commander here was Ateno1fo, brother of the Prince of Benevento. Between the battle of 17 March and that of 4 May, Dokeianos received reinforcements, according to Leo. The tagmata mentioned by the AnBa are, in fact, divisions recruited for the most part in the eastern part of the empire, men of the themes Anatolikon, Opsikion and Thrakesion; Russians, who presumably formed a tagma of foreign mercenaries; and then troops from southern Italy, from the themes of Longobardia and Calabria. The word 'capitinates' may refer to the Catepan's own guard; if not, then it may be a later gloss on 'Longobardi' and 'Calabresi'. Nothing in the sources authorizes the assumption that northern Apulia was organized into a separate theme called the Capitanata, but the term was used by Leo Ostiensis to designate this area, and he was writing late in the eleventh century; it may indeed mean soldiers from this part of the province. Skylitzes lists in

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Vendola, Apulia 1 and TCI Italia 3.

addition Pisidian and Lykaonian tagmata of the Foideratoi
(τῶν φοιδεράτων).¹

The bishops of Troia and Acerenza were killed in the battle. What were they doing there? It is difficult to imagine that they were bearing arms, for the Byzantines used severe disciplines against clerics who did so; even though these may well have been Latin-rite bishops, it would seem strange to see them leading Byzantine troops. Could they perhaps have brought contingents of soldiers from church lands, without themselves bearing arms? At any rate, Stefano of Acerenza is Stefano III, who held the see from about 1029 until his death in this battle; he was the immediate successor of Stefano II, mentioned in Lupus (paragraph 119). Angelo, the first bishop of Troia, was consecrated in 1028.

The numbers are clearly exaggerated, and they are different in every author who speaks of the battle. It is sufficient to concede that the Byzantines always had the advantage of numbers in these unfriendly encounters. Skylitzes notes that the Franks, as he calls the Normans, had with them men from northern Italy, from the region of the Po.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 23 p. 86; Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> II 66 pp. 675-676; Mor, 'Difesa', pp. 35-36; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 457; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 426. Mathieu, <u>Wm. Ap</u>. p. 346 note 1, identifies the Russians as Varangians; this may be correct, but, as we have pointed out, Lupus (paragraph 150) uses the word 'Guarangi' for that division. It seems that one might be justified in regarding the Capitanata as a subdivision of the theme of Longobardia, but not a province to itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>V. Laurent, 'L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine', Revue historique du Sud-est Européen 23 (1946) 71-98; Gams, Series, pp. 843, 936.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 426.

23, 138 Amato of Montecassino says that the Varangians came to reinforce the Byzantines. The Macedonians and Paulicians came from the East, while the Calabrians were locals. Skylitzes notes that the Emperor Michael IV was not pleased with Michael Dokeianos, and sent Boioannes, whom he thought a practical man, to replace him and restore the situation. 1

24, 138 The third battle between the Byzantines and the Normans took place on 3 September 1041 (indictional 1042). The Byzantines were in Irsina, while the Normans were in the castle on Monteserico, 14.5 km/ 8.7 mi to the NNW of Monepeloso. Between the two mountains, Montavuto rises to an elevation of 511 m/ 1686 ft. The whole area is mountainous, with no good battleground, at least as far as the maps show. The map of the Istituto Geografico Militare shows a castle on Monteserico, and on the northern slope of Montavuto, a Serra Battaglia. Could this be the battleground, or does the name refer to some other event?<sup>2</sup>

According to Amato, the Normans were gathered in Melfi, and Boioannes was getting ready to take them in the city, but the Normans found out his plans, and went out against him before he could act against them. The Normans proceeded to Monteserico, near the Byzantine headquarters at Montepeloso. Even so, the Byzantines took no precautions when they passed, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 24 pp. 86-87; Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, p. 426; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 89-90, no. 47. <sup>2</sup>IGM Italia 188.

the Normans took a supply train. When the Greeks found out, they marched out against the Normans, who also advanced, but running. The Normans raised their standard, then the Greeks The Greeks entered the fort The battle began. did the same. in the forest, and the Normans pursued them. The Varangians were killed, Apulians and Calabrians were slaughtered. Boioannes cried out, 'Catepan! Catepan!', and so was not killed, but taken prisoner. Then the Normans made an attempt on the Byzantine camp, presumably Montepeloso, but were unsuccessful. and so went home to Melfi. They turned Boioannes over to Atenolfo, who was to examine him and decide what to do. Ateno1fo, in the hope of enriching himself from the ransom of the catepan. left the Normans with his prisoner and returned to Benevento, where in fact he got a lot of money for him. And so the Normans lost their leader. 1

The AnBa give the catepan's name, Boioannes, 'Bujano', 'Bugiano', 'Budiano', 'Vulano', 'Vulcano', while all the other south Italian sources refer to him as 'Exaugustus'.

Mathieu has explained this form as a corruption of the Greek 'Exaustros', 'celebrated', and that may be correct. It is certain that the interpretation of the word as a title, begun by Amato, who explains it as 'vicaire de auguste', can not

¹Amato, Ystoire II 26-27, pp. 88-91; cf. Wm. Ap. I 414-416, who says that the Normans quit the service of Atenolfo on account of the blandishments offered by Guaimar of Salerno. Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 66, pp. 675-676, follows Amato, but has fewer details. Cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 457-460 and also Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 98-102.

be maintained, since there is absolutely no trace of such a title in any source. Falkenhausen says that this explanation of Mathieu's seems plausible, except that Mathieu's starting-point, the form 'Exagusto', that reported by the Anonymus, is too uncertain, and can not be taken as any more correct than 'Exaugustus', the form found in the other sources; the exchange of <u>au</u> for <u>a</u> is not uncommon in the south Italian sources of the period. There is no truly satisfactory explanation. Ms <u>S</u> and the vulgar mss <u>CART</u> all leave a space before 'tex augustot'; since the man's name is Boioannes, we have filled in the empty space with the form of the name adopted elsewhere in the edition.

Once again, the numbers of the combatants are exaggerated, and may be interpreted as an indication that the Normans were rather heavily outnumbered.

Skylitzes also records the events of this year, but with some confusion. Maniakes was sent against the Muslims of Sicily, and got as allies a group of transalpine Franks under the leadership of Arduino. Maniakes was slandered, and relieved of his command as a result; Michael Dokeianos was sent as his replacement. Under his administration, the situation deteriorated, since he not only omitted the monthly stipend customarily paid to the Franks, but also inflicted a mortal insult on their leader, who had come to ask for better

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Mathieu, 'Noms grecs', pp. 301-305; Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 24, p. 87; Anonymus barensis <u>ad an</u>. 1042; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 90.

Thus Dokeianos drove the Franks to desert treatment for them. When they took up arms against him, he should have gone him. to meet them with all the Byzantine forces at his disposal, but he did not do this. He took only one tagma of the Opsikianoi and a part of the Thrakesioi, and fought near Canne by the river Ofanto -- where Hannibal had inflicted a defeat on the Romans of old -- and was defeated. After he had lost the greater part of his army, he entered Canne. Later he took what troops had survived the defeat, along with the Pisidian and Lykaonian tagmata of the foideratoi, and got into another battle with the Franks, who had also had reinforcements in This battle was fought at Orai, and again the the meantime. Byzantines were defeated. The Emperor Michael was not pleased when he learned of this, and replaced Michael Dokeianos with He in turn fought against the Franks, was taken Boioannes. prisoner, and carried off to Monopoli. Obviously, Skylitzes has mangled the geographical details, although he has the general lines of the conflict correct. His partiality to Maniakes was noted above; it is probably for that reason that he blames the estrangement of the Byzantines and the Normans on Maniakes' successor.1

25, 139-140 Matera and Bari pass to the Normans, since there is no one to come to their defense. Skylitzes lists Bari among the four cities that remained faithful to Byzantium, but is clearly in error on that point. William of Apulia, Leo

¹Skylitzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 426-427. Malaterra's account, Historia <u>sicula</u> I 10, p. 13, is not complete.

Ostiensis, Malaterra, all speak of the growing success of the rebels and the Normans.

Michael IV the Paphlagonian died on 10 December 1041 (indictional 1042), and was succeeded by his nephew Michael V, who ruled until 21 April 1042. The story of his brief reign is most colorfully recounted in Psellos' Chronographia.

Argiro the son of Melo is given the titles 'Prince of Bari and 'Duke of Italy'. The first is probably by analogy with the Longobard principalities; just as there was a 'Princeps beneventanus, now there was also a 'Princeps barensis'. The title 'Duke of Italy' is that assigned to Melo by the western emperor; here he seems to have it almost by inheritance. But the title 'Duke' was used not only in the West, but also In fact, the title 'Duke of Italy' is precisely in the East. that assigned him by the Byzantine empire after his reconciliation, when he returned to govern the province in 1051. Its occurrence here may be an anachronism. The two titles reported by the AnBa are 'Prince' and senior, perhaps to be understood as a Latinization with the content of the French seigneur. According to the account of William of Apulia, the Normans who selected Argiro as their lord were Apulians, presumably those in Melfi and the other cities in the northern part of the province, while those who had previously been installed in Aversa

¹Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 427; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica
II 67, p. 676; Malaterra, Historia sicula I 10, p. 13; Wm.
Ap. I 396-401; cf. Chron. breve north. ad an. 1042, col. 1083.

\*Psellos, Chronographia V, vol. I 86-116.

turned to the service of Guaimar of Salerno. Chalandon regards these Apulian Normans as those installed in Troia after the revolt of Melo, mentioned in Boioannes' document of 1019, while William of Apulia's text does not identify them further; Mathieu says that they would have to have been the newcomers to Apulia and those who had earlier left Aversa to join Arduino, and stayed on. 1

Argiro's role at this point has been interpreted differently, as might be expected from the little information in the sources which narrate what he did, but do not say why he did it. Gay believed that Argiro accepted the title and support of the Normans in the hope of being able to regularize his position later on, but that his plans were spoiled by the arrival of a new catepan. Maniakes, at which point Argiro was forced to become a rebel in fact as well as in appearance. This interpretation of Argiro's motives is possible because of his earlier action in suppressing the conterati, and his later action in embracing the Byzantine cause as soon as an opportunity to do so was afforded him. Besides, at the moment of his election as Prince and Duke, the position of catepan was vacant because of Boioannes\* capture, and someone had to Bréhier thinks that Argiro was in fact fill the power vacuum. the leader of the rebellion from the very beginning. his motives may have been, there is no evidence that Argiro

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Wm. Ap. I 414-419, and Mathieu's commentary, p. 273 and note 1; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 101, cf. Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 415; text of Basil Boioannes' document in Trinchera, <u>Syllabus</u>, pp. 18-20, no. 18, summary in Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 177-178, document no. 41.

held either title or function from the Byzantine empire at this period. Guillou says that Argiro's behavior was ambiguous, without trying to interpret it further.

26, 141 George Maniakes, now released from prison, was sent once again to the West, this time as catepan of Italy. He gathered together the Byzantine troops and built a palisade in the place called 'Tara'. The Tara is a small stream that empties into the Golfo di Taranto to the West of the Mare Piccolo (Taranto's inner harbor), as Mathieu points out. Our text, however, says a place called 'Tara', it does not say 'by a river called Tara'. Since Taras is the Greek name for the city of Taranto (as well as the river), if a Greek source was used in the compilation of this section of the chronicle, the palisade may have been built at Taranto, perhaps just outside the walls.<sup>2</sup>

In reaction to Maniakes' arrival, Argiro gathered the Normans, and not only those of Melfi who had elected him their seigneur, but also those of Aversa, who were in the service of the Prince of Salerno. All of these Normans and rebels then proceeded to the castle of Mottola, not far from Taranto and Matera; the <u>Breve chronicon northmannicum</u> says that an indecisive but damaging battle was fought near Matera between Maniakes and the Normans. That may have been the cause of the new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 461; Brehier, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.; Guillou, 'Production and Profits', p. 108.

<sup>\*</sup>Mathieu's commentary to <u>Wm. Ap.</u> I 529-557, p. 276; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 91-92, no. 40, and p. 186, document no. 58.

catepan's terror, on account of which he shut himself and his army up within the walls of the city of Taranto. On the other hand, an accurate assessment of the tactical situation might well have prompted a prudent commander to do the same thing, and so fear, or at least cowardice, probably had nothing to do with Maniakes' action. The Normans were not content, however, and wanted more action. Since Maniakes was not going to satisfy them, they went raiding to the East of Taranto, in the territory of Oria, and then went home.

Lupus' form magistrus, found in mss PU, may well be a reflection of a Greek original, which would have carried the form μάγιστιος. The participial form 'uenientes' in the AnBa functions here as a finite verb. The usage seems quite odd, and gives rise to an extremely strong temptation to accept the variant offered by mss SNL, 'uenerunt'. But the use was quite common in southern Italy at this period, and so has been accepted as genuine, particularly since ms P has a large number of such seemingly anomalous forms, which turn out to be common in southern Italy at the time. The form 'noctu', quite classical and totally unexpected after such an anomaly as 'uenientes' as a finite verb, has nonetheless been accepted as the genuine reading on the rule that the more difficult reading is probably correct. It is also the reading of ms  $\underline{P}$ , and as we have just pointed out, that ms often preserves good readings, which U often simplifies or changes (in this instance, U's reading is 'nocte').2

Chronicon breve north. ad an. 1043, col. 1083.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Westerburgh, <u>Chronicon</u> <u>salernitanum</u>, p. 274.

- Here Lupus begins his second account of the 142 events of 1042; it is clear that he is drawing from a different source. Gay and Chalandon both thought that William Ironarm was chosen leader of the Normans after Argiro's return to Byzantine allegiance. If this is true, then the paragraph is out of place, and should be recorded by Lupus in the eleventh indiction, 1043. What role can Matera have had in such an election? The preposition 'a' can be taken as an expression of agency, and then the phrase would mean that Matera accepted William as its count. But this turn of events seems unlikely when it is noted that William's share of Apulia was Ascoli, and that the shares of other Normans lay between Ascoli and Matera. It is not impossible that the Normans were active around Matera at the time of Argiro's reconciliation with the Byzantines, especially since the town had gone over to them earlier; in such a case the phrase 'a Matera' could be taken as locative, 'at Matera'. Hirsch thought that the phrase was an indication that the source was written at Matera, and if that is so, then it would mean that Matera concurred in the choice of William as Count of Apulia. There is no perfectly satisfactory explanation.1
- 143 Michael V was deposed on 21 April 1042, and blinded. He had made the mistake of trying to put Zoe out of action. But she was a member of the Macedonian house, and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 464 and Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 104; Leo Ostiensis, <u>Chronica</u> II 66, p. 676; Hirsch, <u>Annales</u>, p. 39, note 1.

people loved her, while Michael was an upstart who did not realize that he could not rule without her. Apparently the blinding was done by Harald Hardradi, captain of the Varangians, who had also served in Sicily under Maniakes, and died in England at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066.

The Anonymus says that Giovinazzo was taken by treachery from within, while the AnBa say it was taken by There is no real contradiction, since both elements force. were probably involved. William of Apulia does not even mention a battle, but says simply that it went over to the Normans, as did many other cities. The mss present a choice for the dating, either June  $(\underline{P})$  or July  $(\underline{U})$ . Lupus says that Giovinazzo was taken on 3 July. Chalandon interprets these events, plausibly, in light of Maniakes' cruelty, as noted in paragraph 30; Giovinazzo had been in Norman or rebel hands, he thinks, but after seeing the terrible things Maniakes did at Matera and Monopoli, it went over to the Byzantine side. Argiro then went to take it back. The murder of sixteen Greeks may have been in retaliation for Maniakes' murders at Matera and Mono-The AnBa say that Maniakes did these things in June, and poli. also that Giovinazzo fell to Argiro on the third day of the siege, which Lupus says was 3 July. It is clear from these circumstances that the agreement of the inhabitants of Giovinaz-

<sup>1</sup>For the bibliography, see above, paragraph 139; see Snorri Sturluson, King Harald's Saga, tr. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson (New York 1966), c. 14, p. 61 -- the emperor is misidentified as Constantine IX Monomachus; on Harald's participation in the Sicilian campaign, see cc. 5-10 for an account that is largely legendary.

zo with the Greeks in Trani must have occurred in June, and that is the circumstance in question here, not the date of the siege itself.

28, 144 Since the siege of Trani was begun after the fall of Giovinazzo (3 July), it is evident that the date can not be late June, but must be late July. The archetypal text has been emended in accordance with this necessity. There is a discrepancy between this and Lupus' notice that Argiro was there in August; the two chronicles also disagree on the duration of the siege, with the AnBa saying thirty-six days to Lupus' month. The Anonymus notes further that the siege was by land and by sea, and specify not only the siege tower, but also other engines of war, catapults and battering-rams.<sup>8</sup>

'Baresanis' is from 'baresanus', which often substitutes for 'barensis' in the notarial documents. Note that in the clause 'ipse...obsederunt', cum followed by the ablative functions like et and the nominative: The formal subject, 'ipse princeps' is singular, while the verb, 'obsederunt' is plural (although the next two verbs are in the singular). 'Obtutibus', as the more difficult reading, is to be preferred as genuine.

29, 145 Our text of paragraph 29 presents several readings which are different from those published by previous editors. The text transmitted by ms  $\underline{P}$ , available for the first time, is clearly preferable to that of ms  $\underline{U}$ , published in both

<sup>1</sup> Wm. Ap. I 399; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 103. Anonymus barensis ad an. 1042.

previous editions. It is now clear beyond a doubt that on this occasion Argiro received the titles of anthypatus patricius and vestes as well, a title that had its origin in the emperor's private service, and often accompanied the titles magister, patrician and prepositus; after the title of magister, this dignity of vestes was the second highest accessible to a person not of the imperial family. Precisely what form the imperial letters for Argiro may have taken is not clear, but it is probable that it included some sort of appointment to the service of the empire; this is suggested by the fact that Argiro led troops against Maniakes, in a joint operation with the catepan Basil Theodorokanos. terminology used by the AnBa, 'litteris federatis', is suggestive of some such arrangement. The reading of ms U at this point, 'patriciatus an cathepanatus', is an obvious corruption of the wording reported correctly by  $\underline{P}$ , but since it appeared in the previous editions it has given rise to speculation about whether Argiro received that office at this point, or whether the passage might be an anachronism.1

The word 'dixerunt' appears in Pertz's edition as 'dedit'. The ms readings at this point contain an abbrevia-

¹Oikonomidès, <u>Listes</u>, p. 294; Dölger, <u>Regesten</u> II no. 847 lists the letter to Argiro, but dates it to the reign of Michael V, ca. January 1042, while the more probable date is contemporary with the pardon offered Maniakes, noted as no. 856, which Dölger dates ca. August -- we suggest that the more likely date for both letters is the period not long after the coronation of Constantine IX Monomachus, immediately after Maniakes' revolt became known in Constantinople, and therefore probably no later than July 1042 (see the commentary on paragraph 30, 141); Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 463; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 93.

tion: laude  $^{th}$  P ad laudem  $^{th}$  U. The very fact that U contains an abbreviation is unusual, for it is the constant practice of  $\underline{U}$ 's scribe to write his words out in full; here he probably kept the abbreviation because he was unsure how to expand it. Pertz expanded the abbreviation to 'dedit', which is not impossible, since the abbreviation  $\delta\delta$  for 'dedit' could easily become to. But a preferable explanation can be found in the standard abbreviations of the Beneventan script. in which to could mean either 'David', obviously not the reading here, or 'dixerunt', more likely. 'Dixerunt' satisfies the syntactical requirements of the sentence ('reuersi... dixerunt', plural subject followed by plural verb), while 'dedit' clearly does not (plural subject followed by singular verb). The meaning of the phrase is 'to acclaim', and comes ultimately from the uses of the Greek evonuew, which has this in its range of meanings. It is clear that under the circumstances, an acclamation of Constantine IX Monomachus as emperor would have been an entirely appropriate action after the end of Argiro's rebellion and the restoration of Byzantine rule.1

These incidents should be dated to September 1042, and thus in indictional 1043; a siege that began in the last week of July and lasted thirty-six days could not have finished before September, and several days would have been necessary

¹J. F. Niermeyer, <u>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus</u>
(Leyden 1976) and Lewis and Short, <u>Dictionary</u>, s. vv. <u>laudare</u>,

<u>laus</u>; Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. εὐφημά, εύφημέω; E. A. Sophocles,

<u>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</u> (New York

1957), vol. I p. 545, s.v. εὐφημέω; Lowe, <u>Script</u>, p. 178.

for Argiro and his friends to reach Bari again. In fact, Lupus notes the return of Bari to Byzantine control in indictional 1043.

ante', is not entirely in accord with the conventions of classical Latin syntax, according to which the pluperfect would have been preferable, yet it is clearly preferable to the present subjunctive offered by ms <u>U</u>. In fact, <u>U</u>'s present is difficult to account for; the subjunctive may have been used because the 'quantos' was taken as the introduction to an indirect question -- or the form may simply be another instance of the scribe's carelessness or lack of attention. P's reading has been adopted in spite of its imperfection.

The words 'ante' and 'coram', if not separated by a comma, look like a tautology, or like a textual word, 'coram', with a gloss, 'ante'. But the use of the comma shows that 'ante' is an adverb and belongs in the clause 'quantos...ante', while 'coram' belongs in the next clause.

In paragraph 141, the meaning of the verb 'deportauit' is not immediately clear; it may mean that Maniakes actually deported the population of Monopoli. If this were so, however, one would expect the other chronicles to make specific mention of the matter, while in fact they do not. Further, no source says that Maniakes actually entered either Monopoli or Matera; whatever acts he did there he seems to have done outside the

walls. But the sequence of these events is unclear, and the date of Maniakes' rebellion has never been clearly and satisfactorily established.

As Gay points out, Skylitzes and Psellos seem to indicate that Maniakes rebelled after finding out that he had been replaced as catepan of Italy, while Attaleiates seems to indicate that Maniakes' rebellion was already known in Constantinople at the time of Constantine IX's coronation, or shortly thereafter. It is this latter view that the events recorded in our chronicles seem to confirm at the indictional year 1043. when they note the arrival of imperial messengers, with a great deal of gold, and with a pardon for Maniakes. clear that if Maniakes rebelled only now, on the arrival of his successor, Constantinople would not have known of it for some time; but the fact that the emissaries carry his pardon with them shows that Constantinople knew of the revolt long enough beforehand for the matter to be discussed and for a pardon to be decided on and written up. Furthermore, the AnBa mention Maniakes revolt before they narrate the incidents at Monopoli and Matera. We propose that Maniakes' revolt be dated to June, or at the latest, July 1042.1

The present passage is probably one of those in which Lupus made use of a Greek source. The form 'magistrus' instead of 'magister' seems to reflect the Greek  $\mu\alpha\gamma \iota\sigma\iota_{OS}$ , and 'deportavit' may reflect the Greek  $\epsilon\xi_{OC}\mu\iota\iota_{W}$  (modern Greek  $\epsilon\xi_{OC}\mu\iota\iota_{W}$ ),

Gay, Italie, pp. 462-463; Anonymus barensis ad an. 1042.

'to sail out of the harbor (<u>de portu</u>)'. The accusative form of Monopoli would then be interpreted as an accusative of limit of motion: 'Manikaes sailed (out of the harbor) to Monopoli, and then went away to Matera'.

The AnBa assert that Maniakes went first to Matera, then made a second sortie to Monopoli; all the other sources available mention Monopoli first, then Matera. Even so, the AnBa may be correct, particularly if Maniakes proceeded against Matera by land from Taranto, as he must have done if he did it in one night, and then against Monopoli by sea, either directly from Taranto, or after he had gone to Otranto, where the imperial officials found him in September 1042 (indictional 1043). Although the sequence of events can not be fixed with absolute precision, if the accounts in the various sources are compared, then it seems certain that the expeditions against Monopoli and Matera took place in June 1042, that Maniakes was in Otranto in September, and sailed from that city in February 1043.1

31, 145 The first sentence in paragraph 145 corresponds with the events mentioned in paragraph 29.

Pardos was Maniakes' replacement as catepan of Italy.

Tubakes is otherwise unknown, while Nicholas is the Archbishop of Bari elected in 1035 as successor to Bisanzio. Although Gay thinks that the embassy sent to Maniakes was different from

<sup>&#</sup>x27;<u>Wm</u>. <u>Ap</u>. I 446 ff., says that Maniakes landed in Otranto, and proceeded against Monopoli, then Matera. The sequence Otranto-Monopoli tends to confirm our hypothesis of an approach to Monopoli by sea.

that sent to Argiro, Chalandon holds for one embassy, probably correctly. The chrysobull was an imperial letter with a gold hanging seal, and was usually used for privileges. The 'sympatheia' was a pardon. Almost certainly there was but one document, a pardon sealed with a gold hanging seal.'

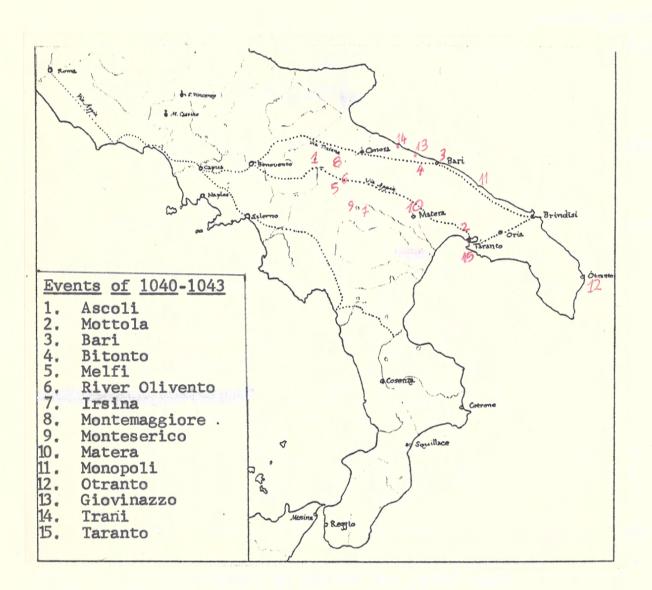
In October Maniakes went to Bari, and tried to have himself recognized as emperor. According to William of Apulia, he used the gold he stole from Pardos and Tubakes to try to gain Argiro and the Normans to his cause. Although some Normans followed him, Argiro certainly did not, and Maniakes returned to Taranto. According to the Anonymus, the Prince of Salerno and the Normans came to attack Bari, and besieged it for five days. (The fact that the Anonymus calls them 'Franks' may indicate the use of a Greek source.) Basil Theodorokanos had fought alongside Maniakes in the earlier Sicilian campaign, and had been put in prison with him, but was freed and sent to hold office as governor of a theme in the East. His tenure in Italy was brief, for after arriving there in February, he was back in Constantinople by June and helped defend the city from a Russian attack. The Anonymus and William of Apulia are in agreement in noting a joint expedition of the new catepan's fleet and Argiro's land forces against Maniakes in Otranto. Maniakes, however, had already sailed for Greece, where he was killed in a battle with the imperial army.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 92, no. 49; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, pp. 463-464; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup><u>Wm</u>. <u>Ap</u>. I 559-562; Anonymus barensis <u>ad</u> <u>an</u>. 1043; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 92, no. 50.

The following reconstruction of the chronology of the events of the years 1038-1043 is based on the sources cited above:

- George Maniakes and his expedition arrive in southern Italy and pass over to Sicily, with troops from southern Italy, and also Normans sent by Guaimar of Salerno; battles are fought in Sicily;
- 1039 February The new catepan, Nicephorus Dokeianos, arrives; battles continue in Sicily, with the Byzantines gradually gaining ground in the eastern part of the island;
- 1040 Jan. 9 The conterati kill Nicephorus Dokeianos at Ascoli:
  - Spring A great Byzantine victory at Traina in Sicily; Maniakes quarrels with the Admiral Stephen, and after being denounced for treason, is recalled and imprisoned;
  - May 5 The imperial krites, Michael Khoirosphaktes, is killed at Mottola, and Romano of Matera is also killed;
    - The conterati enter Bari with Argiro, who then imprisons their leader; they are dispersed;
  - Sept. Michael Dokeianos arrives from Sicily; at Ascoli he hangs a man because of the murder of Nicephorus Dokeianos by the conterati;
  - Nov. Michael Dokeianos is in Bari; at Bitonto he blinds four men and hangs three or four for their part in the disorders of the conterati; Arduino becomes topoteretes in Melfi;
- 1041 March Early in the month Arduino gathers the Normans in Melfi;
  - 17 Tuesday, battle at the river Olivento; the Byzantines lose, and retire to Irsina;
  - May 4 Wednesday; battle at Montemaggiore on the northern bank of the Ofanto; Angelo, bishop of Troia, and Stefano III, archbishop of Acerenza are killed; the Byzantines lose, and retire to Bari;
  - MaySept. Reinforcements arrive from Sicily, where the
    Byzantine position is deteriorating; they gather
    at Irsina; Michael Dokeianos is relieved by Boioannes, and retires to Sicily;
  - Sept. 3 Battle between the Byzantines under Boioannes and the rebels with the Normans and some north Italians under the titular command of Atenolfo of Benevento; the Byzantines lose, Boioannes is captured and taken to Melfi, where he is turned over to Atenolfo, who takes him to Benevento, where he is ransomed;



Dec. 10 Michael IV dies in Constantinople, and is succeeded by Michael V;

1042 Feb. Argiro elected Prince and Seigneur, assumes leadership of the revolt;

April Maniakes, having been released from prison, arrives in Italy as catepan;

21 Michael V deposed and blinded;

June 12 Coronation of Constantine IX Monomachus;
Maniakes rebels; Matera and Monopoli are punished
for dealing with the Normans and the rebels;
Maniakes is probably in Otranto;
Giovinazzo returns to the Byzantine side;

July 3 Giovinazzo falls to the rebels, sixteen Byzantines are killed;

July- Trani, still faithful to the Byzantines, is Aug. under siege by Argiro and the rebels:

Sept. Argiro is reconciled with the Byzantines;
Maniakes kills Pardos;
William Ironarm assumes the leadership of the
Normans;

Oct. Maniakes kills Tubakes;
Maniakes comes to Bari, looking for help from
Argiro and the Normans in his attempt to seize
the throne, but finds no favorable reception,
and retires, confounded, to Taranto;
Guaimar of Salerno besieges Bari for five days,
unsuccessfully;

1043 Feb.

Basil Theodorokanos, the new catepan, arrives in Italy, and proceeds against Maniakes in Otranto, while Argiro leads the land forces in combined operations;

Maniakes sails away across the Adriatic, and is killed in a battle with imperial forces.

Guaimar, and married his niece. According to William of Apulia, Argiro had dismissed the Normans after Otranto had surrendered to the Byzantines, and the Normans in turn turned to Guaimar of Salerno, who then led them in an attack on Bari. Argiro did not have sufficient forces to give battle, and so closed himself up in the city. Guaimar and the Normans ravaged the countryside, and then returned to Salerno. In this paragraph, they are cooperating in going against the Byzantine

lands in Calabria. The castle of Stridula has been identified by Mathieu as the ruins to be found at the strategic point of the confluence of the Coscile and the Crati, in Calabria. Previous writers could not identify the place, and were hampered by the reading 'Squillace' in the earlier editions.'

147 William of Apulia says that the Emperor ordered Argiro to go to him quickly, and that Argiro complied. He was graciously received in Constantinople, and honored. In fact, he was promoted to the high dignity of magistros, the highest accessible to one not of the imperial family, and distinguished himself during the revolt of Leo Tornikios in 1047-1048; in this he led a group of Latins against the usurper, and became a member of the imperial council. When he went to Constantinople, his whole family went with him, according to the Anonymus. Gay asks whether Argiro's high titles conferred on him any authority over any part of the Byzantine domains in Italy, and whether his high rank made him independent of the categon, but finds no satisfactory answers. As we noted above, however, since Argiro received letters federatory and also led troops on the Byzantine side, with Theodorokanos, it is likely that he held some charge; could he have been appointed topoteretes, or lieutenant gover-The sources are silent.2 nor?

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Wm. Ap. II 4-13 and Mathieu's note 2 on page 151 as well as her commentary on II 297, p. 287; Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 29, pp. 93-95; cf. Garufi, Rom. Sal. <u>Chronicon</u>, p. 179; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 107; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Wm. Ap. II 14-20 and Mathieu's commentary, p. 278; Sky-1itzes, <u>Synopsis</u>, pp. 439-442; Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1045, 1048; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, p. 93, no. 53.

Eustathios Palatinos had the title of protospatharius and the charge of catepan of Italy; he arrived between September and December 1045 (indictional 1046), for a privilege issued over his signature is dated in December of the fourteenth indiction. The exiles were probably Baresi who had taken part in the revolt, and were forced to flee when Argiro was reconciled to the Byzantines. The defeat of Eustathios, most likely near Taranto, led to a Norman penetration into the Terra d'Otranto, as Gay pointed out, for Lecce is reconquered by the Byzantines in October 1046 (indictional 1047), according to Lupus.

148 The German king was not Conrad II, but his successor, Henry III. The three popes were Benedict IX, Silvester III, and Gregory VI; they played parts in one very sordid episode in the history of the Church. Benedict IX succeeded to the papal throne in 1033, but finally wanted to take a wife; the woman's father consented on the condition that Benedict renounce the papacy. This he did, for a price variously noted as 1000, 1500 and 2000 gold pieces. The purchaser was Gregory VI. The Romans were unhappy with the situation, and elected Sylvester III; but Benedict, cheated out of his marriage, for the father of his intended would not consent in the end, resumed the papacy. Each of these either resigned or was deposed at a synod held by Henry III in Sutri on 20 December 1046. At a second synod held in Rome, Clement II was elected on Christmas

<sup>1</sup>CDB IV 67-68, no. 32; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 92, no. 51, and pp. 186-187, documents nos. 59-60; Gay, Italie, p. 470.

Eve, and crowned Henry as Emperor on the following day. He died on 9 October 1047. At that point, Benedict tried once more to assume the papacy, but was driven from Rome. Henry III went to Benevento with Clement II in February 1047, but the city refused to receive him. The Pope excommunicated the city, while Henry burned the suburbs. There is no mention of the incident recounted by Lupus. 1

- 149 William Ironarm died at the end of 1045 or at the beginning of 1046. Drew succeeded him, and had his investiture with his titles by Henry III in February 1047. According to Chalandon this investiture did not remove Drew from the suzerainty of Guaimar of Salerno, whom he had been serving, but simply regularized and confirmed the situation already in existence.<sup>2</sup>
- 250 Stira may be Ostuni, for Stuni is the form reported by Romualdo of Salerno. It is a town about midway between Monopoli and Brindisi, and about 6.75 km/4.05 mi inland from the Adriatic coast. Lecce is about midway between Brindisi and Otranto, and about 11.75 km/6.9 mi inland from the Adriatic.

Jaffé, Regesta II 362-364; Liber pontificalis II 270-273; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 112-115; Gay, Italie, pp. 475-476; for a study of the situation and the sources, see Ernst Steindorff, Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III [Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte] (Leipzig 1874), pp. 456-510; AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 1047, p. 136.

Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 113-114, although Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 476, maintains that Rainulf of Aversa, whom Henry III also recognized, and Drew of Apulia were now subject directly to the Emperor, and no longer answered to the Lombard princes; on the death of William Ironarm and Drew's succession, see Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 35, pp. 101-103, and on Henry III's investing Drew, III 2, p. 117.

They lie in an area where the Normans penetrated after their victory in 1046 near Taranto. The Varangians had most likely been brought to Italy by the catepan John Raphael, as noted by the Anonymus. 1

- 151 Clement died in the monastery of St. Thomas in the diocese of Pesaro on 9 October 1047. There is no confirmation of Lupus' report that he died from Benedict's poison. Benedict once again assumed the papacy, but was driven from Rome on 17 July 1048, when his successor, Damasus II, arrived in the city.<sup>2</sup>
- Since Zoe had come to the throne with Romanus II in 1028, the figure here given, twenty-two years, is accurate. The clause 'iam...Constantinus' may serve to confirm the contemporaneity of the notice. The nine years for Constantine IX are accurate only in an inclusive count, for he came to the throne on 12 June 1042.
- Argiro, son of Melo, after spending some years in Constantinople, where he distinguished himself in the emperor's service, is now sent back to Italy, where the situation has steadily deteriorated. The fact that the Byzantine government appointed a local notable who had a personal power base in the province, rather than a court functionary, indicates that they thought the situation rather desperate, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Anonymus barensis <u>ad an.</u> 1047; Falkenhausen, <u>Herrschaft</u>, pp. 92-93, no. 52.

<sup>\*</sup>Liber pontificalis II 273 note 1; Chalandon, <u>Domination</u> normande, pp. 121-122.

that they were willing to take some highly irregular steps to try to control it.

Romualdo and his brother Pietro were themselves representatives of a powerful local aritsocratic family; we met them before (in paragraph 18). Their opposition to Argiro may perhaps be motivated not so much by rebellion against Byzantium as by envy of the other local notable who was enjoying a success that had been denied them. Nevertheless, their offense is punished as rebellion after the people of Bari decide to accept Argiro, and Romualdo and Pietro go to Constantinople, in chains this time. Adralisto disappears.

There are different accounts of the death of The date is 10 August, the feast of St. Lawrence, and the murder was committed in the early dawn, as Drew was entering church for the office of Matins or Vigils. The perpetrator was his compater, although the name is given differently in different sources. The word compater describes the relationship between a child's father and his godfather; thus the murderer was godfather to one or more of Drew's children, or Drew was godfather to his. As to the name, Malaterra calls him Riso, another chronicle calls him Gauzo or Wazo of Naples, while Lupus records 'Concilio', a proper name in southern Italy at the period in question. The place where the murder took place has been variously identified, but Mathieu has said that it is most likely Montellere, NNW of Bovino. Malaterra claims that there was a plot among the Longobardi, to put to death all the Normans on a single day, and Chalandon

says that Argiro himself must have instigated it. In any case, it seems that several Normans were killed on the same day, but if there was such a plot, it did not succeed.

155 In 1051, the Beneventans offered their city to Leo IX, who accepted. Thus he acquired a personal, territorial interest in the affairs of southern Italy. The Normans were pressing not only the lands under Byzantine rule, but also those of the principality of Benevento. Under the circumstances, an accord between Leo and the Byzantine authorities, represented by Argiro, was the most natural thing in the world. But the forces that the two could field were inadequate to the task before them, that of controlling the Normans; so Leo went North to seek help from Henry III. The pope managed to raise some troops in Germany, though many of them were recalled, and those left the pope were not the best. On his return to Italy with this army, the pope was joined by many Italian lords. He was to join forces with Argiro, and together they were to clear out the Normans. But the Normans met the papal army before it was able to join with the Byzantine forces. The encounter took place outside Civitate, in the far north of Apulia. The Normans sent envoys to Leo, offering to recognize him as their feudal lord. The German leaders, however, preferred to fight it out, and persuaded Leo not to accept the Normans' terms.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Malaterra, <u>Historia sicula I 13 p. 14</u>; Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> II 22 pp. 135-138 and de Bartholomaeis' note 1, a quotation from William of Jumièges; Wm. Ap., <u>Gesta II 75-79 p. 137 and note 1</u>, and Mathieu's commentary, p. 280; Vendola, <u>Apulia 1</u>; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 129-130 and note 3.

The battle began on Friday, 18 June 1053 -- Lupus' dating indication is correct -- and was a complete victory for the Normans. They put to flight the Italian forces with the pope, and killed the Germans, who put up a strong resistance. The pope took refuge in Civitate, but was turned over to the Normans. They treated him honorably, and took him back to Benevento. In spite of the polite treatment, however, he was a prisoner, and finally had to come to terms with the Norman victors. Although no documents survive, one may assume that the final terms included recognition of the Norman conquests up to that time. Leo finally left Benevento on 12 March 1054, and died in Rome on 19 April of the same year.

The famine could well have been a result of the military activities of this year. The Normans, according to William of Apulia, were even gathering green corn and roasting it, since they could obtain no other supplies.<sup>2</sup>

156 According to the <u>Chronicon breve northmannicum</u>, Sicone was killed at Crotone in Calabria, in a battle fought between the Normans and the Byzantine forces under Argiro.<sup>3</sup>

157-158, 161 Constantine died on 11 January 1055;

<sup>&#</sup>x27;AnBen; and AnBen; ad ann. 1051, 1052, 1053, pp. 137-138; Wm. Ap., Gesta II 80-167 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 280-286; Amato, Ystoire III 23, pp. 138-139 and 39-42, pp. 152-159; Malaterra, Historia sicula I 14, p. 15; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 81, pp. 684-685 and 84, pp. 685-686; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1053, col. 1084; critical remarks of Romualdo of Salerno, Chronicon ad an. 1053, pp. 181-182; Gay, Italie, pp. 487-490; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 130-142; Décarreux, Normands, pp. 28-30; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 80-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Wm. Ap., <u>Gesta</u> II 115-121.

<sup>3</sup>Chron. breve north. ad an. 1052, col. 1084.

Theodora reigned from 11 January 1055 until 21 August 1056, and was succeeded by Michael VI Stratiotikos, who reigned in his turn from 21 August 1056 until 31 August 1057; he was a member of the Bringas family.

Robert Guiscard, summoned by Humphrey to be the guardian of his son and heir, Abelard, instead supplanted him and became leader of the Normans in southern Italy; the true date was 1057. Abelard was ever after discontent with his lot, and ready to rebel against Robert.<sup>2</sup>

Gay says that Pietro took the title of Archbishop between 1050 and 1055, most likely with Byzantine support, and that the see, hitherto disputed by the Latin metropolis of Salerno and the Greek metropolis of Reggio, acquired a special status, not subject to any metropolitan authority.

The <u>scribones</u> were commanders of the regiments of the Exkoubitoi, or the ambulance corps of the army. Cedrenus recounts the story of the strategos of Calabria, Thrymbos, who committed some outrage against the <u>scribones</u>, and then had to flee to the Emperor because of the displeasure of the people of Calabria. Although it is not entirely impossible that the people would have an adverse reaction to the slaughter of the Byzantine officials known as the <u>scribones</u>, it is not at

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Grume1, Chronologie, p. 358; R. Guilland, 'Contributions à la prosopographie de l'empire byzantin: Les patrices du règne de Théodora (1054-1056) aux Comnènes (1081-1185)', Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Necellenici, n.s. 8-9 (1971-1972) 7.

PRom. Sal., <u>Chronicon ad an</u>. 1057, pp. 183-184; <u>Chron.</u>
breve north. <u>ad an</u>. 1056, cols. 184-185; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 149 note 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 546.

163 Isaac I Commenus succeeded Michael VI Stratiotikos on 1 September 1057, and reigned until 25 December 1059. Isaac had been proclaimed on 8 June, in Asia Minor. Michael did not die, but entered a monastery. Lupus' dating is off again. The forms 'Michail' and 'Isaki o Commi' suggest the strong possibility of a Greek source for this entry.

164 Isaac I Comnenus retired to a monastery in December 1059, and was succeeded by Constantine X Dukas, who reigned from 25 December 1059 until 21 May 1067. Again, a Greek original seems likely.<sup>3</sup>

George Cedrenus, [Compendium historiarum], ed. Immanuel Bekker, vol. II (Bonn 1839) pp. 721-722; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 101 no. 83, Leon Thrymbos; Bury, Administrative System, pp. 58-59; Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 330 and note 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine State</u>, p. 338. <sup>3</sup>Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 358; Ostrogorsky, <u>Byzantine</u> <u>State</u>, p. 341.

This conquest of Acerenza is mentioned also by the Chronicon breve northmannicum. Constantine X Dukas had sent an army to Italy to check the Norman advance, and it had enjoyed some initial success. But now Robert, who in the meantime had been invested with Apulia, Calabria and Sicily by pope Nicholas II in 1059, and had been quite successful in his attempts to render the titles effective and not merely decorative, took action against the Byzantine counteroffensive. 1

Nicholas II reigned from 24 January 1059 until 27 July 1061, and was succeeded by Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, who reigned as Alexander II from 1 October 1061 until 21 April 1073. Alexander was elected according to the reforms established by Nicholas II, but was firmly established only after 31 May 1064, when he won out over Cadalo, bishop of Parma, who had been nominated to the papacy by Agnes, regent for Henry IV.1

Robert Guiscard's activities in the heel of Italy are in reaction to the Byzantine reconquest of the area, accomplished by the forces sent out by Constantine X Dukas. The merarch is not further identified, but it is unlikely that he was in command of the entire Byzantine force, since the Anonymus notes the arrival of the catepan Marules in 1061, indiction 14; it is the catepan who would have been in charge of the entire province, while a merarch would have commanded a division of the troops.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>&#</sup>x27;Chron. breve north. ad an. 1061; Gay, Italie, p. 526; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Grume1, Chronologie, p. 452; Gay, <u>Italie</u>, p. 528; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 212-218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Chron. breve north. ad ann. 1059-1061, col. 1085; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 94 no. 54 and pp. 111-112.

- According to Chalandon, Geoffrey, son of Pierron, count of Trani, was apparently acting on his own in this instance, and in taking Mottola and Otranto; he did not participate in the revolt against Robert Guiscard, which broke out in 1064, and he was ready to go against the Byzantines in 1066.
- Robert of Montescaglioso, son of a sister of Robert Guiscard, is the man mentioned here. The capture of Matera marks the outbreak of the revolt against Robert Guiscard, entered into by many of the Normans, acting in concert with the Byzantines; these malcontents had even gone to Durrës to meet with Perinos, the Byzantine commander, who provided them with money and troops.<sup>2</sup>
- 270 This account probably refers to the Sicilian expedition of 1064, which was less than brilliantly successful. The Normans besieged Palermo for three months, but finally had to give it up. They proceeded to Bugamo, whose population they transferred to the now empty Scribla, and they made an unsuccessful attempt on Agrigento. Robert Guiscard was occupied in Apulia after that, until the rebellion ended with the capture of Irsina in 1068; as Chalandon notes, we have little information on Robert Guiscard's operations against the rebels, but it seems that there were no important Muslim-Norman encounters in the period between 1064 and 1068.

Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 178-179.

Chronicon ad an. 1064, p. 186; Chalandon, op. cit., pp. 179-182.

Shalaterra, Historia sicula II 36, pp. 46-47; Rom. Sal.,
Chronicon ad an. 1065, p. 186; Chalandon, op. cit., pp. 182
184, 204.

- The manuscript reading, Lofredus, is evidently 171 developed out of a Beneventan spelling, Jofredus, where the i-longa substitutes for a gi or ge according to a normal Beneventan substitution pattern. Since the French form of the name is Geoffroy, and the orthographical patterns would tend to indicate a soft pronunciation of the initial consonant replaced by the Beneventan i-longa, the form Geofredus has been adopted in the text. The person in question is Geoffrey, son of Pierron of Trani; his activities were noted above in paragraph 168. His intention of going against Byzantine territory may well have been in pursuit of a plan of Robert Guiscard's, to send aid to malcontents among Byzantine subjects, just as the emperor had done with malcontents among the Nor-An entry in the Anonymus indicates that this Maurikas entered Bari with a fleet and with the Varangians. It is not clear where the encounter between Geoffrey and Maurikas took place.1
- 172 This is Richard of Capua. Little is known of this campaign, although it occasioned an appeal to Henry IV by Alexander II.<sup>2</sup>
- 273 Constantine X Dukas died on 21 May 1067, and his son, Michael VII Dukas, was still a minor; the management of the empire was in the hands of the empress Eudokia, who mar-

¹Mathieu's commentary on Wm. Ap., Gesta IV 313-316, pp. 319-320 and V 96-105, p. 331; Anna Commena, Alexiad IV iii 1, vol. I 148-149, where the name of the Greek commander, perhaps the same as this Maurikas, appears as Mawelf; Anonymus barensis ad an.

²Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 220-221.

ried Romanus IV Diogenes. Michael did not come into his own until after Romanus was deposed following the disaster of Manzikert in 1071. The presence of the Greek definite article in Constantine's name, and the i in place of the e in Michael's, tend to indicate a Greek source.

The date of the battle of Hastings is 14 October 1066 (indictional 1067), although Halley's Comet appeared in April. William was crowned king of England on 25 December 1066. (The scribe probably wrote 'Robertus' out of force of habit.) There were apparently some Normans from Italy among the conquerors of England; there has been some speculation that they may have taught the Greek technique of horse transport to their The attempt to identify south Italian Normans northern cousins. among those rewarded by William lies outside the scope of this paper, but might prove an interesting project.2

According to William of Apulia, Godfrey had been 175 given half of Irsina by Geoffrey, and was persuaded to hand the town over to Robert Guiscard by the promise of another castle, Uggiano. The ruse worked, Robert entered Irsina, and that was the end of the revolt that had broken out in 1064.3

> Bari at this point was the last Byzantine 176, 178-181

3 Chron, breve north, ad an. 1068, col. 1085; Malaterra, Historia sicula II 39, p. 48; Gay, Italie, p. 536; Chalandon,

Domination normande, p. 184.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Grumel, Chronologie, p. 368.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Guy of Amiens, De bello hastingensi carmen, ed. H. Petrie, in Monumenta historica Britannica (London 1848), p. 861, verse 259, speaks of the Apulians, Calabrians and Sicilians among the soldiers who took part in the invasion of England; D. P. Waley, ""Combined Operations" in Sicily, A.D. 1060-1078', <u>Papers of</u> the British School at Rome (n.s. 9) 22 (1954) 124-125.

stronghold still offering resistance to the Normans. According to the Anonymus, the date of the beginning of the siege is 5 August 1068. The Normans blocked the city on the landward side, but even so it was still accessible by sea. Then Robert Guiscard called in his ships. They were joined each to each by a chain, and the city was thus blockaded also on the seaward sides, and furthermore, since each end of the line of ships was secured to the land, the army could pass over from ship to ship to reinforce any point along the line where pressure might be applied by any Byzantine relief force. While the siege was in progress, the patrician Bisanzio, leader of the pro-Byzantine party, managed to run the blockade and get to Constantinople to ask for help, which was sent. The ships arrived in 1069, and managed to break through the blockade and get into the port of Bari, although some ships had been lost off Monopoli. Bisanzio returned with this fleet, along with a new catepan and supplies for the The siege continued all through 1069, and through all of 1070. Although Bisanzio was murdered at the instigation of Argirizzo, leader of the pro-Norman faction, the resistance continued. (The Anonymus records this assassination on Sunday. 18 July 1070, while Lupus reports it at 1071.) There were two other embassies to Constantinople, according to Amato. second was sent by the catepan to obtain supplies and food, for the people were pressing for the surrender of the city. The last embassy convinced the emperor to send a relief force, commanded by the Norman Goscelin, who had been one of the ringleaders of the rebellion against Robert Guiscard in 1064. This

force was intercepted at sea by a fleet under the command of Robert's brother Roger. When the city of Bari finally surrendered to Robert Guiscard on favorable terms, Byzantine rule in southern Italy was effectively at an end, on 15 April 1071.

Naturally, during so long a siege there had to be some sort of diversion. The attempt on Brindisi was such, but ended badly for the Normans. Yet in 1071 Robert did manage to take Brindisi, apparently before the surrender of Bari.

that the Byzantines were unable to send more effective help to Bari. They were occupied in the East with the advance of the Seljuk Turks, who were making inroads into the very heart of the empire, Asia Minor, while the Norman threat was on the periphery. Naturally, the larger forces were sent to counter the greater threat. Lupus has here a garbled account of the events that took place in Armenia in 1071, at and after the battle of Manzikert. Although the Byzantine army suffered a disastrous defeat and Romanus was taken prisoner, he was well treated by the Seljuks, and made a treaty with them: He was freed, but was to pay tribute and a ransom; further, he was

Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1068-1071; Chron. breve north. ad ann. 1069-1071, cols. 1085-1086; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad ann. 1069-1070 -- Romualdo's notice that Robert captured the port of Vieste before investing Bari indicates with what care he planned and put into effect the siege of that city; Wm. Ap., Gesta II 478-573 and III 111-157, as well as Mathieu's commentary, pp. 291-291, 297-198; Amato, Ystoire V 27, pp. 248-255; Petrus diaconus, Chronica III 45, p. 735; Malaterra, Historia sicula II 40, pp. 48-49; Gay, Italie, pp. 535-538; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 186-190; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 168-173; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 94-95, nos. 57-59.

to release all Turkish prisoners, and was to provide military help to the Seljuks. But while all this was going on, Romanus had been deposed and Michael VII had assumed sole rule of the empire. Romanus' reappearance provoked a civil war, which his forces lost. He gave himself up to Michael's forces after receiving a pledge of personal safety. But the pledge was not honored, Romanus was blinded, and died from the experience. Then the Seljuks, who regarded Romanus as their ally after the treaty he had made with them, now invaded in force to avenge him. -- Lupus specifies the correct relationship between Michael and Romanus, since Romanus was married to Michael's mother. 1

182-183 Once Robert Guiscard felt that his mainland situation was secure and stable, he set out with his brother Roger to complete the conquest of Sicily. From Apulia he set out with his ships in July, and in August arrived near Palermo, where Roger was already waiting for him. Palermo was blockaded. A fleet from Africa was defeated. The city was starving, and the suburbs and administrative quarter had already been captured. The remaining defenders realized the futility of further resistance. After a few days of negotiations, they handed the city over to Robert, on very good terms indeed. The date is correctly noted by Lupus, 10 January 1072.2

¹See Paul Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire (London 1938) 16-21, and Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 344-345.

²Wm. Ap., Gesta III 187-343 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 298-300; Malaterra, Historia sicula II 45, pp. 52-53; Amato, Ystoire VI 13-19, pp. 275-282; Petrus diaconus, Chronica III 45, p. 735; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad ann. 1070-1071, pp. 187-188; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1072, col. 1086; Amari, Storia

- During the siege of Palermo, several of the Apulian Normans rose in rebellion against Robert Guiscard, and Pierron of Trani was one of the most important among them. Upon his return to the mainland, Robert Guiscard dealt with the revolt, and this is one of the more important cities to be recovered. By April the revolt had been put down. Pierron was released, and deprived only of the city of Trani itself, but left in possession of all his other lands.
- 185 Malaterra recounts that the year before this raid the Africans had made a successful raid on Nicotera (in Calabria), and now they wanted to try their luck again. So they came with their fleet, and landed at Mazara. Roger, however, found out about the landing, and went to the relief of the Normans, who were in the citadel. The Saracens were overcome, and few of them escaped. Lupus alone notes the number of captured ships and the presence of the nephew or grandson of the king of Africa (al-Mustansir). Malaterra notes these events in 1075.<sup>2</sup>
- 186 The emperor Michael VII had twice proposed military and marriage alliances between Byzantium and Robert Guiscard; the military alliance was to be sealed by a marriage between one of Robert's daughters and Michael's brother Constantine. Robert was not interested. When Michael raised his

III 119 ff.; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 206-211; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 174-184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap., Gesta III 348-411 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 301-304; Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> VII 2-3, pp. 292-295; <u>Chron. breve north. ad an. 1073</u>, col. 1086; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 223-225; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 193-195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Malaterra, <u>Historia sicula</u> III 9, p. 61.

offer to a marriage with his son and heir, Robert agreed to the pact. His daughter went off to Constantinople, where she received the name Helena, and was betrothed to Constantine Dukas. The marriage never took place, for a few years later Michael was deposed, and Helena was sent to a convent. Anna Comnena was later betrothed to Constantine, and has some unpleasant things to say about Helena. Helena's relegation to monastic life and the breaking of the engagement presented Robert with a beautiful pretext for invading imperial territory in 1081.

Lupus' date is off somewhat, since the Chrysobull from Michael VII to Robert, in which he makes his final offer, and sets out the terms of the agreement reached, is dated in August of the twelfth indiction.

From the Byzantine view, there were two advantages in this arrangement. At one stroke, the Normans were turned from enemies to allies with an interest in preserving the empire, and thus the empire was strengthened against the Turks in the East. Robert saw in the deal a way to get his family on the throne of Constantinople. Helena's ultimate fate is unknown.

¹Wm. Ap. Gesta III 501-502 and Mathieu's commentary, p. 306, and the bibliography, and the appendix, p. 349; Malaterra, Historia sicula III 13, pp. 64-65; George Cedrenus, op. cit., pp. 720-724; Anna Comnena, Alexiad I x 2, xii 4, 11, pp. 37, 43, 46; P. Bezobrazov published Michael's chrysobull to Robert, the marriage contract, in his article 'Khrisovul imperatora Mikhaila VII Duki', Vizantijskij Vremennik 6 (1898) 140-143; Peter Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West and the First Crusade', Byzantion 19 (1949) 17-36; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 260-265; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 220-224, 251.

187 Gisolfo of Salerno, brother of Sichelgaita, wife of Robert Guiscard, was not on friendly terms with his brother-in-law, or with anyone else in southern Italy with the possible exception of the pope. Robert Guiscard finally decided to put an end to the situation by taking the city. Robert and Richard of Capua had not been on the best of terms, but now they resolved their conflicts and went together to besiege Salerno. Gisolfo had foreseen the siege, and had ordered the people to lay in a two-year supply of food, and they had done so. But he and his soldiers stole the stores from the people, who were reduced to famine, since there was no way to get food into the city, thoroughly blockaded both by land and by sea. Gisolfo's friend, Gregory VII, was otherwise occupied at the moment, and in fact was in Tuscany, where he received a visit from Henry IV at Canossa; thus the pope was not able to intervene in the events at Salerno. The siege began in the summer of 1076, and the starving populace turned the city over to Robert in December. Gisolfo and a few friends held out in the citadel until May 1077, but finally surrendered. Gisolfo was deprived of his lands, and then was set free; he went first to Capua, finally to Rome. Salerno became the mainland capital of the Normans in Italy.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap., Gesta III 412-464 and Mathieu's commentary, p. 304; AnBen, ad an. 1075, p. 144; Malaterra, Historia sicula III 3-4, pp. 58-59; Amato, Ystoire VIII 2-24, 26-31, pp. 339-372; Petrus diaconus, Chronica III 45, p. 735; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1074, col. 1086; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1076, p. 189; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 244-247; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 210-213.

188-190 One of the conditions of the reconciliation between Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua was a mutual assistance agreement: Richard would help Robert at Salerno, and then Robert would help Richard at Naples. In May 1077, Naples was as effectively blockaded by sea and by land as Salerno had Then in November, Landolfo, former prince and now papal deputy in Benevento, died, and in December Robert laid siege to the city, rousing to a new pitch the ire of Gregory VII. who was not on good terms with the Normans in any case. on 5 April, Richard of Capua died, absolved at the last minute from his excommunication. His son and successor. Jordan I. along with Rainolfo, his mother's brother, made his submission to the pope, who, after all, would have to invest him with his lands if the succession were to be legal, since Capua had become a papal fief. Naturally, he also lifted the siege of Naples, and according to Petrus diaconus, accepted 4500 gold pieces from the Beneventans, and came to destroy the camps that Robert had erected around the city. Robert lifted the siege of the city and retired; since the Normans were no longer a united force, and since Henry IV had made his peace with Gregory VII, it was really the only logical course for Robert to follow.1

The name of the leader of the troops that came to

<sup>&#</sup>x27;AnBen; and AnBen; ad an. 1077, p. 145; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1076, pp. 189-190; Petrus diaconus, Chronica III 45, p. 735; Amato, Ystoire VIII 25, 32-33, pp. 366-367, 372-373; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 248-251; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 214-217.

the rescue of Benevento is not otherwise recorded. The text of Lupus is not entirely clear. Neither Radulfo nor Pipino can be identified, nor can one person be found who bore both names. One may be a correction of or a gloss on the other, but which? It seems that the only solution is to leave the two names between obeli.

In the spring of 1078, Robert married 191, 195, 198 one of his daughters to Ugo, son of Azzo, marquis d'Este, and this became the occasion for a general revolt of his vassals. They took offense at his demand for a contribution at the time of the marriage. Although this particular aid was standard feudal practice, it had not been imposed before in southern Italy, not even when Robert's daughter Helena was betrothed to Constantine Dukas, and so it came as a most unpleasant surprise to Robert's vassals. They were unable to resist his demands at the moment they were made, but they nourished their resentment in their hearts, and it is that resentment that now broke out as a new rebellion. Jordan of Capua and Gregory VII had something to do with the outbreak of the revolt, and it is just possible that there was some Byzantine involvement. rebellion was general, all over Robert's domains, and it took him until the spring of 1080 to get things in order again. Pierron once again is in the forefront of the rebellion, and once again in possession of Trani. Argirizzo, the leader of the pro-Norman party in Byzantine Bari, had been running things there ever since its capitulation to Robert; he now handed it over to Abelard. Robert's perpetually discontented nephew, on

26 February 1079. But about a year later, before April 1080, when Taranto fell to Robert, Bari was once again in his power. Not long afterward, Castellaneta and Trani, towns ruled by Pierron, were again Guiscard's, and that marked the end of the rebellion.1

Michael VII had initiated policies that not 192 only were ineffective against the Turkish advance in Asia Minor, but also wrecked the economy of the empire. Discontent was running strong not only in the military establishment, but also and especially among the population at large. Nicephorus III Botaneiates, a descent of the Phocas family, was proclaimed emperor in January 1078, and marched on Constantinople, where he was crowned on 24 March. He proceeded to marry the empress Maria, since Michael VII had retired to a monastery.2

Nothing is known of the cause of these deaths 193 in Matera, but one may speculate with available data that the military activity involved in the suppression of the rebellion may have had something to do with them, either directly, or through the provocation of internal disorders, or through destruction of crops and attendant famine. Then, too, the AnBen record a severe winter in 1079, and that could have been the cause; the people could have died from the cold, or through disease or famine.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Amato, <u>Ystoire</u> VIII 33, pp. 373-374; Wm. Ap., <u>Gesta</u> III 486-687, and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 305-310; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 251; Norwich, Conquest, p. 217.

See Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 346-348.

<sup>3</sup>AnBen, and AnBen, ad an. 1079, p. 145.

194 St. Canio was most likely a third or fourth century martyr of Atella, now Sant'Arpino near Aversa. He is regarded as the patron of Acerenza, but his relics are to be found in Salerno (or are there two sets of relics?). His feast is celebrated by the Roman church on 1 September, but at one time in a different usage it was celebrated on 25 May.<sup>1</sup>

- 195 See paragraph 191.
- 196 See paragraph 200.

The Robert mentioned here is not the Duke of Apulia, but his nephew, Robert of Montescaglioso, who took Matera in 1064 (above, paragraph 169) The Normans were either elected by the city for the second time, or ejected from it; the confusion comes from the shape of the Beneventan <u>i-longa</u>, which ascended from the line, and was frequently mistaken for '1' by scribes not familiar with Beneventan conventions. The fact that the chronicle refers to Robert as 'eximius' argues for 'electi', as does the lapse of less than a month between Robert's death and Geoffrey's succession. Furthermore, this reading is supported by mss PN, which in other places have what are probably genuine readings in passages that seem to have suffered scribal emendation in the other witnesses. Thus 'electi' is adopted in the text. The form 'Geofredus' has been substituted for the ms reading 'Lofredus', as it was above in paragraph 171. This Geoffrey of Conversano was Robert's brother, not his son; he died in 1100, and was succeeded in turn by his son, Alexander (paragraph 240).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Antonio Balducci, 'Canione', <u>Bibliotheca Sanctorum</u> III (Rome 1963) cols. 747-748, Antonio Balducci and Giovanni Lucchesi, 'Elpidio di Atella', in vol. IV (Rome 1964) cols. 1146 ff.; AASS Maii V (Rome 1866) pp. 285-286, Maii VI (Rome 1866) pp. 26-35, Sept. I (Rome 1868) pp. 209-219; cf. Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1079, p. 191.

198 See paragraph 191.

Argirizzo of Bari is once again disaffected with the Normans, and goes to Serbia, where he arranges a wedding between Constantine Bodin, son of the king, Mihailo; one of the four children that Jacquinta bore Constantine succeeded to the throne, but was later deposed. Jacquinta died in exile in Constantinople.

Upon the deposition of Michael 200-201, 204, 196 VII Dukas (7 January 1078), the engagement between Constantine Dukas and Robert Guiscard's daughter Helena was broken Robert seized the occasion as a marvellous excuse to invade the Byzantine empire. To strengthen his position, he produced a Greek monk, who posed as Michael VII. The war that was about to begin, then, had a double character: Not only was it to be a punitive expedition against those who had dishonored the duke through his daughter, it was also to be a mission to restore the rightful emperor to his own throne. So after settling things in Italy, Robert set off on his ex-In the spring of 1081, Robert sent off a prelimipedition. nary task force under his son Bohemund, and this group took Avlona on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, and made an attempt on Kerkira (Corfu), but put off the attack for lack of In May, Robert sailed with the main force and joined the other at Butrint. Just a month before, Nicephorus III

¹Wm. Ap., Gesta III 655-698; Letopis popa Duklanina, ed. F. Šišić, Srpska Kralevska Akademija, Posebna Izdańa Kńiga 67, Folosofski i Filolośki Spisi, Kńiga 18 (1928), c. 42, p. 360; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 390.

Botaneiates had abdicated after Alexius I Comnenus and his rebel forces took Constantinople, and Alexius had become emperor (1 April 1081 -- 15 August 1118). Now the united Norman forces went against Kerkira, and took the island. they went North, but were overtaken by a storm which wrecked a large part of the fleet. Yet they pressed on to Durrës, where they were defeated in a battle by a Venetian fleet that had sailed to the help of the emperor, and in its own interests. Nevertheless, Robert was not discouraged, and laid siege to Durrës in July. In October, Alexius arrived with a relief force, but this consisted of many elements which were inadequately trained, or whose loyalty was doubtful. When even the Varangians lost their self-control in their eagerness to get at the Normans, the situation began to look grim. In fact. Alexius escaped from this battle only after being wounded (18 October), and the victory went to the Normans. The siege of Durrës was concluded when one of the Venetians turned the city over to the Normans (21 February 1082), and Robert made quick advances after that. By April he was in Kastoria in Macedonia, and from there he had to return to Italy to deal with yet another rebellion, and with Henry IV, who was causing more trouble than ever for Gregory VII, whom he was besieging.1

Anna Comnena, Alexiad I x-xvi, III xii, IV-VI vi, vol. I pp. 36-61, 138-168, vol. II, pp. 7-57; Petrus diaconus, Chronica II 49-50, pp. 738-741; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1080 ind. 4, pp. 191-194; Wm. Ap., Gesta IV 122-214, and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 313-316; Malaterra, Historia sicula III 24-29, pp. 71-75; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1081, col. 1086; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 267-273; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 224-233.

202, 205, 209-210, 212 This is hardly the place to try to sum up the history of the reform of the western Church in the middle ages, along with its results in both the ecclesiastical and civil situations. Suffice it to say that for many years, relations between Gregory VII and Henry IV had been other than warm. Gregory had excommunicated Henry more than once, and had even tried to depose him. But that is the sort of game that two can play, and Henry had in turn called a synod of the bishops in his lands, which deposed Gregory and elected in his place Guiberto, archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name Clement III. Henry was on his way to Rome to throw Gregory out of the papacy, and put Clement in; Clement in return was to crown Henry emperor. Guiscard received Gregory's appeal for aid while he was on his Byzantine campaign (Epidamno, which appears here as Epidauro, was the ancient Greek name for Durres), and returned to Italy to help him. No doubt the oath of fealty he had sworn to the pope at Ceprano in 1080, when the Norman-papal conflicts were patched up, played some part in the decision to return, but self-interest was certainly not lacking. After all, a strong imperial military presence on his borders would certainly have been far less advantageous to Robert than the weak papal one. So Robert left operations in Greece in the charge of Bohemund, and returned to Italy. Upon his arrival, he found that Henry had gone North, and for the moment presented no great danger. So Robert turned South, to put down a fresh rebellion in his provinces, where, it seems, Byzantine gold had worked on the

loyalty of some of Robert's vassals. After some maneuvering, in which Robert's own money was active in Rome, Henry finally took the Leonine city, while Gregory shut himself up in the Castel Sant'Angelo. The Romans finally gave the city to Henry, as he was on his way to meet Robert in Apulia. The antipope Clement was enthroned, and Henry received from him the imperial But now Robert was ready to come to Gregory's aid, and marched on Rome. Henry found important business to conduct elsewhere, and left Rome to the Normans, who arrived on 24 They entered the city on the evening of the twentyseventh, and began to sack it; of course, they did not refrain from the atrocities that usually attend the pillage of a city. On the third day, the Romans rose in rebellion. They were brutally suppressed, and the city was fired. Gregory, now cordially hated by the Romans, had to leave Rome with Robert when he was ready to return to Salerno, some time in July.1

Lupus is using no known world-era in these dating clauses. The Byzantine world-era year is 6590; the year of Rome is 1836.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>204</sup> See paragraph 200.

<sup>205</sup> See paragraph 202.

¹Wm. Ap., Gesta IV 506-557 and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 324-326; Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1083, 1084; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1084, cols. 1086-1087; Anna Comnena, Alexiad V iii 3-7, vol. II pp. 14-17; Malaterra, Historia sicula III 33-38, pp. 77-81; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1080 ind. 4, pp. 194-195; Petrus diac., Chronica III 53, p. 741; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 271-278; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 234-243.

2Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 5-25, 56-85, 111-128.

- Abelard is Robert Guiscard's ever-rebellious nephew, one of the ringleaders in just about every rising against his uncle. This time he goes to the Byzantine emperor, who is only too happy to do anything likely to distract the Normans from their campaign in Greece. Although there has been some dispute about the date of Abelard's passing into Byzantine service, William of Apulia and Lupus both note the event after Alexius' accession; thus it seems that Abelard did not leave Italy immediately after the earlier revolt was quelled, as Chalandon thought. Abelard served as a go-between for Alexius I and Henry IV, and was to transmit gold and precious stuffs from Byzantium to the West; he may have been a conduit for Byzantine funds and influence in Apulia as well.
- 207 The same Arnaldo mentioned above in paragraph 194.
- 208 The dating of the Longobard conquest is not accurate; it was discussed above in paragraph 50.
  - 209-210 See paragraph 202.
- 211 When Robert Guiscard returned from Greece to find Gregory VII in no immediate danger from Henry IV, he turned his attention to Apulia, and this siege and reconquest of Canne is one of the actions he had to take to quell the rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap., <u>Gesta</u> III 659-667, and Mathieu's commentary, p. 309, as well as the appendix, p. 350; Anna Comnena, <u>Alexiad</u> III x 4, vol I p. 134; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup>Wm. Ap., Gesta IV 528-535 and commentary, pp. 325-326.

212 See paragraph 202.

Now that the papal situation and the Apulian rebellion were both under control, Robert Guiscard was able to turn his attention once again to his eastern expedition. it was a matter that needed attention, for the Normans under Bohemund had by now lost most of the considerable gains they had made before and immediately after Robert's departure in 1082. Kassiopi is a city of the NE corner of Kerkira. battle noted by Lupus is recorded by other sources as well, and the most detailed account is that of Anna Comnena. According to this, there were two battles off Kassiopi, both won by the Venetians. They were then so sure of their victory that they sent off messages to Venice to announce the triumph. At this precise point, Robert decided on a surprise attack, which resulted in a total rout of the Venetian fleet. Anne mentions a fourth battle off Butrint, won by the Venetians; although many historians have not taken notice of it, there seems no good reason to doubt it, yet it was not of any great importance, for it hardly detained Robert from the continuation of his expedition. -- The Doge of Venice at this period was Vitale Falier.1

Ap., Gesta V 144-201, commentary pp. 332-333; Rom. Sal, Chronicon ad an. 1083, ind. 7, pp. 195-196; Chron. breve north. ad an. 1085, cols. 1087-1088; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 428; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 282-283; Norwich, Conquest, p. 244 note 1 thinks the fourth battle mentioned by Anna is a piece of wishful thinking, and so disagrees with C. Manfroni, 'Un episodio contestato della guerra navale veneto-normanna, 1081-1085', Atti e memorie della Reale Accademia in Padova, n.s. 25 (1909) 85-96, who argues for the genuineness and relative unimportance of the fourth battle.

215 Gregory VII died in Salerno on 25 May 1085. The <u>Annales beneventani</u> note that there was much rain in this year, over a period of five months.<sup>1</sup>

After his victory over the Venetian fleet 216-217 in the autumn of 1084, Robert Guiscard wintered at Vonitsa. There an epidemic -- Norwich suggests typhus -- broke out in the Norman army. Many died from the disease, and Bohemund was sent home to Italy to recuperate. In spite of the losses suffered, in the spring Robert sent his son Roger Borsa to take Kefallenia. Robert himself set out later to take command of the expedition, but was struck with the disease as he was on his way. He was not able to go as far as Roger's camp, which was probably the site identified by Mathieu as Instead, the ship put in at the northern end of To Kastro. the island. Although Anna Comnena says that Robert died at Cape Atheras, another cape at the northern end of the island, Cape Dafnoudi, has a town called Fiskardo, which may well be the place where Robert died. Anna Commena recounts a story in which the dying Robert looked over to the island of Ithaca; if indeed he did that, then he could not have been at Atheras, for Cape Dafnoudi blocks the view from Atheras to Ithaca. Robert died on 17 July 1085, after recognizing Roger as his The body was returned to Italy and buried in the Church of the Trinity at Venosa. The immediate effect of Robert's death was the end of the Byzantine campaign, and confusion and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 1084, pp. 146-147; Petrus diaconus, Chronica III 65, pp. 747-748.

dissension in the Norman lands in Italy in the following years. 1

From the tone of his language, the chronicler seems to have little sympathy for the Normans. The chronicler apparently left a blank in which to write the name of the place where Robert died; from the details he mentions, it seems that he thought that Robert died at Vonitsa. The reading of ms U is patently a later attempt to heal the text, but it fails miserably.

- 218 The relics of St. Nicholas of Myra were removed from that city on 20 April 1087, and brought into Bari on 9 May. A church dedicated to the saint was erected in the place of the former pretorium, and his body was put in the crypt, where it remains to this day.<sup>2</sup>
- 219 Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino, the unwilling successor to Gregory VII, reigned as Victor III from 24 May 1086 until 16 September 1087. Ps-Clement III was around for many years to put in his claim to the papal throne and to make difficulties for the church; he did not die

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap., <u>Gesta</u> V 284-409, and Mathieu's commentary, pp. 334-337, and p. 249 note 2; Rom. Sal., <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 1085, pp. 196-197; Petrus diaconus, <u>Chronica</u> III 57, p. 743; <u>Chron. breve north. ad an.</u> 1085, cols. 1087-1088; Anna Commena, <u>Alexiad</u> VI vi 1-3, vol. II, pp. 55-56; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 282-283; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 245-246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>F. Nitti di Vito, 'La traslazione delle reliquie di San Nicola', Japigia 8 (1937) 295-411; Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνανομιδὴν τοῦ Λειψάνου τοῦ δσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Θαυματούργου Νυκολάου, ed. G. Anrich, <u>Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche:</u> Texte und Untersuchungen I: Texte (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 435-449.

until 1100. The chronicler's tone might suggest that he accepted the claims of Clement rather than those of the successors of Gregory VII.1

220 The date of the earthquake is provided by the Anonymus, who says Friday, 10 September indictional 1088; 10 September 1087 did in fact fall on a Friday.

The war between Bohemund and Roger broke out at the end of the summer or early in the fall of 1087, for reasons that are not completely known. Bohemund took some territory in Calabria and Apulia, and after peace was concluded in 1089, he retained Cosenza, but after a time he traded it to Roger for Bari.<sup>3</sup>

221 Chalandon follows Malaterra in dating the capture of Syracuse in October 1085; Lupus wants to date it a year later. The amīr of Syracuse, whose name Malaterra reports as Bernavert, had been for some years rather quiet, but opened hostilities again in 1084, by raiding in Calabria. Roger decided to put an end to this sort of thing with the definitive conquest of Syracuse. The preparations began in October 1084, and continued until May 1085. At that time the fleet and the army set out. After a reconnaissance party returned with information, the siege began on 24 May with a naval battle off Syracuse. Bernavert was killed, and

Grumel, Chronologie, p. 432; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 290-294; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 261-266.

Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Malaterra, <u>Historia sicula</u> IV 9-10, pp. 90-91; Rom. Sal., <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 1088, p. 198; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 294-295.

the Saracens were soundly defeated. As this was happening, the army began its siege of the city, which managed to hold out until October, when the notables of the city fled by sea. The grisly matter of cannibalism is a possibility in so long a siege with a total blockade.

- Lupus' dating is once again inaccurate, for the correct date of the Synod of Melfi is September of indictional 1090. Lupus fails to note that Urban II was at that synod, although he mentions Urban's subsequent activities in the next paragraph. The truce of God suspended private warfare for several days during the week, often from Wednesday evening to Sunday.
- 223 Ursus died in February 1089. The date of Elias' consecration is 5 October of the same year according to the papal bull, while the Anonymus says 30 September, and gives 1 October for the date of the consecration of the church of St. Nicholas. From Bari, Urban went to Trani (11 October), then to Brindisi (end of October, beginning of November) to consecrate the church there, and was back in Rome for Christmas. Lupus again mentions the antipope Clement III.<sup>3</sup>
- 224 Romualdo of Salerno gives a few more details, and says that no house, no building survived the conflagra-

<sup>2</sup>CDB-I 61 no. 33, cf. 64 no. 34; Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Regesta I 664-665; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 296-297.

3Locc. citt.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Malaterra, <u>Historia sicula</u> IV 1-2, pp. 85-86, and Pontieri's note 3, p. 86; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 338-339 -- the '1085' at the foot of p. 338 is an obvious misprint for '1084'; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 255-258.

tion, and twenty-five men also died in the disaster. This apparently was the end of a rebellion of the city against Roger of Sicily, in 1091. Lupus dating once again is not completely accurate. 1

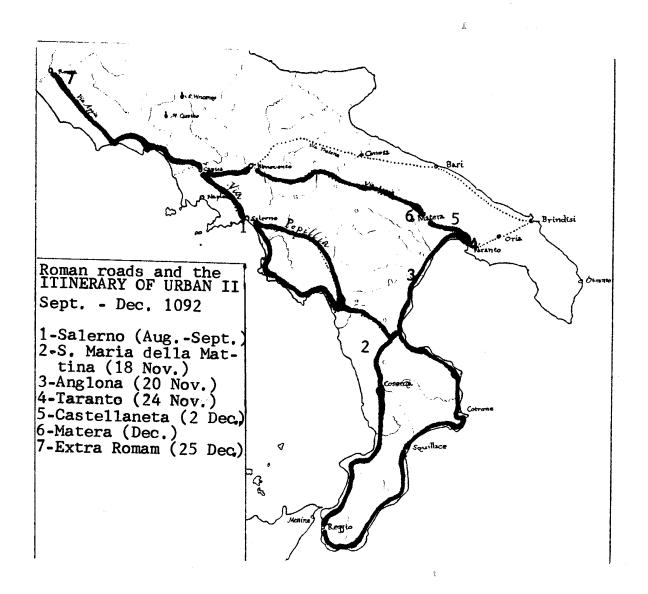
- Jordan of Capua died on 20 November 1090, and was succeeded by his son Richard.
- 226 Evidently the truce of God sworn at Melfi failed, and had to be renewed. The dating indications are not correct for 1091, indiction 14, for the lunar epacts were twenty-eight, not twenty-nine. The world-era corresponds with no other in use, and Lupus is not even internally consistent, for at the year 1082 (paragraph 203) he cited the world-year 6290. The Byzantine world-year is 6599.
- Apparently Oria rose against Bohemund, in whose territory it lay. Romualdo of Salerno mentions this matter in almost precisely the same words, but there seems to be no reference to it in the other sources.4
- 228-229 In paragraph 228 there is a clear choice to be made between the manuscript readings for the month of the death of the abbess, and the division is between the two families of manuscripts, so that purely textual criteria fail in this case. The itinerary of Urban II, if properly established, might provide the clue to the correct reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Rom. Sal., <u>Chronicon ad an</u>. 1090, p. 199; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, p. 425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Grumel, <u>Chronologie</u>, pp. 256, 270, 277.

<sup>4</sup>Rom. Sal., <u>Chronicon ad an</u>. 1091, p. 199; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 298.



But there is no documentary evidence for his stopover in Matera, and in Jaffé-Loewenfeld, it is Pertz's edition of Lupus, with its reading of October, that is used to place the pope in Matera in that month. But this seems an error. Many of the old Roman roads were still in use during the middle ages, and indeed many of the modern Italian highways simply follow the path marked by the Roman roads. Among these was the Via Popillia, which ran from Capua to Reggio, a connecting road that ran along the coast from Reggio to Taranto and beyond, and the Via Appia, which ran between Rome and Brindisi by way of Capua, Benevento and Taranto. A glance at the map will show that the following points, visited by the pope at the dates indicated, all fall on or near the roads just mentioned:

Salerno August-September
S. Maria
della Mattina 18 November
Anglona 20 November
Taranto 24 November
Castellaneta 2 December
Near Rome 25 December.

Although Urban could have gone from the Salerno area to Matera, and then to the other places mentioned, it would not have been logical or economical for him to do so. The city, in fact, would fit into the above list quite neatly between Castellaneta and Rome, assuming that Urban started from Salerno, went through Calabria, then Lucania to Taranto, and then finally along the Via Appia back to Rome. After considering these data, we have adopted the reading 'decembris' in the text.¹

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Regesta I 664-665; V. Chapot, 'Via,

- ('feria quarta'); hence the restoration of the word 'quarta' between angle brackets, in the belief that the second occurrence of the word, although it was probably present in the text at one point, was later omitted as a supposed dittography. At the council Urban II held at Clermont from 18 to 24 November 1095, he asked for military aid for the East, and for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre from the Turkish Saracens. The response was immediate and overwhelming, and Lupus' expression is not as exaggerated as it may at first seem.
- Roger of Sicily was helping Roger Borsa in trying to put down a rebellion that had broken out in Amalfi, when the news of Clermont and the crusading summons reached them. The immediate and enthusiastic adherence of large numbers of men from the army was the result, and caused the leaders to abandon the siege.<sup>2</sup>
- 232 The 'Comes sancti Egidii' is Raymond of Saint-Gilles, of which name 'Egidius' is the Latin form. The Count

Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316; Runciman, Crusades I 107 ff.; Peter Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West and the First Crusade', Byzantion 19 (1949) 17-36.

Runciman, <u>Crusades</u> I 106-133, 142-171; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 301-302; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 276-277; the Byzantine reaction to and handling of the beginnings of the first Crusade is found in Anna Comnena, <u>Alexiad</u> X v-vii, vol. II pp. 205-236.

route ou rue', <u>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecs et romaines</u>, ed. Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio et all., vol. V (Paris 1917) pp. 777-817, esp. p. 798; the work published by the Società Concessioni e Costruzioni Autostrade p. A., <u>Comunicazioni stradali attraverso i tempi</u>, a cura di Daniele Sterpos, several vols. (Rome 1959), might have been helpful in establishing the condition of these roads during our period, but I was not able to obtain a copy of the work.

of Normandy is Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror. Nicaea's Turkish garrison surrendered to Byzantine authorities when faced with the threat of a general assault from the Crusaders, on 19 June 1097.

- 233 Grumel lists a comet visible all over the known world, on 30 September 1097, and notes that Matthew of Edessa speaks of a comet, perhaps the same one, visible during the Armenian month of Mareri (November-December). The Crusaders arrived before Antioch on 20 October 1097, and hemmed the place in closely, particularly after April 1098. The city fell on 3 June of that year.
- 234 The son of Jordan of Capua, Richard II, had been expelled from the city on his father's death. He asked Roger Borsa and Roger of Sicily to help him regain his throne. They agreed to do so, and laid siege to the city in May. After forty days, the city surrendered and Richard was recognized as prince of Capua. Lupus' 'mense maji' must refer to the beginning of the siege, and not to its end.
- 235 It seems that the council of Bari was concerned with the union of the Latin and Greek churches, most particularly in southern Italy itself. St. Anselm of Canterbury had a large part to play in its deliberations, and in per-

Runciman, <u>Crusades</u> I 213-215; Anna Comnena, <u>Alexiad</u> XI iv, vi, vol. III pp. 19-23, 27-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Runciman, <u>Crusades</u> I 175-183; Anna Comnena, <u>Alexiad</u> XI i-ii, vol. III pp. 7-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Petrus diaconus, <u>Chronica</u> IV 10; Malaterra, <u>Historia</u> sicula IV 26 ff.; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, pp. 303-304; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 272-273.

suading the Byzantine hierarchy of southern Italy to accept the Roman position on several important doctrinal questions, including the 'Filioque' question. The official acts of the council have been lost, but some information is available from Eadmer's biography of St. Anselm.'

236-238 The date of the fall of Jerusalem is not
29 June, but 14 July. The slaughter recorded by Lupus is a
matter of lamentable fact. Pope Urban II died on 29 June, and
the chronicler may have confused dates and occasions. Godfrey,
Duke of Lower Lorraine, was elected in July to head the new
order in Jerusalem, but refused the crown and took the title
'Advocatus sancti Sepulchri', 'Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre'.
Paschal II reigned from 13-14 August 1099 until 21 January
1118. The story of Godfrey's death reported here is not found
in other sources; in fact he died on 18 July 1100, of a disease
that lasted a month; Runciman thinks it was typhoid.<sup>2</sup>

In paragraph 238, the archetypal text is clearly corrupt. Although the scribe of S, or Caracciolo, the editor, attempted to cure the corruption, we think he failed to identify the problem indicated by the words still surviving. The insertion of a verb between 'ante', taken as an adverb, and 'eum', solves the difficulty with the least violence to the archetypal

Runciman, Crusades I 279-293, 312-324; Anna Comnena, Alexiad XI vi 9, vol. III p. 32; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 432.

Ladmer, Vita, pp. 884-885, Vita, pp. 912-913; [Pasquale del Prete], Il Concilio di Bari nel 1098 (Bari 1959). It is noteworthy that the Byzantine churches of Sicily and southern Italy, in communion with Rome, do not recite that clause in the Creed.

text. Since Lupus normally uses participles in the correct case -- not all south Italian authors of the period did so -- it seems that 'egrediens', in spite of its clumsy positioning, must refer to Godfrey; hence the punctuation adopted.

239 Caesarea was besieged on 2 May and taken on 17 May 1101.1

240 Geoffrey of Conversano died and was succeeded by his son Alexander; see paragraph 197.

241-242 Roger of Sicily died on 22 June 1101 at Mileto in Calabria, and was succeeded by his son Roger II under the regency of Adelaide. Arnaldo of Matera died in 1101 and was succeeded by Pietro in May 1102; Pietro died in 1142.2

Runciman, <u>Crusades</u> II 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Rom. sal., <u>Chronicon ad an.</u> 1101, pp. 202-203; Chalandon, <u>Domination normande</u>, p. 354; Norwich, <u>Conquest</u>, pp. 277-284; Gams, <u>Series</u>, p. 843.