

The *Annales Barenses* and the *Annales Lupi Protospatharii*
Critical Edition and Commentary

by

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A Dissertation submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

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FOREWORD

This work developed from an interest in Byzantine Italy awakened during a course in Byzantine History at the University of Toronto. It has taken several years to research and write, and during that time many people have provided encouragement and assistance, which I am most happy to acknowledge:

The Associates of the University of Toronto (Travel Grant, 1975); the Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici, Palermo, where I was able to work for two years and more as a research associate ('ospite di ricerca'), and its President, Prof. Bruno Lavagnini; the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome (extraordinary research grant, 1976); the Collegio Internazionale di S. Anselmo, Rome, the Abbot Primate of the Order of St. Benedict, and the Prior of S. Anselmo; the Abbot and Community of the Monastery of S. Martino delle Scale, outside Palermo; the Collegio Universitario B. G. de Angelis, Palermo, and its prefect, Rev. Giovanni Ajello, S.J.; and Prof. and Mrs. Goffredo Cognetti (University of Palermo) and their families; Vera von Falkenhausen, of the University of Pisa and the German Historical Institute, Rome, whose generous consultations at the beginning of this project were particularly valuable; also the libraries which provided microfilms of the manuscripts and consented to their use in this study -- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome; Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

But above all, my thanks go to my family, for their patient understanding, help and encouragement.

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I. A. General Introduction

I. A. 1. The Annals of Bari

There are three works that make up the body of writing that can be called the annals of Bari. They are the Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii, the objects of the present study, and the Anonymi barensis chronicon. All three works probably originated as compilations of annals recorded in paschal tables in liturgical books (see below, I.B.4.d). The Annales barenses [AnBa] and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii [Lupus], although similar in some ways, are probably independent of each other (section I.B.4.d). The Anonymi barensis chronicon [Anonymus] used some of the source material Lupus used, particularly in the section that runs through 1040; there one finds in the Anonymus, verbatim or nearly so, many phrases and clauses found also in Lupus.¹ After that point, however, the Anonymus used sources different from those of Lupus, and so acquires a greater value. This group of three chronicles constitutes one of the most important sources for the history of southern Italy during the second Byzantine period, and during the first quarter-century of Norman rule (ca. 850 - ca. 1100). Other chronicles from nearby areas occasionally provide valuable information on particular events, but do not concentrate on the Byzantine province.

¹These similarities led some earlier writers to think that Lupus, who often provides more details than the Anonymus, was the source for that work (v. Pertz, MGH-SS V 51), but Hirsch, Ann., pp. 5-6, shows that neither chronicle is derived from the other.

The present work provides a new, critical edition of the Latin text of the AnBa and of Lupus. The editor would have liked to present as well a new edition of the Anonymus, but no manuscript sources of this work can now be found, and the only witness available is the seventeenth-century edition.¹

The historian of the Byzantine provinces of Italy -- there were three, Longobardia, Lucania and Calabria -- has at his disposal a rather large body of local sources, more, in fact, than are to be found for any other province before the time of the Comneni.² There are many documents, ranging from private deeds of gift through wills and inventories to official administrative acts granting privileges or setting the boundaries of new cities. There are chronicles from the surrounding areas, which shed light on particular events. But our chronicles are the only narrative sources written in and concentrating on Bari and the Byzantine lands. Without them, it would be difficult to write the history of Byzantine Italy, and even with them, the documentation is far from perfect.

¹The Anonymus was published by Camillo Pellegrino, Historia principum langobardorum, vol. I, part 3 (Naples 1643) 185 ff., under the title Ignoti civis barensis seu Lupi Protospathae chronicon; full bibliographical information on Lupus and the AnBa is found below, in section I.B.3.

²Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 103.

I. A. 2. a. Political Background¹

In the period during which our chronicles were being written, many groups were contending for domination in southern Italy. After the restoration of the Roman empire in Italy in the sixth century, under the reign of Justinian, the Longobards (or Lombards) invaded when the State found itself unable to defend itself effectively. Byzantine rule in northern Italy shrank to Ravenna on the east coast and Rome on the west, with a corridor between them; finally Ravenna itself, which had functioned as the Byzantine capital, fell to the Longobards. For a long time, Byzantine rule continued in Rome and the maritime cities in the area, but even here Byzantine influence waned, and Byzantine sovereignty became nominal as local notables established practical control. The Longobards took effective control of the coasts as well, except for the area around Reggio and the tip of Calabria, and in the extreme south of the Salento.

During the same period, the Merovingian kingdom to the North of the Alps weakened, and was brought to an end by the Carolingian line. Charlemagne conquered the Longobard kingdom in Italy, and himself assumed its crown. The Longobard heritage was carried on by the prince of Benevento. But

¹In this and the following sub-sections of part I.A, the editor does not pretend to break new ground; rather, he wishes to provide a brief sketch of some essential background information, so that the reader may have an idea of the context in which the events recounted in the chronicles took place. For details, one may pursue the bibliography here presented, and also Gay, Italie, pp. 3-71.

after a while, the principality split into two, Benevento and Salerno.

During the same period, the Arabs set out from Africa to conquer most of the northern part of that continent, as well as the near East. They found a foothold in Spain, and by the early part of the ninth century, they were established in Sicily. Now Benevento was always trying to conquer its neighbor, Naples, and in one of the many campaigns, the Neapolitans hired Arab mercenaries, who gave them an advantage. Then the Longobards hired other Arabs. Before long, the Arabs gained control of the situation. Eventually, Taranto became an Arab naval base, and Bari even became an emirate after falling to the Saracens in 841.

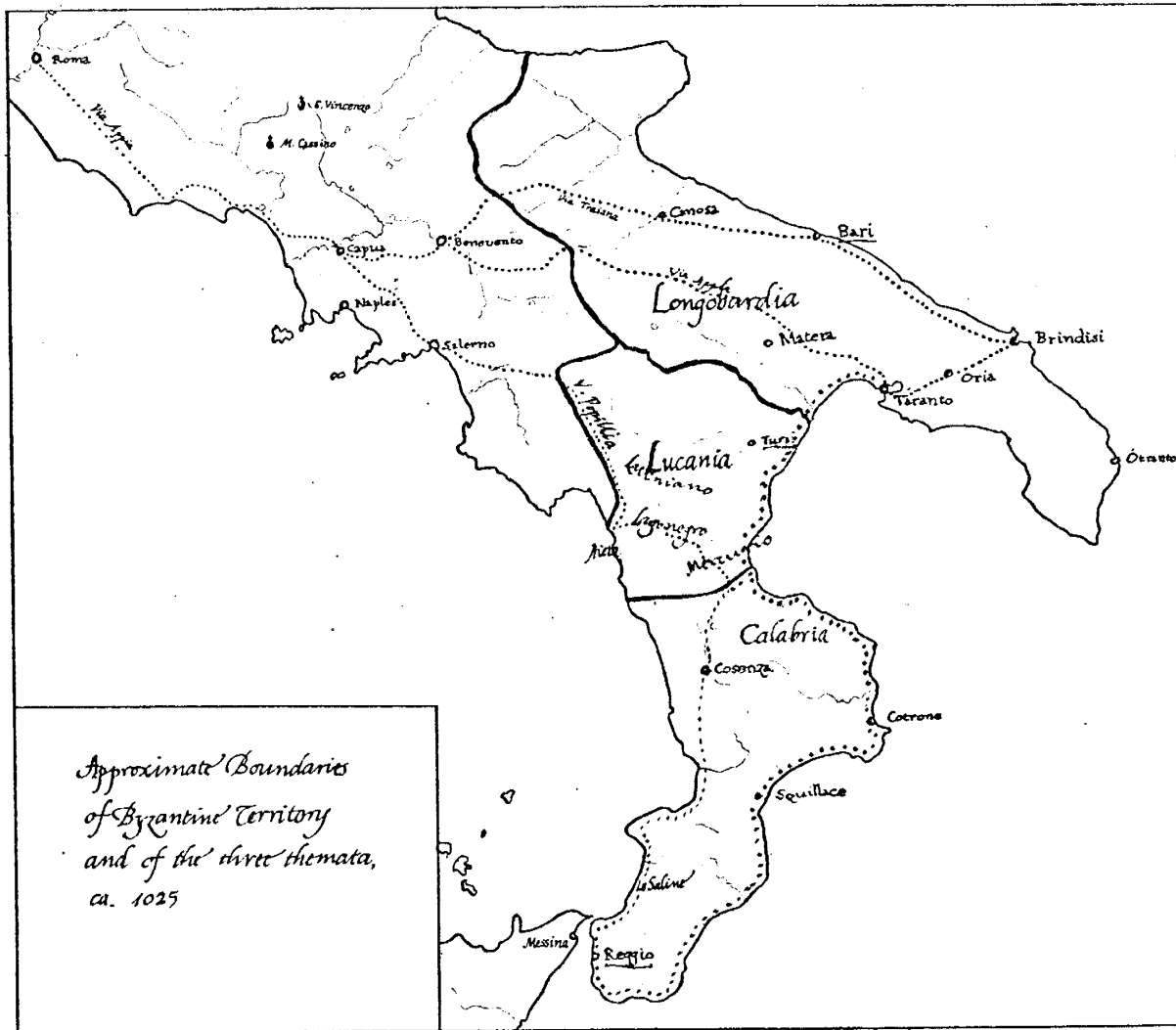
The Carolingians, by conquering the Longobard kingdom and assuming its crown, acquired pretensions to sovereignty over the Longobard principalities of the South, pretensions they never forgot, but could not make effective unless they were personally present with large armies.

And then the Byzantines reappear on the scene.

During the period of our chronicles, these various groups were vying for control of the situation in southern Italy. The Carolingians and the Byzantines claimed sovereignty over the same lands, and although they did not often come to blows over it, their pretensions were never forgotten. The Longobard princes did not usually try to take over the lands the Byzantines managed to win back from them, but did try with varying degrees of success to maintain their independence in

the face of rival claims on their loyalty. The Popes and the coastal cities, too, tried to remain independent, and at times the Popes tried to influence affairs. The Arabs, although they were forced out of Italy itself, retained their hold on Sicily in spite of Byzantine attempts at reconquest, and tried to re-establish their hold on the mainland from time to time. The situation remained an unstable equilibrium, with shifting alliances, for almost the entire period of the chronicles. Although the Byzantines were usually in control of their three provinces, at times they were driven back to the coast for brief periods, and they never had a really easy time in maintaining control.

The arrival of the Normans finally brought a change in the situation. They started off their Italian career as mercenaries, but between 1040 and 1071 they managed to enlarge their position to the point where they drove the Byzantines out of the South, and even managed to wrest a good bit of Sicily from the Saracens. By the time they finally managed to establish their rule in the South of Italy and Sicily, there was no power able to resist them. Both empires and the Arabs were excluded from the political stage, the Popes were the allies of the Normans, and the Longobard principalities either were extinct or were held by Norman princes.



*Approximate Boundaries
of Byzantine Territory
and of the three themata,
ca. 1025*

I. A. 2. b. Byzantine Territory

The Byzantine empire claimed some sort of overlordship in Italy, since Italy had been the original seat of the Roman empire (the Byzantines always called themselves Romans). The Longobard princes in Italy usually maintained complete independence of action; when they were in friendly relations with Constantinople, they bore Byzantine titles and dated their documents by the regnal years of the Byzantine Emperor; when they were in conflict with the empire, or when the western 'emperors' were active in the area, these marks of respect for the Emperor in the East were usually omitted. Naples and the other areas that had never fallen under Longobard rule, although in fact independent, were nominally a part of the Byzantine Empire.

What is of interest here, however, is the territory under direct Byzantine administration during the period covered by the Bari chronicles. Guillou has recently worked out the limits of this area at its greatest extent, and we follow his account.¹ From the Adriatic coast, the river Fortore served as the northern limit of Byzantine expansion; from the Fortore, the range of the Dauni mountains served as the border, which then passed between Bovino and Ariano to the river Ofanto at a point west of Melfi, wound with the river around mount Vulture, then ran east of Potenza to the river Tanagro at a point near Polla, then through the Vallo di Diano, then to the west

¹Guillou, Aspetti, p. 169.

of Lagonegro to the river Noce, and so to the Tyrrhenian sea.

Within the territory so defined there were several major subdivisions, called themata or themes (singular theme, from the Greek θέμα). Each theme was divided into turmai, usually three, and each of these was further divided into drungai or banda or topoteresiai. The head of the administration was the strategos, or military governor; each turma was headed by a turmarch (sometimes called merarch), and the lower subdivisions were governed by drungarioi or counts or topoteretai, depending on the designation of the unit. All of these names were based on divisions of the army.¹

The first theme was Longobardia, with its capital at Bari (except for a brief period in the late 800's when Benevento was the capital), organized as a theme about 891. That date, however, is an argument from silence; although Bari was in Byzantine hands after 876, only in 891 do we find any reference to the administrative title of the governor, who at that time is designated as strategos.²

Calabria was a subdivision of the theme of Sicily until at least 902, but not long afterward became a theme in its own right, with its capital at Reggio. Even later, around 968 or 969, Lucania was set up as a separate theme, with its capital at Tursi.³

¹Guillou, Aspetti, p. 176.

²Ibid., pp. 170-171.

³Ibid., pp. 171, 208-233; Agostino Pertusi, 'Il "tema" di Calabria: Sua formazione, lotte per la sopravvivenza; società e clero di fronte a Bisanzio e a Roma', Byzantino-Sicula II (Palermo 1975) 425-443.

As to the subdivisions of the themata: Guillou notes that the names of more than forty turmarchae of Longobardia have come down to us, yet the information is not adequate to delimit their territories, and the subdivisions of the turmai present the same situation. Most of the names of the subalterns are of Longobard origin, while the higher officers are almost always from the East. Calabria was subdivided into turmai, of which two can be identified, that of Le Saline (we have the name of one of its banda, Buzzano), and that of Aieta; and that is all that is known. Lucania was divided into the turmai of Lagonegro, Mercurio and Latiniano, but further subdivisions are not known.¹

¹Guillou, Aspetti, p. 176; cf. Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 105-106, where the author mentions turmarchai of Bari and Trani.

I. A. 2. c. Provincial Administration

As the chronicles open, Byzantine provincial administration is based on the military unit, the theme. The soldiers are small landholders living within the boundaries of the province, which is also called a theme. Subdivisions of the province corresponded to subdivisions of the military unit. The military thema was responsible for the defense of the province, and could be called upon to serve in other provinces in times of great need.

The officials of the administration were the following:¹

STRATEGOS: the governor of the theme, having both civil and military jurisdiction, appointed by the Emperor;

TURMARCH: commander, military and civil, of a major subdivision of the military unit and the province, the turma; there were usually three to a theme; they were sometimes called merarchs, or one of them was;

KOMES TES KORTES: Chief of staff;

DOMESTIC of the theme: probably the commander of a division of one of the tagmata (elite divisions of professional soldiers, usually stationed in Constantinople), put at the disposal of the strategos;

DRUNGARII or COUNTS of the banda: commanders of the

¹This account is based on the following sources: Bury, Administrative System, pp. 39-47; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 103-124; Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 341-346; cf. Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 171-177, 235-239.

subdivisions of the turmai;

KENTARCH: in charge of one hundred men, perhaps the personal bodyguard of the strategos;

PROTOKANKELLARIOS and KANKELLARIOI: secretaries, who kept the public out of the office, and acted as go-betweens from the strategos to the staff and the office;

PROTOMANDATOR and MANDATORES: messengers;

EK PROSOPOU of the theme: the precise interpretation of this office is not settled; the ek prosopou seems to have been, in some cases at least, the representative of the strategos for a limited time or in a specific place; in other cases, he seems to have been a governor of lesser rank; he was named by the Emperor;

KHARTULARIOS of the theme: in charge of recruitment and financing of the army of the theme; he was under the strategos, but had to make reports to the central bureau in Constantinople, to the Logothete of the Stratiotikon, or Minister of Defense; he maintained the rolls of the thematic army;

PROTONOTARIOS of the theme: in charge of the financial administration; he was under the strategos, but had to make reports to the central bureau in Constantinople, to the Khartoularios of the Sakellion, or Secretary of the Treasury;

KRITES or judge of the theme: in charge of the administration of justice; he was under the strategos, but had to make reports to the central bureau in Constantinople, to the Protoasekretes perhaps (Guillou);

PROXIMOS; member of the strategos' staff, perhaps identical with the protomandator;

KOMERKIARIOI; collectors of the customs duties; had to make reports to the Logothete of the Genikon, or chief fiscal officer of the Empire;

EPOPTES; reported to the same office in the capital, in charge of revising the land tax registers;

EPISKEPTETAI and KOURATORES; in charge of overseeing imperial properties, reported to the Grand Curator;

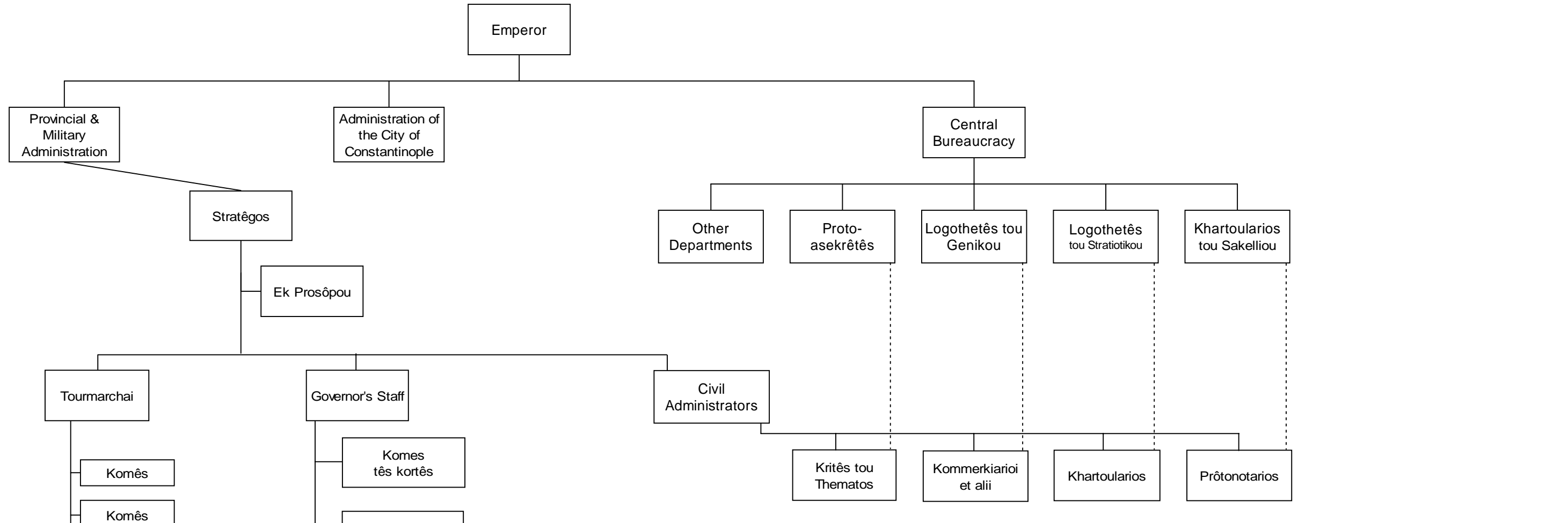
PARATHALISSITES; in charge of keeping order in the port;

and perhaps other functionaries who might be sent from time to time.

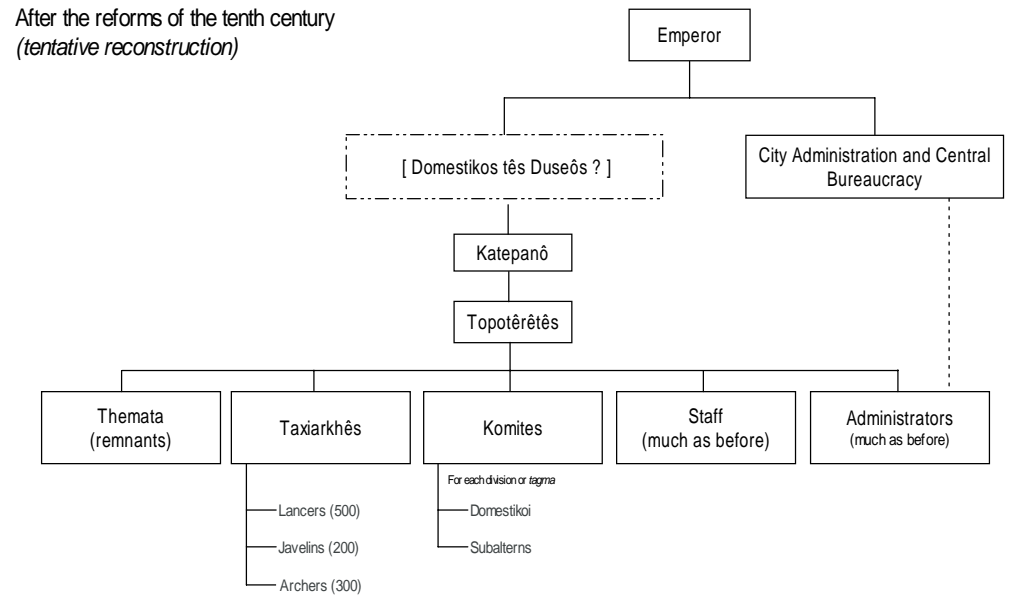
There was an administrative reform in the tenth century, linked with a change in the military organization of the empire. The old system of thematic armies weakened, and was gradually replaced with a professional army of tagmata, recruited both among the people of the Empire, and among the peoples outside the Empire. The old duty of the thematic soldier to bear arms was fiscalized, and became a special tax on certain types of land. The theme was no longer a military circumscription, though it continued as an administrative one. When soldiers are said to be of this or that theme, the expression now means that they belong to the tagma recruited in that province, not that they are thematic soldiers in the older sense, soldiers who hold land in return for service. With this reform, which did not, of course, go into full effect all at once, the title

Byzantine Provincial Administration in Italy

Before the reforms of the tenth century (*an approximation*):



After the reforms of the tenth century
(tentative reconstruction)



of the governor changes from strategos to catepan or duke. The provincial administration had to change somewhat, but just how it changed is not clear from the Italian documents.

The precise implications of the institution of the catepanate on the administration of Byzantine Italy are interpreted differently by different writers. Guillou, for instance, maintains that the catepan in Bari was commander not only of Longobardia, but also of the strategoi of Calabria and Lucania. Gay and Falkenhausen think that the catepan's change of title, from strategos of Longobardia to Catepan of Italy, implies nothing more than a change of designation for the one province. Ahrweiler maintains that the krites dominated more and more the civil administration of the provinces, and even managed to become quite independent of the catepan. Whatever may have been the case in other provinces, in Byzantine Italy it was not so, as Falkenhausen also pointed out, for one finds that the chronicles speak of the arrivals and departures of the catepans, and of the krites hardly at all, while the catepan is the one who issues documents in civil matters.¹

¹Guillou, Aspetti, p. 172, cf. Ahrweiler, Administration, pp. 61, 90 -- the fact that the Taktikon Scroialense (Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 255-277) mentions the catepan of Italy in its list of dignitaries and functionaries, and then goes on to mention the strategoi of Longobardia and Calabria, tends to confirm this theory, but other texts, which speak of Italia and Calabria as if they were two different provinces, seem to argue against it; Gay, Italie, pp. 347-349; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 49-50, 115 and bibliography; Ahrweiler, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

I. A. 2. d. Ecclesiastical Matters

During the period of our chronicles, there were some conflicts in ecclesiastical matters in southern Italy, both in matters of rite and in matters of jurisdiction. This sort of difficulty came about because there were both Greek and Latin churches in the province, and although for the greater part of the time covered by the chronicles, the church of Rome and the church of Constantinople were in communion, still there was rivalry. There were also political considerations involved, since the Pope, the head of the Latin church, was the ally of the western 'empire', and the Longobard population, often restive, was Latin. The following list of Greek and Latin metropolitan sees, with their suffragans, is taken from the work of Guillou.¹

<u>Reggio</u>	<u>S. Severina</u>	<u>Otranto</u>	<u>Salerno</u> ^{Latin}	<u>Bari</u>
Vibona	Umbriatico	Acerenza (Salerno)	Paestum	Lucera
Tauriana	Cerenza	Gravina	Conza	Taranto
Locri	Gallipoli	Matera	Nola	Brindisi
Rossano	Isola di C. Rizzuto	Tricarico	Cosenza (Reggio)	Oria
Squillace	Paleocastro	Tursi	Bisignano (Reggio)	
Tropea			Malvito (Greek)	
Amantea			Acerenza (Otranto)	
Crotone	?		Martirano (Greek)	
Cosenza (Salerno)	<u>Martirano</u> (Salerno)		Marsico (Greek)	
Nicotera	Malvito (Salerno)			
Bisignano (Salerno)	Marsico (Salerno)			
Nicastro				
Cassano				

¹Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 178 ff.

According to Guillou, Bari was made an archbishopric by Constantinople, soon after the establishment of the theme. Such a status, under the canonical arrangements of the church of Constantinople, removed the bishop from metropolitan jurisdiction, without, however, giving him jurisdiction over other bishops; he was immediately subject to the Patriarch. Now it is clear that the Bishop of Rome, Patriarch of the Latin West, would not take kindly to the transfer of one of his bishops to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as seems to be implied by the attribution of the title of archbishop to the bishop of Bari. It was not until much later, in 1025, that the situation was regularized according to Rome's thinking, when the Pope formally raised the diocese to an archdiocese (metropolitan province), and gave Bari several suffragan sees.

It is clear from the table on the previous page that there were jurisdictional conflicts, particularly in the cases of the Greek dioceses of Cosenza, Acerenza, and Bisignano, subject to the metropolitans of Reggio and Otranto, and in the case of the Greek dioceses of Martirano, Malvito and Marsico, of uncertain metropolitan jurisdiction, but all claimed by the Latin archbishop-metropolitan of Salerno. Later on, Cosenza and Acerenza became archbishoprics, as did Oria and Siponto (hitherto subject to Benevento), Trani and Taranto; this happened before 1051. Such a system, Guillou points out, would have been a good way for the Byzantines to free those sees of allegiance to Latin metropolitan-archbishops politically hostile to Byzan-

tium, and to choose prelates loyal to the Emperor. Other cities, built or restored by the Byzantine authorities in the northern part of the province, became the sees of Latin rite bishops: Troia, Dragonara, Civitate, Biccari, Ruvo, Bionto, Giovinazzo, and perhaps others.¹

It is readily evident that such maneuvering would not promote precisely friendly relations between the church of Rome and that of Constantinople, and it is probable that the ecclesiastical situation in southern Italy was one of the factors that contributed to the schism of 1054.

¹Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 183-184; for all of this, cf. Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 147-157.

I. A. 2. e. Economic Indicators

In a recent article, Guillou makes use of figures available for the metropolis of Reggio in Calabria, along with certain toponyms and early chronicles, to show that Calabria had, and that Longobardia probably had, a flourishing silk industry in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition, wine was produced in abundance. Grain and oil were exported to Constantinople, although that fact does not necessarily indicate surplus production. In fact, Guillou asserts that the province had only a precarious economic stability, and this assertion finds some confirmation in Lupus' mention of famine and the high price of grain (see paragraph 94) and of the disastrous effects of the winter mentioned in paragraph 107. The fact that new cities were founded, however, along with new building activity in the older cities, tends to show growth in population, and that in turn indicates an expanding economy, at least after the first few years of the eleventh century. This prosperity came in what had always been a money economy, although now the gold tari replaced the Byzantine nomisma as the money of daily circulation, while the Byzantine denomination remained the money of account (1 nomisma \cong 4 tari). There was trade, both within the Byzantine provinces and with the East. The economic base, however, remained fundamentally agrarian, and under the control of the local aristocracy.¹

¹Guillou, 'Production and Profits'; Aspetti, pp. 239-240.

I. B. TECHNICAL INTRODUCTION

I. B. 1. Manuscripts

The Annales Lupi Protospatharii are known to have occurred in at least twelve manuscripts, and eight of these contained as well the Annales barenses. Nine of the twelve mss survive, including the three Latin and four Italian codices preserving the text of both chronicles, along with two Latin codices transmitting Lupus alone. One of these two mss was copied directly from one of the three now lost, and the readings of the other two are available in the edition of Lupus published in 1626 by Antonio Caracciolo, and in the edition of the Italian text of the two chronicles (fused together) published in 1780 by Alessio Pelliccia.¹ Thus the modern editor has at his disposal eleven witnesses to Lupus, and eight to the AnBa.

The manuscripts which contain both the annals are (in Latin):

- P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, codex latinus 6161;
- U Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex urbinas latinus 983;
- V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex reginensis latinus 378;

¹Antonio Caracciolo, ed., Antiqui chronologi quatuor (Naples 1626), pp. 91-119; [Alessio Pelliccia, ed.], Raccolta di varie croniche, diarj, ed altri opuscoli, così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli, vol. I (Naples 1780), pp. 1-21. -- The present list of the mss of the two chronicles, of their editions and printing history, is somewhat different from that given in Potthast, pp. 251 ff., from which several items are missing. -- In the present discussion, the words 'manuscript' and 'codex' apply also to the editions R and S.

(in Italian):

- A Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, codex 39 G 12;
C Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, codex 44 B 35;
M Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, codex 8073;
I Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex X.C.31, ff. 1'-92;
R The edition of the Italian text, published by Alessio Pelliccia (Naples 1780), substitutes for a lost manuscript.

Witnesses containing the text of Lupus alone are

(all in Latin):

- [B] Bari, the manuscript of Andreas Cardutius, lost exemplar of N;
N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex vindobonensis latinus 71;
L Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex X.C.31, ff. 1-88;
S Editio princeps published by Antonio Caracciolo (Naples 1626), substitutes for a lost manuscript.

P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, codex latinus 6161¹

In Latin, on paper, written in ordinary cursive script of the early fifteenth century, by several scribes. Second folio: piscina. Front pastedown: 'Origo gentis Longobardorum et alia'; f. i: 'Lo conte de ducento'; 'Tabula historie uersus hostium ad terram liber xuiii'; '6161'; f. 1: 'MMCXXXVII'; '10425'; '1666'. On cover: 'Beda de temporibus'; on etichette: '6161'. Pressmark: '6161' (cover, f. i). Foliation: i + 1-69 + i + 70-93; foliated uniformly in modern pen, black ink. Mm 250 x 144, written surface mostly 150 x 90; 1 col., 27-30 lines. Collation: 1-3¹², 4¹⁰, 5-6¹², 7⁸, 8-9⁶, 10¹⁶.

¹Described also in de Marinis, Supp., pp. 178-179, and more recently in Churchill, 'Edizione', pp. 113-114.

Catchwords and quires correspond where used. Initials rubricated. Binding: Neapolitan leather cover over wooden boards, cold stamped,¹ Head and tailbands under spine. The codex contains the following:

1 ff. 1-10. Epitome of Paulus Diaconus' Historia Langobardorum. Title: 'In nomine Dei et Saluatoris nostri Jhesu Christi incipit origo gentis Longobardorum...'. Inc.: 'Refert Paulus qui gesta Longobardorum plenissime scripsit'. Des.: 'Rex ab egritudine conualescens non hoc'.

2 ff. 12-12V. A chronicle, from 536 to 568, drawn from the Life of San Lorenzo, bishop of Siponto, and from Paulus Diaconus.² No title. Inc.: 'Secundum cronicam anno V^CXXXVI ab incarnatione Domini regnauit Çeno imperator; Gelaxius preerat Rome pontifex'. Des.: 'Eodem tempore romanam ecclesiam uir sanctissimus Benedictus papa regebat'.

3 ff. 12V-13V. Sermones by Paulus Diaconus on the history of the Lombards, extracted from Book III.³ No title. Inc.: 'Profundissima uorago in oceano quod mare umbelicum uocamus'. Des.: 'Iouem filium fugiens'.

4 ff. 13V-15V. Annales barenses. No title. Inc.: 'Anno 605. Obitus sancti Gregorii papae'. Des.: 'mense octobris occidi similiter fecit'.

5 ff. 25-33V. Annales Lupi Protospatharii. No title. Inc.: 'A transitu sancti Gregorii papae'. Des.: 'electus est Petrus acherontinus archiepiscopus'.

¹De Marinis, Supp., p. 79.

²Identification from C. Stornaiolo, Codices urbinates latini, vol. II (Rome 1912), p. 661.

³Identification ibid.

6 ff. 36-89. St. Bede's De temporibus. Tit.: 'Beda de temporibus' (m. rec.). Inc.: 'Prima est ergo mundi huius etas ab Adam'. Des.: 'romane ecclesie confirmavit'.

7 ff. 89^v-93. Paulus Diaconus' Historia romana (beginning).¹ No title. Inc.: 'Domine pie Adelperge...Paulus... Cum ad ymitationem...Primus in Italia'. Des.: 'promictentes senatui et populo'.

The note on f. i, 'Lo conte de Ducento', is a reference to Angilberto del Balzo, a noble and rebel against Ferrante I of Naples. Upon his execution by drowning on Christmas 1490, his goods were seized by the king. The formula 'Lo conte de Ducento' was written in the books attached on this occasion; yet it seems that this particular codex cannot be identified with any of the manuscripts catalogued in the inventory of goods taken. The manuscript has been listed in several inventories and catalogues over the course of the centuries, but the presence of the *Annales barenses* seems to have escaped notice until now.²

The entries in the AnBa and Lupus are set off by having their first letters drawn into the left margin, or are marked by a paragraphus protruding into the left margin. The dates in Lupus are accompanied by indictions, which are always correct.

¹Identification ibid.

²De Marinis, Supp., pp. 161-164, speaks of Angilberto del Balzo, and about his library and his fate. For the list of catalogues in which this codex has appeared, see p. 179 of the same volume. The first notice of the presence of the AnBa in this codex seems to be that in Churchill, 'Edizione', p. 114.

U Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex
urbinas latinus 983¹

In Latin, on parchment (hair-hair, flesh-flesh), written in a humanist rotund hand of the late fifteenth century. Second folio: uictoriam daturum. Pressmark: '674' (f. i). Foliation: i + 1-68 + i, numbered uniformly in modern pen. Mm 226 x 159, written surface mm 121 x 71 (mm 128 x 71), 1 col., 18-21 lines. Collation: 1-7¹⁰; catchwords and quires correspond. Some initials are in red, others are in blue. F. 1 has a nine line high initial R in gold, with white vine-stem decoration. Tailbands are of yellow and green thread, inside the white and green nineteenth-century cover, on which there is no writing.² Ruling is by drypoint, with prickings at the edge of each folio. The folia are edged with gold. The first folio, in addition to the large initial mentioned above, is decorated in the top and left margins with a continuous vine-stem border; a separate vine-stem border in the lower margin has two putti supporting a medallion which contains an armorial device, possibly that of the del Balzo.³ Titles are in red.

¹Described also in Stornaiolo, loc. cit., and in Churchill, 'Edizione', pp 114-116.

²Cover is dated by Stornaiolo, loc. cit.

³See de Marinis, Supp., p. 161, where he describes the arms of this family as 'rosso alla cometa d'argento di sedici raggi'; he refers the reader to an illustration in R. Filangieri, Il codice miniato della Confraternita di Santa Marta (Milan 1950), table 34. Bernardo Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga, Memorie delle famiglie nobili delle provincie meridionali d'Italia (Naples 1875-83), vol. II, p. 8, describes the same arms as 'rosso alla stella candata di sedici raggi d'argento'. Stornaiolo, loc. cit., describes this device as 'solis radii argentei in arvo rubro'. Luigi Rangoni Macchiavelli, in the Schedario araldico at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, describes the arms of the del Balzo as 'sole', but in the books of illustrations to this schedario, the del Balzo arms appear in the section headed 'Stella

The codex contains the following works:

1 ff. 1-26^v. Epitome of Paulus Diaconus' Historia Longobardorum. Tit.: 'In nomine Dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi incipit origo gentis Longobardorum'. Inc.: 'Refert Paulus qui gesta Longobardorum plenissime scripsit'. Des.: 'Rex ab aegritudine conualescens'.

2 ff. 27-29. A chronicle running from 536 to 568, drawn from the Life of San Lorenzo, bishop of Siponto, and from Paulus Diaconus. No title. Inc.: 'Regnauit Zeno imperator'. Des.: 'Eodem tempore romanam ecclesiam uir sanctissimus Benedictus papa regebat'.

3 ff. 29^v-31^v. Sermones by Paulus Diaconus on the history of the Lombards, extracted from Book III.¹ Inc.: 'Profundissima uorago in oceano quod mare umbelicum uocamus'. Des.: 'Iouem filium fugiens'.

4 ff. 31^v-38. Annales barenses. No title. Inc.: 'Anno 605. Obitus sancti Gregori papae'. Des.: 'mense octobris occidi similiter fecit'.

5 ff. 38-68^v. Annales Lupi Protospatharii. No title. Inc.: 'A transitu sancti Gregorii papae'. Des.: 'electus est Petrus acherontinus archiepiscopus'.

(sedici)'. J. B. Rietstap, Armorial générale, vol. I (Gouda 1884-1887, reprint Baltimore 1965), p. 137, describes the del Balzo arms as 'de gules à l'étoile (16) d'arg.' Certainly, silver seems more appropriate to a star than to the sun, which would normally be shown in gold. The device in this manuscript is a star, then; but its thirty-two rays present a slight problem, until one notes that half of them are hairlines, and more likely decoration than part of the device itself. My thanks to my colleagues at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and to the 'lettori' at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, particularly to Dott. Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, for their attention and assistance in resolving this identification.

¹Identification of items 1-3 from Stornaiolo, loc. cit.

Dates in the AnBa and in Lupus are written out in full at the beginning of each entry, and in Lupus include the correct indiction. The first letter of the date is drawn into the left margin, as are initials beginning paragraphs, although such paragraph divisions are sporadic and even capricious. There is no division between the text of the AnBa and that of Lupus.

Lorenzo Zacagni, Vatican librarian at the beginning of the eighteenth century, penned in some marginal notes on the AnBa and on Lupus. On the AnBa he says (f. 31^v): 'Hic incipit chronicon vetus de rebus in Barensi prouincia gestis, cuius auctor uidetur fuisse Monachus Monast. Barensis S. Benedicti, ut ex ijs que scribit ad an. 979 conijcitur. Hoc autem chronicon integrum ferè insertum fuit in Diario Neapolitanarum rerum italica lingua ducentis ab hinc annis conscripto, quod possidebat Hector Pignatellus Andriae Dux ut ex collatione eius diarij cum Lupi Protospatharij chronico ab Antonio Caracciolo edita, clarè colligitur. Laur. Alex. Zacagnius'. On Lupus he has the following to say (on f. 38^v, and not at the true beginning on f. 38): 'Hic incipit Chronicon Lupo Protospatae trubutum in editione Caraccioli, quae ex hoc codice in multis corrigi potest'.

V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex reginensis latinus 378

In Latin, on paper, dated 1711; pages vary in size, but most are mm 245 x 155; foliation: ii + 339; 1 col., 25-37 lines; white parchment cover.

This codex contains diplomata, historical instruments, and assorted writings on Italian affairs from the eighth to the sixteenth century; the AnBa are contained on ff. 332-324, Lupus on ff. 324^v-335. There is no decoration.

In as much as this codex is a copy of another surviving manuscript, it follows that it is useless as a witness to the texts in question, which can be reconstituted without reference to it. Since this manuscript will not be used in the critical edition which follows, its description has been drastically abbreviated here.¹

A Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, codex 39 G 12 (olim 890)²

In Italian and Latin, on paper, written in the ordinary cursive of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by at least five scribes. Second folio: dopo una lunga. Front cover: 'R in indice'. Pressmark: 39 G 12. Foliation: iii + 376 + i. Average size of folios, mm 271 x 210; written area varies, but in the section containing the Bari materials, mm 250 x 150; 1 col.; varying number of lines, 25 in the section of interest. Collation: 1⁸, 2-14⁶, 15¹⁰, 16¹², 17¹⁶, 18¹², 19², 20⁸, 21¹², 22-24¹⁰, 25¹⁶, 26¹⁰, 27¹², 28¹⁴, 29¹⁰, 30¹⁶, 31¹³, 32⁶, 33-34²⁰, 35¹², 36⁸, 37¹², 38⁴, 39⁵, 40⁴, 41⁶. The order of the folia 358-362 is confused; it seems that it should be 358, 362, 359, 360, 361; f. 365 was added in later, and does not follow logically the material on 364, since it contains addenda to the entire section. Catchwords and quires correspond where used. There

¹The complete description of the manuscript may be found in Andreas Wilmart, Codices reginenses latini, vol. II (Vatican City 1955), pp. 383-397; Wilmart, however, does not print Zaccagni's marginal notes.

²Described also in Churchill, 'Edizione', pp. 116-118; not mentioned in Potthast.

is no decoration. Binding: eighteenth-century (?) parchment. Ruling by drypoint, not uniform.

The codex contains the following items:

- 1 f. iii. Table of contents.
- 2 ff. 1-85. A report on the death of Alexander VII and on the events of the interregnum. Title: 'Della morte di Alessandro VII^o e degli avvenimenti seguiti nella sede vacante'. Inc.: 'Dopo una lunga Malatia'. Des.: 'in simili funzione'.
- 3 ff. 87-137^v. Chronicle on Sicilian matters, from the death of William II to the time of Frederick II. Title: 'Incipiunt Chronica de iis omnibus, quae in Regno Siciliae gesta sunt'. Inc.: 'Solet aetas antiquorum et provida'. Des.: 'et imperatorem bonae pacis'.
- 4 ff. 139-149^v. The Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii, fused together and translated into Italian of the fifteenth century.¹ Title: 'Incomincia le cose et historie delli cose geste in Italia e per Europa, Asia et Africa incominciando dalli anni di Xro DC insino al M.C. et trovate dalo Ill.mo S.or Duca di Artri [mge.: Andria] da un libro antiquissimo intitulado alla M.ta di lo Sig.re Re Ferrante primo d'Aragogna'. Inc.: 'Ali DCV in questo anno morio S.to Gregorio Papa e regno anni otto'. Des.: 'e nel mesi di Marcio fu electo Pietro Archiepiscopo Acherontino'.

¹On the translation, see Capasso, Fonti, p. 22; it must be noted, however, that the fusion involves only the AnBa and Lupus, although Capasso thought that the Anonymus barensis [Camillo Pellegrino, ed., Historia principum Langobardorum, vol. I/3 (Naples 1643), pp. 185 ff.] was also used in this.

5 ff. 150-253. Chronicle by Giuliano Passaro, dealing with the history of the Kingdom of Naples, a continuation of the above. Title: 'Incomincia questa Cronica sottoscritta, per me Iuliano Passaro Setaijaiolo Napolitano, in che modo stava lo Regno di Sicilia innanti che intitolato fossi Riame, la quali cronica avante di mi fo incomenciata dali miei anticissuri pariente miei'. Inc.: 'Poi di questo è da sapere'. Des.: 'al .M.D.XVI. a' XXIII de Jennaro morio lo Re Catolico'.

6 ff. 258-262^v. The biography of Madalena Claranti. Title: 'Vita della Serva di Dio Madalena Claranti dati in luce da Ludovico Jacobilli di Foligno nel suo B^a Tomo delle vite de Santi e Beati dell'Umbria stampati in detta Città l'anno 1661 al foglio 273 e composta dal Padre Bartolomeo Rostio della Compagnia di Giesù, il cui originale si conserva appresso il sud^a Jacobilli'. Inc.: 'La Serva di Dio Madalena Clarante'. Des.: 'e gemma di santa Chiesa'.

7 ff. 264-265^v. Report of the entry of Swiss pilgrims into Rome. No title. Inc.: 'Die 14 Aprilis 1624. O^rēs Helvetiorum ingressi sunt in Urbem'. Des.: 'sermonem fecit'.

8 ff. 270-281^v. Description of the chapel of St. Andrea Corsini in the Lateran Basilica by Girolamo Chiti. Title: 'Descrizione Dell' Insigne Cappella del Glorioso S. Andrea Corsini'. Inc.: 'E prima un Arco di Marmo'. Des.: 'sotto la direzione del prenominato Sig.re Cavalier Galilei Architetto Patrizio Fiorentino'.

9 ff. 282-284^v. Memorial of the same chapel. Title: 'Memorie Spettanti alla sud^a Insigne Capp^a del Glorioso S. Andrea Corsini'. Inc.: 'A di 12 Luglio 1630, assunto al Pon-

tificato'. Des.: 'conforme alle 3 anni passati'.

10 ff. 286-323^v. Report of the Court of Rome to the Senate of Venice in 1660 by Angelo Corraro. Title: 'Relatione fatta sabbato [*] luglio 1660 nell' Ecc.mo Pregadi dall' Ecc.mo Angelo Corraro, doppo il ritorno dalla sua Ambasi.ta di Roma'. Inc.: 'Io sono a pagare il tributo'. Des.: 'e prosperita perpetue'.

11 ff. 326-335. Report on the canonization of Sts. Isidore, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Teresa and Philip Neri, 1622. Title: 'Canonizatione di cinque santi Isidoro, Ignatio, Franc^o Xaverio, Teresia e Filippo. 1622'. Inc.: 'Canonizatio. Sabbato die 12 Martii 1622 in Die festo Sancti Gregorii Papae'. Des.: 'illam assignavit pro Bello Germanico'.

12 ff. 338-345^v. On Aquileian affairs. Title: 'Dalli cosi di Aquileia'. Inc.: 'Spediti cosi li quattro copie'. Des.: 'avanti tutti gli altri'.

13 ff. 346-355^v. Report by Monsignor Francesco Albizzi of the Holy Office in Rome regarding the Immaculate Conception. Title: 'Racconto di Monsig.re Francesco Albizzi Assesore del S. Ufficio di Roma nell'1646, degli accidenti succeduti in diversi tempi nella materia della Concezzione'. Inc.: 'Condennato dal Concilio Epheseno l'eresia dell'empio Nestorio'. Des.: 'per servizio di Santa Chiesa'.

14 ff. 358-366. Report of the Ambassador of the King of Poland in Rome. No title. Inc.: 'Il Ser.mo Vladislao come degno successore di Sigismondo'. Des.: 'Gran Re' (on f. 360^v).

15 ff. 367-370. Report of two martyrdoms in Constan-

tinople. Inc.: 'Il Missionario Armeno D. Giovanni Minas dimorante in Costantinopoli'. Des.: 'in Galata di Costantinopoli'.

16 ff. 371-376^v. Brief report of the persecution in Fukien, China, in 1733. Title: 'Breve Relazione della Persecuzione Seguita nella Provincia di Fokien versi il fine dell'anno 1733 = Tradotta dall'Idioma Spagnolo nell'Italiano'. Inc.: 'Considerando la Provincia del SS.mo Rosario'. Des.: 'di trattarli con tutto honore'.

The following folia are blank: 85^v-86; 138; 253^v-257; 263; 266-268; 285; 324-325; 336-337; 356-357; 370^v. Folio 269 has been torn out of the codex.

This codex is made up of sections previously independent of one another, sewn together here most likely to preserve them better. This composite character is further shown by the number of scribes involved in the production of the manuscript, and by the disparity in the dates of the various sections. From the following marginal note (f. 139), it seems that Caracciolo may have used this codex while he was working on his 1626 edition of Lupus: 'Hoc codice usus est Caracciolus in editione Veterum Chronologorum in Lupo Protospathario, f. 93'. One can not, however, exclude the possibility that a later reader may have written this note, after comparing the manuscript and the edition cited.¹ The last work in the codex

¹Capasso, Fonti, pp. 188-191, notes that the chronicle of Giuliano Passaro is often preceded by this translation, in many manuscripts, and that the translation goes under the name of the Duke of Atri, or of the Duke of Andria, or of Colanello Pacca. The fact that the original reading in the manuscript

was written in or after 1733. Again, the folia of the section containing the Bari materials are numbered in three series, two of them cancelled; this fact indicates that this section has been part of at least three codices.

C Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, codex 44 B 35 (olim 787)¹

In Italian, on parchment (hair-hair, flesh-flesh), written in a humanist rotund cursive by Giovanmarco Cinico da Parma, probably in Naples; late fifteenth century. Second folio; et Imperatore. Pressmarks: '787' (spine); 'Col = 44 B 35' (front cover and front pastedown). Foliation: iii + 1-2, 2'-40, numbered uniformly by contemporary pen; mm 210 x 145, written surface mm 131 x 97; 1 column, 15 lines. Collation: 1-4⁸, 5⁹; quires signed on verso of last folio with successive letters of the alphabet. Initials in gold, many chipped. Dates in red, text in black ink. Binding: eighteenth-century (?) white parchment, no head or tailband; sewing penetrates cover at some points. Writing on spine: 'Annali di Italia'. On f. 1 is a six line high initial A in gold, with vine-stem decoration, and a smaller gold initial I in a blue field. Ruling is by drypoint, with prickings visible only at the extreme edges of the folia, if at all.

is 'Artri', an obvious variant on 'Atri', and that Caracciolo's reading, 'Andria', appears here only as a marginal correction, raises some doubt that Caracciolo used this very manuscript. On his use of a vulgar manuscript with a text quite similar to this one, see below, section I.B.3.

¹Described also in Churchill, 'Edizione', p. 118.

Decoration, in addition to the initials already mentioned, includes a continuous vine-stem border, inhabited by putti and various animals, on f. 1; in the lower register are two putti supporting an empty medallion.

The codex contains a fifteenth-century Italian translation and fusion of the AnBa and Lupus.¹ Title: 'Incomincia la storia delle cose facte in Italia e fori da CD anno di Cro infino al MCII traducta del Longobardo in uulgare'. Inc.: 'Anno Domini Sexcentesimo quinto mori sancto Gregorio papa, Et foca regno anni uiii°'. Des.: 'fu electo Petro arciuescouo acherontino'.

The dates include the indictions, which are frequently incorrect; the whole date is centered above the entry. Initials of the entries are drawn into the left margin. The scribe was identified by Armando Petrucci when he was librarian at the Biblioteca Corsiniana, and it was he who pencilled the note on f. ii^v: 'Trad. in volgare degli Annales Baresnes di mano di M. A. Cinico'. On f. iii another non-contemporary hand has recorded 'Cod. 787. Annali o Storia delle cose piu notabili succedute nell'Italia Dall'Anno del Signore DCV sino al anno MC -- MSS in Cart: Pergam. MSS di carte 40'. At the foot of f. 40^v a sixteenth-century hand notes: 'Datum | die ij madii 1541'.²

¹See Capasso, Fonti, pp. 188-191.

²On Cinico, see Mario Emilio Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1500-1800, vol. V (Boston 1961), p. 245, and John W. Bradley, A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers and Copyists, vol. III (London 1889, reprint New York 1960), p. 35, s.v. Palma.

M Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, codex 8073 (olim Regius matritensis V 83)¹

In Italian, on parchment, written in a humanist rotund cursive by Giovanmarco Cinico da Parma, probably in Naples, late fifteenth century. Second folio: Oria. Foliation: 1-35, numbered in possibly contemporary pen. Mm 202 x 236, written surface mm 152 x 91, 1 column, 18 lines. Collation: 1-4¹⁰. Catchwords and quires correspond. Folio 1 contains a five line high initial A in gold, with vine-stem decoration; f. 26^v has a small initial D, probably gold, in a colored field. Initials are in a different color from the text.

In addition to the initials mentioned above, f. 1 is framed with a continuous vine-stem border inhabited by animals and putti; in the lower register two putti support a medallion containing the arms of the House of Aragon. The border is quite similar to that of C; since the same scribe wrote the two manuscripts, it seems not too much to assume that they were illuminated by the same school, perhaps even by the same artist.

The manuscript contains a fifteenth-century translation and fusion of the AnBa and Lupus. Title: 'Incomincia il libro de li annali de li gesti facti in Italia ab anno Domini VI^c.mo in fino anno Domini M^oC^oII^o'. Inc.: 'Anno Domini sexcentesimo quinto mori sancto Gregorio papa Foca regnao anni octo'. Des.: 'Pietro fu electo uescouo acherontino'.

The dates, centered above the entries, include the in-

-----¹Described also in Churchill, 'Edizione', pp. 6-7.

dictions, which are not always correct. The initials of the entries are drawn into the left margin. The scribe has been identified by the present editor by comparison of the script in this ms with that in ms C. Because the editor was able to examine this ms in microfilm only, the description here given is less complete than that of the other witnesses. It is particularly notable that the translation contained in this codex differs from that in mss CART; this in spite of the fact that the same scribe was involved in the production of C and M.

It seems at least possible that this ms may be identifiable with ms no. 53 in the catalogue of mss and printed books which belonged to Ferdinando, son of Federico III, the last Aragonese king of Naples.¹

(L Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex X.C.31, ff. 1-88)
 (I Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex X.C.31, ff. 1'-92²)

This codex was examined in microfilm only, and so some of the following information is only approximate.

¹These books were left to the Monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia on the death of Ferdinando in 1551. Tamaro de Marinis, La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona, vol. II (Milan 1947), pp. 207 ff., reproduces the catalogue, which was published originally by Toribio di Campillo, 'Inventario de los libros de Don Fernando de Aragón, Duque de Calabria', Rivista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos (Madrid 1875). The attempt to pursue this avenue of investigation by correspondence with the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid produced no positive results because of the paucity of information available in the catalogue by T. di Campillo. This possible identification was first noted in Churchill, 'Edizione', p. 119.

²This codex came to the editor's attention long after the draft of this section was completed. He wishes to thank Dott.a M. R. Romano, Director of the Sala dei Manoscritti at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, for getting to him a microfilm of the codex in only three weeks from the date of his request. -- The codex was described also by Alfonso Miola, Le scritture in volgare dei primi tre secoli della lingua, ricercate nei codici della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, vol. I (Bologna 1878), pp. 223-226, and in Churchill, 'Edizione', p. 133. The codex is not mentioned in Potthast.

In Italian and Latin, on paper, written in the ordinary cursive of the seventeenth century by several scribes. F. 2: di Montorio (L); Romano et Vgo (T). Foliation: iii [?] + 1-88, 1'-92 + ii [?]. Mm 257 x 120, written area usually mm 225 x 135; 1 col., 29-32 lines. Approximate collation: L's is not clear from the microfilm, because every page has a catchword; in T, the quires are numbered, and the collation is 1-12⁸. There is no decoration. The codex contains the following works:

L 1 ff. iii^v. Table of contents.

2 ff. 1-21. Fragmentary chronicle, which runs from 1 October 1495 to 1 January 1519. No title. Inc.: 'Che se saluato lo Castello dell'ouo'. Des.: 'filgia del duca di Milano . . . a mente di d.o Vicere [?] e l'altra . . . [siglum]'.

3 ff. 21-70^v. Annals and journals of Ludovico di Raymo, senior and junior, and of D. Franzoni and Lancelloto, Knight of Jerusalem. Tit.: 'Annali, e Diurnali di Lodouico di Raymo Seniore, e iuniore; nec nō Dñi Franzoni, et Lanzelloti equitis Hierosolomitani'. Inc.: 'Alo año 1250 dello mese d'ottobre'. Des.: 'è in dotte santa & come uedesì'.

4 ff. 70^v-80. Annales Lupi Protospatharii. Tit.: 'Anonymi Cronica dall'anno 860 fin al 1102' (m. rec., inter lin.). Inc.: 'Anno. 860. ind. 8. Comprhensa est Ciuitas Bari ab Imp. Constantinopolitano'. Des.: 'electus est Petrus Acherontinus Archiepiscopus'.

5 ff. 80^v-87^v. The chronicle of Bartolomeo Caracciolo. Tit.: 'Chronicon de Bartolomeo Carazzuolo'. Inc.: 'Auantì, che lo Reame de Sicilia fosse unito'. Des.: 'che fosse poi

nello Regno. Deo gratias, Amen'. Addition.: 'Anno Dni 1347, alli 23. di Gen. e fè impicato lo Rè Andrea...Mayella ord. is Celestinorum. Finis. Amen'. Mge.: 'Un altro scritto antico segue, e finisce così: La qual è moglie dello Nostro S. re Re Loise. La soprad. a breue informatione è tratta da diu. e Croniche la qual fa ad Vu[?] N. ro S. r Luise lo srd. o fedel Vassallo Bartolomeo Carazzuolo, ditto Caraffa Cauil. r Napolitano'.

T 1. ff. 1-9. Annales barenses and Annales Lupi Protospatharii, fused together and translated into late fifteenth-century Italian. Tit.: 'Annali Del Duca d'Atri' (on f. 88 of L); 'Incomincia le cose et Historie delle cose geste in Italia e per Europa, Asia, et Affrica, incominciando dall'anni di Christo D.C. in sino à M.C. et uno trouate dall'Ill. mo S. r Duca d'Atri da un libro antichissimo intitolato alla M. ta del Sig. re Re Ferrante P. o d'Aragona' (on f. 1). Inc.: '605. Alli D.C.V. In questo anno mori sto. Gregorio papa et regnò anni 8'. Des.: 'fu eletto Pietro arcivescouo acheruntino'.

2 ff. 9v-92. The chronicle of Giuliano Passaro. Tit.: 'Cronica di Giuliano Passaro Setajoli Napolitano dal MLV fin ad 1516' (m. rec., inter lin.); 'Incomincia questa cronica sottoscritta per me Juliano Passaro setaiolo Napolitano in che modo staua Lo Regno inanzi che intitolato fosse Regno. La qual cronica hauanti da me fu incominciata dalli miei Antecessori Parenti miei'. Inc.: 'Poiche di questo è da sapere'. Des.: '1516 Ali MDXVI à 23. di Gennaro mori il Rè cattolico'.

It is obvious from the numbering of the folia that

there were originally two codices which have been bound together in the present codex X.C.31; it is for this reason that two sigla have been assigned. Some of the folia in I have been numbered in pencil, to follow the sequence from L's numeration.

R The edition of the text of the fifteenth-century translation

This was published by Alessio Pelliccia, from a seven-^{c,}teenth-century ms; it has some value because it is witness to the readings of a lost ms. Pelliccia speaks of having found still another ms of this work, which was no different from the ms he used.¹

[B] Bari, the ms of Andreas Cardutius

The manuscript was a compendium, probably of historical materials, belonging to Andreas Cardutius, a citizen of Bari, as the scribe of N records. He states further that it was written in 'littera longobarda', which is probably to be understood as Bari Beneventan script; and from that it may be concluded that the ms was probably written before the end of the thirteenth century.² This ms was the exemplar of N, and has disappeared from sight.

N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex vindobonensis latinus 71 (olim V.F.52)³

In Latin and Italian, on paper, written in ordinary

¹Pelliccia, op. cit., p. viii. Capasso, Fonti, p. 189, n. 2, speaks of yet another ms of this translation. -- This ms is not mentioned in Potthast.

²Lowe, Script, p. 44, speaks of the latest known samples of Beneventan writing.

³A brief note on this ms appears in Emidio Martini, 'Sui codici napoletani restituiti dall'Austria', Atti della Reale Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli, n.s. 9 (1926) 157-182; cf. Churchill, 'Edizione', pp. 119-120.

cursive of the early sixteenth century by several hands. Second folio: credeua. Pressmarks: 'Cod. Kar. № 2 fo' (spine); 5909' (pasted etichette on spine, on front pastedown, f. i); 'Vind. Lat. 71', 'LII', [siglum] Hist. Prof.' (f. i). Foliation (modern pen): v + 1-34, 34^{bis}, 34^{ter}, 35-87 + i. Folia 67-74 have an older, cancelled foliation (235-242); ff. 77-87 have it as well (408-418). Folios are of different sizes; in the section containing Lupus (ff. 67-74), mm 220 x 155, written surface mm 180 x 130, 1 column, 18 lines. Collation: 1⁶, 2²⁰, 3², 4¹⁰, 5², 6¹⁵, 7¹⁷, 8⁸, 9², 10¹¹, 11². Catchwords and quires correspond where used. The codex as it now stands comes from the Monastery of the Santi Apostoli in Naples, as the following note records (f. v): 'Codex hic plerisque historiis ad Neapolitanam rem spectantib. et si multis attamen antiquitate praestandis desumptus est ex Archivio Venerabilis Domus SS. Apo(sto)lorum de Vrbe Neapolis Anno 1716. D. Eustachius Caracciolus, CR'.

The codex, which is plain and undecorated (except for a pen sketch of a coat-of-arms on f. 77), contains the following:

1 f. v. A list of the works contained in the codex, written in Eustachio Caracciolo's hand.

2 ff. 1-34. Fragmentary chronicle, which runs from 1 October 1495 to 20 January 1519. No title. Inc.: 'ese seluato lo castiello de Uouo'. Des.: 'chi e figliata la regina de anpelonia figlia a la duchessa di milano'. Followed by notes of Eustachio Caracciolo.

3 ff. 35-64. Diary of Silvio Guarino of Aversa. Title: (added in Caracciolo's hand): 'Diario del Guarino per anni sedici: cioè dal 1492 fin al 1507'. Inc.: 'Sabbato a 25 de Genn.ro 12 Ind. 1495. La M.ta del S.re Re don Ferrando de Aragona'. Des.: 'come vede ti. Finis laus Deo'.

4 ff. 67-73^v. Annales Lupi Protospatharii. Title: 'Chronicon Lupi Protospate....'. Inc.: 'A transitu S. Gregorii pape an /252/'. Des.: 'electus est Petrus acherontinus archiepiscopus'.

5 ff. 77-85^v. The chronicle of Bartolomeo Caracciolo. Title (added): 'Chron de Barto(lo)meo Caraczulo'. Title (original): 'Avante che lo Reame de Sicilia...appresso ne scriuo'. Inc.: 'Primamente la citate de napolj era socto lo Imperio'. Des.: 'may in lo regno deo gratias Amen'. Addition: 'Anno dni M.o cccxlviij a di xxiiij de Jennaro fo Inpiccato lo Re Andrea...mayella ordinis Celestinorum'. Colophon: 'Finito libro redamus gloriam Xpo. Amen'.

The section of this manuscript which is of interest in this inquiry, was written in a highly abbreviated quasi-humanist script, which probably goes back to the early part of the sixteenth century.¹ This is the only manuscript still available which identifies this work as the Chronicle of Lupus Protospatharius. Unfortunately, folio 67, where this information is found, has been trimmed, and much of the

¹Martini, loc. cit., dates this ms to the sixteenth century; but it seems to come from the early part of that century, to judge from the many Mediaeval abbreviations still used by the scribe.

title is no longer legible (part of it has indeed been cut away). From a comparison of what remains of the title with the text, one can not exclude the possibility that the same hand did both of them, but because of the damaged state of the title, a positive identification is not possible. The scribe identifies himself, and speaks of his exemplar, in a note which follows immediately on the title: 'Exscripta fuit copia ista ut iacet a quodam compendio manu scripto littera longobarda quod habui a magistro andrea cardutio ciue bare(nsi). [siglum] Ego Iohannes B(ar)b(a)nera V. D. Bare(nsis)'. F. 74^V, the last of the quire which contains Lupus, has the following note: 'Al P. Col'Ant(oni)o bellalbore. A paruo'.¹ Since both the scribe and the owner of the exemplar were Baresi, it seems logical to suppose that the manuscript was written in Bari.

L Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex X.C.31, ff. 1'-92

The description of this ms is found along with that of I, above.

S Editio princeps of Lupus

Published by Antonio Caracciolo from a manuscript belonging to Iohannes Franciscus Rubeus, this edition retains its importance as a witness to a now lost ms of the chronicle. Since the ms contained a continuation of Lupus that ran to 1519,

¹The present editor has found no further reference to the persons named in the title and in the last note.

it follows that the ms was written no earlier than the first half of the sixteenth century.¹

Romuald of Salerno

In addition to the mss just listed, the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno contains a few sections from Lupus almost word-for-word. These have been examined in the edition of Romuald published by C. Garufi; if the edition is faithful to the mss, these passages are indeed few, and so short that their relationships to the mss just described can not be determined. Thus they are useful chiefly to show that Lupus existed already by the time of Romuald's death, in 1181. For details, one should consult the edition of Romuald.²

Anonymi barensis chronicon

Similarly, one finds embedded in the Anonymus, verbatim or nearly so, many phrases and clauses found also in Lupus. Indeed, much of the earlier part of the Anonymus is a patchwork of such elements. Even so, only rarely is an entry found in Lupus reproduced integrally. Now, since neither chronicle is derived from the other, it follows that the Anonymus reproduces in such expressions not the text of Lupus, but that of a common source. From this fact it follows that these readings, as witnesses to the text of Lupus, have no value; thus they are not used in the constitution of the critical text.

¹Is this Rubeus a relative of, or to be identified with the Giovanni Rossi mentioned by Pelliccia, op. cit., p. iv?

²Rerum italicarum scriptores, nuova edizione riveduta ampliata e corretta, tomo VII, parte I (Città di Castello 1935); on Romuald's use of Lupus, and his death, pp. xxv, xxvii.

I. B. 2. Relationships among the Manuscripts

The following analysis of the relationships among the witnesses to the manuscript tradition of the AnBa and of Lupus is based on the variant readings obtained through a collation of the entire text of the two chronicles in all the manuscripts described in the last section, except V. Only the most important of the more than eight hundred variants uncovered in the collation are cited; and in the case of mss P and U, variants are also drawn from the other three works they transmit in common.¹

The Latin witnesses

Even a rather cursory examination of these variants indicates immediately that there are two groups among the Latin mss, with PU in one group, and SNL in the other. This arrangement is supported by the following facts: PU contain both chronicles, while SNL transmit only Lupus; at Lupus 1082, SNL have a fifty-word interpolation, which is not found in PU (example no. 1, below); at Lupus 1085, codices P and U seem to have omitted an entire line of a hyparchetype, and to have made up for this by writing the following line twice (example no. 2, below), while SNL transmit an uncorrupted text; there are also some other additions (perhaps glosses) which are found in the mss of one group, but are excluded from those of the other (example no. 3, below); finally, there are readings which are simply different in the two groups (as in example

¹Cf. for this section the discussion in Churchill, 'Editione', pp. 121-129, 133-134.

no. 4, below) -- occasionally these may be explained by an incorrect expansion of an abbreviation, but sometimes not. Here, then, are the readings:

1. 1082.¹ Et dominante isto Alexio imperatore episcopus rubensis nomine Guislibertus donauit priori Montispilosi ecclesiam sancti Sabini que est in ciuitate Rubi; qui prior tenebatur omni anno ad quatuor libras cere in die Sabati sancti, et mittere unum hominem equestrem ad suas expensas quando episcopus rubensis ibat ad Barum seu ad Canusium SN var. orth. L om. PU
2. 1085. dictus dux...profluuio uentris filius predicti Roberti factus est dux PU dictus dux...profluuio uentris extinctus est SN dictus dux...fluuio uentris preuidente defunctus est L

All five mss note at the following year (1086) that 'Rogerius filius predicti (prefati L) Roberti ducis factus est dux'.

3. 1017. et Condoleo descendit in ipso anno PU om. SNL
4. 1041. iterum preliati sunt Normanni fere quadringenti cum Grecis PU iterum preliati sunt Normanni feria quarta cum Grecis SNL

The many other variant readings which are to be found in the critical apparatus confirm this division of the text tradition into two families. But with such a split in the tradition, the relationships between the mss of each group must be explored.

¹A date at the head of a reading, if otherwise unqualified, indicates that the reading is taken from Lupus; if the entry is taken from the AnBa, this abbreviation will be found with the year; where there is no date given, the entry is one of the few drawn from the other three works of PU. A lacuna noted in the ms by blank letter-spaces is here recorded by square brackets enclosing a figure which indicates the number of letter-spaces left blank. A dot between square brackets is used to report lacunae noted in ms U, whose scribe leaves a blank space, writes a point, and then leaves another blank space, indicating thus the fact of a lacuna, but not its length; for the other three works, however, even this scribe leaves blank letter-spaces.

The relationships between P and U

It is obvious that P, as the older ms in the grouping, is not derived from U. But U is roughly half a century later than P; it contains the first five of P's seven works in the same order, and may have belonged to the same family that owned P. It seems at least possible, then, that U was copied from P. Nonetheless, the collation of the entire text of all five works common to these two mss uncovers many readings so different from one codex to the other, that U's derivation from P must be discounted as extremely unlikely. Among the readings which indicate U's independence from P are lacunae noted in U, in passages where the text of P is sound:¹

5. his temporibus inter [-2-] odoachar qui in Italia regebat U his temporibus inter odoachar qui in Italia regebat P
 6. Alchis brixiam [-8-] trientum U Alchis Brixiam Euni trientum P
 7. rebus [-4-] descessit humanis U rebus descessit humanis P
- In each of these cases, there is no justification in P for the lacunae indicated by the blank spaces in U.
8. 1021. captus est Dactus P captus est dictus [.] U

P's reading, the proper name 'Dactus', is historically accurate.² Even though P corrects an original 'dictus' to 'Dactus', in what may be a reflection of the state of its exemplar, U probably did not take its reading from P; the more so because the mss in Italian (CMART), which are not derived

¹Cf. Pasquali, Tradizione, p. xvii.

²See Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 179 ff.; Gay, Italie, pp. 404, 411, 418; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 42-59.

from U, reflect U's reading in this passage (see below, example no. 37). A common hyparchetype for P and U would explain the variants, particularly if that hyparchetype had a correction like P's at this point.

9. 1085. a. grandi apparatu nauium idem [-8-] hominumque P
 grandi apparatum nauium multitudinemque hominum U
 b. cum [-8-] nauibus P cum nauibus U

Since U normally indicates lacunae where none is to be found in P, it seems hardly likely that it would fail to indicate where P in fact left spaces, if it were a copy of P.

In addition to these readings, there are a few instances where U has a phrase or clause not found in P, and these are sure indications of U's independence from P:

10. a septentrione et oriente U ab oriente P
 11. interficerent illum consilio U interficerent P
 12. per cosdroam regem persarum U om. P

The evaluation of these readings suggests the following conclusions about the relationship between P and U: The text of U is indeed quite similar to that of P; yet U was most likely not derived from P; a common hyparchetype from which both mss ultimately derive is a high probability. The other variants listed in the critical apparatus confirm these conclusions. The two or three instances where a mistaken reading in U coincides with a difficult to read abbreviation in P are not enough to indicate a relationship between these two mss different from that presented here.

The relationships between S, N and L

N's scribe notes that he copied it from another ms, [B], a compendium of historical materials, written probably in Bari Beneventan script; quite probably that codex was written before 1300. Now S-ms contained a supplement to Lupus that ran to 1519, and from this fact, the S-ms must be dated no earlier than the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Thus it is clear that S can not be identified with [B], and that N is not derived from S. Because L is a seventeenth-century ms, it is clear that neither S nor N can be derived from it.

On the other hand, it seems at least possible that S may be derived from N, or even identifiable with it (remember that one must rely on the edition S for information about the ms-S); and L might be derived from either S or N. Although all three of these mss transmit quite similar texts, the collation of the mss shows that none of them is derived from either of the others. Among the variants uncovered in such a comparison are the following:

13. 868. februarii SN Septembris L
14. 885. Alexander SN Alexius L
15. 919. explentur octoginta anni NL explentur quadraginta anni S
16. 946. factum est homicidium SNL inter ciues add. S
17. 983. Delfina patritius SN Dalfina Francie L
18. 992. facta est magna fames SNL et annonae caritas add. S
19. 1010. descendit Basilius catepanus Mesardoniti NL descendit Basilius catepanus cum Macedonibus S
20. 1029. elegit catepanum Christophorum S et adduxit catepanum ad christophorum N et eduxit Cathesatum ad Xpophorum L

21. 1083. a pape [papae S] Gregorii societate discedentes SN
a papa Gregorii subiectione se humiliantes L
22. 1085. cum plurimis nauibus...in loco qui dicitur Veneti
victi S cum [-7-] nauibus...in loco qui dicitur [-8-] N
cum [-6-] nauibus...in loco qui dicitur [-7-] L

These readings indicate that S is not derived from N (examples 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22), and that L is not derived from either of the other two (examples 13, 14, 17, 20, 21), but that L usually stands with N against S (examples 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22). These facts may be accounted for by positing a common hyparchetype for NL, and yet another hyparchetype from which all three mss ultimately derive.

The translations into Italian

To determine the place held by the translations into Italian in the text tradition of the Bari chronicles, it is necessary first to determine what relationships exist among these mss themselves, and then to examine their links to the Latin witnesses.

That the witnesses ART are all derived from a common source is to be deduced from the fact that this translation, often called the chronicle of the Duke of Artri, or of the Duke of Andria, or of Colanello Paca, is often to be found linked with the chronicle of Giuliano Passaro,¹ as it is in all three of these mss. It is obvious that these manuscripts have little importance for the establishment of the Latin text; because they derive from a common source, it seems that one of them may represent the whole group, more particularly so if one of

¹Capasso, Fonti, pp. 188-191.

them can be found to be more complete in some way. In fact, A is far more complete than either R or I, both of which have several lacunae. Except for these lacunae, the texts of the three witnesses differ little, except in orthography. Yet the mss are independent, and R is closer to I than either of them is to A. Consider the following examples:

- a. 1023. assediare lo castello desutele A assediare lo castello de Curigliano, & si lo pigliaro, e così fecero edificare lo castiello de Sutile R assediare lo castello di Curigliano è se lo pigliarono, e così fecero edificare lo Castello de Sutile I

This is the only point at which RI seem to have something that is not to be found in A; RI are not derived from A.

- b. 1085. stando ... con prestezza R stando ... in lo predetto luogo con prestezza I

This reading indicates that I is not derived from R.

- c. 1089. E papa Vrbano uenne in la città de Bare e llà consacrò la confessione de Santo Nicola & Helia Arcipiscopo R om. I

Thus R is not derived from I. A, as the oldest of the three mss, could not have been derived from either R or I. Thus, in the analysis that follows, A will stand for the entire group.

Relationships between C, M and A

The information available about the age of the manuscripts indicates that C and M can not be derived from A, which is more than a century later than they. But C may be derived from M, or M from C, or A from either. (A notes that it was copied from a codex belonging to an Aragonese king, and M contains the Aragonese coat-of-arms; thus there seems to be a greater possibility of A's derivation from M, at least on first appearances.)

But what do the variants indicate?

First of all, as has been noted above in the description of M, its translation simply is not the same as that contained in the other two vulgar mss, even though there are sections that are exactly the same. The differences will become obvious in the following examination of variant readings, which in fact show that none of these codices was derived from either of the others.

23. 989. descese [-6-] Giouanni patritio C descese Giouanni patritio M del mese de febraro descese Gioan patritio A

These variants indicate that A is not derived from CM; not from C because it fills C's blank space, and not from M, because the detail which fills C's lacuna is missing from M. They show further that C is not derived from M, because there is absolutely nothing in that codex to justify the blank space in C.

24. 1009. Cadio grandissima neue, per la quale secono tutte le oliue, e morerono pisce nel mare et altri animali et li ucelli et in quisto anno li saracini pigliorono la citta di Cosenza rompendo il patto in nome di Cartasciueho. 1010. Ali MX A om. CM

These details, transmitted by PUSNL, but missing from CM, indicate that A is quite independent of those two mss.

25. 1069. col prefato Michaele suo possedeo lo imperio C col prefato Michaele suo priuigno teneua lo imperio M con il prefato Michaele suo frate possedeo l'imperio A

M, by indicating the relationship of Michael to the co-emperor, shows that it is not derived from C, which omits the relevant word. The same argument can be used to show that A is not derived from C. Furthermore, A specifies a relationship between the emperors different from that mentioned in M, thus showing again its independence from that codex. 'Priui-

gno' is the reading of the Latin witnesses.

26. 1085. non poterono fare che non fossero somerso dallim-
peto del mare C la uoragine del mare se inghiocctua M
scampauano dall'onde del mare quali li faceua sommergere A
27. 1086. el corpo de sancto Nicola mirrense da certi homini
di Baro fu portato dalla predicta Mirrea in la cicta de
Baro capo de tutte le cicta de puglia C nel mese de maço
el corpo de beato sancto Nicola arciescouo mirrense fu
portato nella cicta de Bari capo de tutte le cicta de pu-
glia M il corpo de sancto Nicolao de Baro fo portato da
certi huomani de Bara dala Morea quale Bare capo di tut-
te le citta di puglia A

It is clear from these readings that the manuscripts in Italian are independent of one another. It is no less clear, however, that there was probably a common source, since all three mss recount the same things in the same order, although they may use different words from time to time. Further, it becomes obvious that C and A have more in common with each other than either of them has with M, so much so that one may suppose a common hyparchetype for these two codices (cf. examples nos. 25 above and 31, 32 below). But what is the relationship between the mss in Italian and those in Latin?

The relationship between CMA and PUSNL

Even a few examples are sufficient to show that the mss CMA are independent of the mss PUSNL, and that they are to be grouped with the codices PU rather than with the witnesses SNL.

The justification for this grouping lies above all in the fact that the codices CMA contain both the AnBa and Lupus (although, to be sure, fused together), as do P and U, while the witnesses SNL hand on only the text of Lupus; then in the fact that the mss CMA coincide with the mss PU rather than

with SNL in two of the most important readings used to make the distinction between the two families of Latin mss, the interpolation at Lupus 1082, and the corruption at Lupus 1085.

28. 1082. et dominante isto Alexio...seu ad Canusium SN
var. orth. L om. PUCMA

29. 1085. el predicto duca...el figlio del predicto Roberto fu facto duca CMA dictus dux...profluio uentris filius predicti Roberti factus est dux PU dictus dux...profluio uentris extinctus est SN dictus dux...fluio uentris preuidente defunctus est L

Even if only these two readings were used, it would be none the less clear that the mss CMA naturally group themselves with PU rather than SNL. They lack the interpolation at 1082, as do PU; and at Lupus 1085, the sentence remains syntactically incorrect and incomplete, as in the Latin of PU, even though the translators have tried to set it right by omitting all reference to the 'profluio uentris'.

30. 969. et non fece niente CMA om. PUSNL

31. 1017. nelluna parte nell'altra fu uincitrice C nelluna nell'altra parte uinse M nel una parte nel'altra fu uincitrice A om. PUSNL

Once again, it is clear that the codices in Italian are necessarily independent of the Latin witnesses still in existence.

32. 1041. et combacterono con li Normani la terza feria C ala terza feria...combacterono con li Normani M et combacterono con li Normandi la terza feria A factum est prelium Normannorum et Grecorum PU (AnBa) fecit prelium cum Normannis fere tribus milibus PU om. SNL (Lupus)

Both of the chronicles speak of the events of the year 1041. The AnBa furnish the date of the battle ('mense martio, decimo septimo die entrante'), but do not specify the day of the week. Lupus gives the number of Greeks in place of the

date. Now in fact, 17 March 1041 fell on Tuesday¹ (in Latin, 'feria tertia'); thus it seems probable that the mss in Italian have preserved a correct reading where the still available Latin witnesses have confused their source. Whatever the explanation, it is clear that the codices CMA have not taken this reading from the witnesses PUSNL.

The correct evaluation of these variants indicates that the mss CMA are independent of the available Latin witnesses, but are to be grouped with PU instead of with SNL. But there are a few readings in the Italian codices which otherwise are found only in the witnesses SNL, or in S alone; for example:

33. 840. ...imperatore PUSNLCMA constantinopolitano add.
SNLCMA
34. 946. tra li cictadini CM tra li citatini A inter ciues
S om. PUNL
35. 1016. et non fecero niente CMA et nihil profecerunt
S om. PUNL

Such readings may be explained by two hypotheses. According to the first, some notes in the margin of the archetype are preserved in both groupings of manuscripts, even if they are no longer to be found in all the witnesses; the fact that in some places the mss in Italian preserve what seems to be a good reading where the Latin mss are confused, as in example no. 32, is an argument in favor of this hypothesis. According to the second of these hypotheses, there may be some influence from the group SNL on the hyparchetype of the mss

¹See Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

in Italian. Such an influence is not at all impossible; it has already been seen that someone gave himself a good deal of trouble in fusing the two chronicles; and such a person would be capable also of copying marginal notes from yet another ms. Neither hypothesis can be proven; but an editor's work is simplified by the first.¹ Whatever the solution may be, the additions are all quite brief, and usually have the character of glosses; and there are fewer than a dozen of them in the entire text.

There are still other readings which show a greater affinity between the mss CMA and codex U; for example:

36. 1005. Eraclius U Herachio CM Eraclio A Durachium PSNL

37. 1021. fu preso el dicto Raica [-4-] et intro in la cicta di Baro C fu preso [-14-] et intro nella cicta de Bari M il dicto Raica intro in la citta de Bari A captus est dictus [.] et intrauit in ciuitatem Barum U captus est Dactus et intrauit in ciuitatem Barum PSNL
var. orth. L

It should be noted that this reading in the translations is an important confirmation of the conclusions drawn about example no. 8, above.

38. 1050. Constantinum monachum U Constantino monacho CMA
Constantinum Monomachum PSNL

39. 1054. mantuensis U de Mantua C Mantuense M de Mantoua A
materiensis PSNL

40. 1089. qui uenerat adhuc cum praedicto papa Clemente U
el quale uenne col predicto papa Clemente C el quale uenne predicto papa Clemente M el quale uinne col p.to papa Chiomento A uiuente adhuc predicto papa Clemente
PSNL

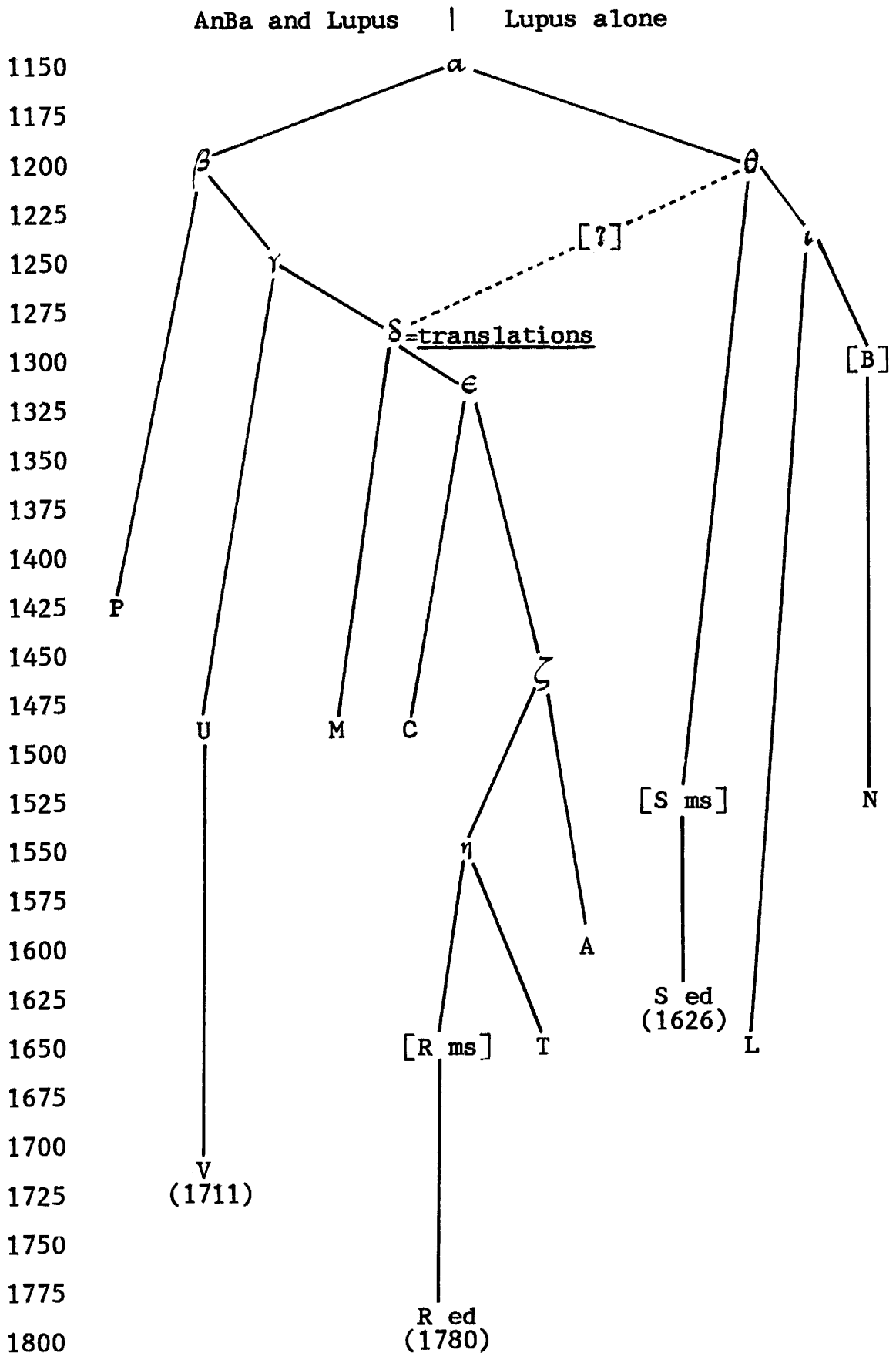
¹This part of the presentation is slightly different in emphasis from what was said in Churchill, 'Edizione', p. 127.

This closer affinity between U and CMA can be explained by the assumption that there was a common hyparchetype for these mss. And since the AnBa and Lupus are always fused in the same order and in the same way, it may be assumed that they were already so fused in the common hyparchetype.

Summary

The results of this inquiry into the manuscript tradition of the AnBa and Lupus may be summarized as follows:

The Latin ms V is a direct copy of ms U, and so is not further considered. The remaining Latin witnesses, PUSNL, break up into two groups, with PU in one and SNL in the other. None of these mss is derived from any of the others. The mss in Italian, CMART, are grouped with the mss PU rather than with the witnesses SNL, although in a few cases they show readings otherwise transmitted only by SNL, or by S alone. The mss in Italian are independent of one another, and are not derived from any of the Latin witnesses still available; yet they show some affinities for U as against P. Further, M's text, though obviously derived from the same source as that of the other vulgar mss, is different from it at various points, enough so that it may be a different translation. These results may also be summarized graphically in the following stemma codicum:



(Dates noted in the left margin refer only to known mss, not to posited hyparchetypes.)

In this scheme, alpha represents the archetype; the other Greek characters represent posited hyparchetypes; the majuscule Roman characters are the sigla assigned to the various witnesses -- brackets enclose the sigla of mss which are known to have existed, but which are no longer available. When the precise date of a witness is known, it appears in parentheses below the siglum.

I. B. 3. Previous Editions

The Annales Lupi Protospatharii were the first of the two chronicles to appear in print. They were published in 1626 by Antonio Caracciolo, in his book Antiqui chronologi quatuor.¹ Caracciolo printed the Latin text from one manuscript, the paper codex of Johannes Franciscus Rubeus [S ms]. He had at his disposition also another manuscript with a fifteenth-century Italian translation of the two annals, fused together.² In this fusion of Lupus and the AnBa, he obviously found details from the AnBa which were not in his Latin text of Lupus; these he translated back into Latin and printed in the margins of his edition. He did not write a commentary, and cited other historians only a very few times, always in marginal notes.

The Annales barenses were published for the first time in 1738 by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, in his collection Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi, from one ms, not identified, but almost certainly V.³ Nicola Aloysia wrote a series of annotations to the text, and in these he compared parallel sections of Lupus and of the Anonymus barensis with the AnBa; he did use some other material as well in his attempt to render the text clearer, but often fell short of his goal.

¹Caracciolo, loc. cit.

²This vulgar ms is perhaps A, if the marginal note which speaks of Caracciolo's use of the codex is in fact accurate, and not the addition of a later reader; see the description, above. Rubeus' ms has disappeared from sight; perhaps it was sent to the printer's, and thus lost; see Pasquali, Tradizione, p. 50.

³Vol. I (Milan 1738), columns 31-36. The collation of this edition against V reveals an almost total identity.

Pelliccia's edition of the fusion and translation into fifteenth-century Italian, cited above as witness R, is the only one of this version known to the present editor; it seems never to have been reprinted.

Printing history of the first editions

The text of Lupus established by Caracciolo was reproduced five times in various collections of historical sources before the text of the AnBa was brought together with it in print, although in the ms tradition the two chronicles appear together in eight of the twelve known mss. The first reprinting of this edition of Lupus was done by Camillo Pellegrino in his collection, Historia principum Langobardorum, published in 1643.¹ Pellegrino wrote annotations to the text, and to Caracciolo's marginal notes, but did not pretend to write a commentary.

G. B. Caruso reprinted Caracciolo's text and Pellegrino's annotations in 1723, in his Bibliotheca historica regni Siciliae, but added nothing.² J. G. Graevius reproduced the same text and the same notes, without any change, in his Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae, also published in 1723.³ In the following year, Ludovico Muratori did the same thing when he reprinted Lupus in his collection of the Rerum italicarum scriptores.⁴ Once again, Pietro Giannone published the same text and the same notes in his Raccolta di varie chro-

¹Vol. I/3 (Naples 1643), pp. 72 ff.; not in Potthast.

²Palermo 1723, pp. 31-35.

³Vol. IX/1 (Leyden 1723), pp. 410-449.

⁴Vol. V (Milan 1724), pp. 36-52.

niche, diarii et altri opuscoli cosi italiani come latini appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli, in 1731.¹ In 1753, F. M. Pratilli reunited the two chronicles, in printing a second, enlarged edition of Pellegrino's Historia principum Langobardorum.²

G. H. Pertz's edition

In 1844, G. H. Pertz published a new edition of the AnBa and of Lupus in the Monumenta Germaniae historica [=MGH]. This editor was aware of the existence of five manuscripts, MNPUV, and says that he used four of them, leaving aside V (which, as a copy of U, has no value as a witness to the tradition).³

No one can deny the immense contribution to the world of scholarship and to historical studies that Pertz made with the MGH. Many of the historical texts that are indispensable for the knowledge of the history of the Middle Ages appeared for the first time in this monumental collection of texts, or appeared there in greatly improved editions. Such, indeed, was the case even of the Bari chronicles. Yet one must recognize as well that Pertz's goal was to render these texts available to scholars, in better editions if possible, but most especially to get them into print and into the hands of those

¹Vol. II (Naples 1731), pp. 81-123; not in Potthast. The title was used again in 1780 for the collection of texts published by Pelliccia.

²Historia principum Langobardorum, nuova edizione, vol. IV (Naples 1752): Lupus, pp. 17-57; AnBa, pp. 348-357.

³Scriptorum tomus V (Hanover 1844), pp. 51-56, where the chronicles are printed in parallel columns. Pertz's numerical designation of the mss has been abandoned in favor of the modern practice of using majuscule letters.

who were to use them. The speed with which the successive volumes of the MGH appeared, and the huge number of texts published, made it impossible for the editor to take the time and care that a modern editor would like to have in preparing a critical edition of a mediaeval text. And, of course, the criteria accepted in the middle of the last century were somewhat different from those followed today; consequently, an edition of that era, however good it may have been for its own time, no longer satisfies the standards for a critical edition, in the sense in which that expression is understood today.

In particular, Pertz's method was different from that of a modern editor. For example, he said that he himself saw only one of the mss, the one he called ms V.F.52, of Naples; and he relied on his correspondents in Paris, Madrid, and Rome for transcriptions of the others. Such a way of collating the mss, though it may well have been a necessity in the 1840's, given the difficulty of travel and the press of work, today, with jet travel and microfilms, is no longer sufficient for the production of a critical edition. And because of this method, Pertz himself remained unaware of the existence of the AnBa in ms P, and thus was not in a position to use fully half of the surviving ms tradition of that chronicle in its original Latin.

Further, Pertz was mistaken in thinking that he used the Neapolitan ms V.F.52 (now vindobonensis latinus 71, and designated N in the present work). In fact, he did not use

this ms at all, but used instead the Neapolitan ms X.C.31 (here designated L). This fact becomes clear from the following considerations.

Pertz says that the name of Lupus is not to be found in any of the mss. It is true that it is not in PUL, but it is in the title to the chronicle in ms N, on f. 67; and it must have been in [S ms], or one would be at a loss in imagining where Caracciolo got the name. If Pertz had in fact seen ms N, could he then have made such a statement?

Again, Pertz cites numerous variant readings in his apparatus criticus. In the following list (which is by no means exhaustive), a few of the variants Pertz claimed to have found in ms N are contrasted with the readings found in N and in L at the point cited (all from Lupus):

1. 868. Septembris: februarii N Septembris L
2. 900. Meclitanus: Melisianus N Meibitanus L
3. 916. Carigliano: Garigliano N Carigliano L
4. 921. Apuleium: Apuleo textu Asculum mge. N Apuleium L
5. 927. Factum est hoc: om. N Factum est hoc L
6. 965. Manuelis: Manuyli N Manuelis L
7. 983. Delphinus Francorum: Dalfina patritius N Delphinus Francie L
8. 1029. Christophorum critim: Chyrisfactora crithin N Christophorum critim L
9. 1042. et eleuatus est Constantinus Monomachus in imperium: et Constantinus Monomachus factus est imperator N et eleuatus est Constantinus Monomachus in imperium L
10. 1046. frenos: sercuuas N frenos L

In each of these cases, the variant cited by Pertz

as the reading of ms N corresponds instead with the true reading of ms L, and does not reflect N's reading at all. Thus it is obvious that Pertz used ms L, however he happened to mis-identify it.

Still again, Pertz had a very low opinion of the first editions of the two chronicles. However much such disdain may be merited by Muratori's edition of the AnBa, it must be noted that Caracciolo's text of Lupus, along with the marginalia from the vulgar ms, was witness to two mss not available to Pertz, and so deserved a more favorable evaluation. Pertz also asserted that Muratori had used ms U for his edition of the AnBa; but, as has been noted, it is most likely that the ms used was V. Again, he asserted that Caracciolo had based his text of Lupus on a badly made copy of U; but in fact, Caracciolo used a manuscript coming from the other branch of the ms tradition, as was shown above. It is none the less true that for editors of that era it was almost impossible to obtain results much better than these, apart from the mis-identification of ms L. It was not then the common practice to do the sort of analysis that now allows an editor -- at least in many cases -- even to draw up a schematic diagram of the ms tradition of a work, as is done above in the stemma codicum. As a result, the editor in that age often did not have a very clear idea of the tradition of the text, and only by chance would he have chosen the mss that a modern editor would choose; and Pertz had no such fortunate accident.

Pertz, therefore, founded his choice of base ms, U, on

criteria that prescinded from its true position in the ms tradition. He proceeded then to print the text of ms U in most passages, and to record the variants found in his other mss. A modern editor's procedure would be somewhat different, in that there would be no textus receptus; through the use of the readings of the various mss, considered in their relationship to the other mss in the text tradition, the editor would attempt to reconstruct the text of the archetype of all the surviving mss, wherever this might prove possible -- and it seems like a good possibility in the case of these two chronicles.

Since Pertz's time, knowledge of the Beneventan script has increased tremendously. This is an important matter, because of the high probability (or near certainty) that the AnBa were written and first copied in that script. Thus Pertz accepted into his text certain readings which the modern editor is able to correct on historical and palaeographical grounds. For example, the name of one of the catepans of Italy was Boioannes; the forms Boiano and Boano are also recorded. In the AnBa this man is referred to as Vulano or Vulcano. Now the second form can be regarded as an attempt to correct the first, to render something unfamiliar and probably mistaken by something at least familiar. But the first form itself is probably to be seen as the result of a scribe's ignorance of the Beneventan script, for it can be seen as a modification of the form of the name Boiano. The interchange of b and v presents no real difficulty, and can be explained in two ways:

If the name was taken over from the Greek, then it should be noted that initial beta was pronounced as y; even if the name was copied from some document, the interchange of b and y is a phenomenon not unknown in the Beneventan script. Then it seems that the remaining anomaly is the l where the Greek has an i. But this too is not a real difficulty: The l occurs where the customs of the Beneventan script required an i-longa, and in that script, this letter ascended from the line, and was not infrequently mistaken for l by scribes not trained in the Beneventan script; thus in these chronicles, the name Aio appears in the mss as Alo. Using the knowledge of the Beneventan script gained since Pertz's time, then, it is possible to unravel and restore readings which the scholars of the past were not in a position to understand.¹

Pertz did not reprint the comments of Caracciolo, Pellegrino and Pratilli, and did not write a commentary, but wrote instead a new series of brief notes, and these are different from, but hardly better than the previous works.

In spite of its many shortcomings, Pertz's edition was rather good and acceptable at that time, and in fact improved somewhat the presentation of the texts, even if it did not contribute much to their understanding.

In 1858, the text established by Pertz was reprinted by J. P. Migne in the Patrologia latina, without any change except the addition of Caracciolo's introduction.²

¹See Lowe, Script, pp. 308-309, 311, 312; 284.

²Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, vol. 155 (Paris 1858), columns 119-134.

I. B. 4. a. i. The Structure of the Annales Lupi Protospatharii

The first entry in Lupus covers the year 855, and the last deals with the year 1102; thus the period covered is just less than two and a half centuries. There are fourteen entries which report the events of the second half of the ninth century; thirty years, therefore, are not noticed at all. The longest gap between entries for this century is of six years, and occurs between the notices for 869 and 874. Lupus deals with the happenings of the tenth century in fifty-three entries, and so passes over forty-seven years in silence. Here the longest gap between entries is of ten years, and occurs between the notices for 901 and 912; there is one gap of six years, one of four, one of three, and the rest are of two or one. The events of the eleventh century are narrated in eighty-one entries, and only nineteen years are not noticed. The longest single gap is of three years. The work ends after the first three years of the twelfth century.

Although this coverage might at first glance suggest that these were annals kept up fairly conscientiously over a very long period, a closer reading of Lupus reveals details which indicate that the work is a compilation put together later than the events it narrates. Among these details are errors in dating which a contemporary writer would not likely have made, information which a contemporary could not have had, and a difference both in length of notices and in focus of attention between the entries for earlier and later events.

The following examples will illustrate these points.

The year 861, the ninth indiction. This year the emperor Michael [III] died, and his parakoimomenos Basil ascended the throne, and reigned twenty-one years by himself, and nine with his sons.

The year 885, the third indiction. This year the emperor Basil [I] died, and Leo [VI] and Alexander, his sons, began to rule; they ruled twenty-six years by themselves, and nine years with him.¹

The entries regarding the succession of Basil I and his sons exhibit some errors. Michael III is said to have died in 861; but in fact the date of his death is 13 September 867.² His successor, Basil I, is said to have reigned twenty-one years by himself, and nine with his sons. Basil was made co-emperor some time after 26 May 866; if that year is included as the first in the count of the years of his reign, then he was in the twenty-first year of his rule when he died on 19 August 886; but only if the figure given in the chronicle is understood in this way can it be correct. Even so, he did not rule alone all those years, since he started off as co-emperor under Michael III, and made his sons co-emperors soon after he achieved absolute power; Leo was associated in the rule in 870, and Alexander in 871.³ Thus the span of nine years

¹Anno 861^o. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno mortuus est Michael imperator, et surrexit Basilius parakenumenus ejus, et regnavit annis xxi ipse solus et nouem cum filiis.

Anno 885^o. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno mortuus est Basilius imperator, et ceperunt regere Leo et Alexander filii ejus, annis vigintisex soli, et cum eo annis nouem.

Texts and translations quoted are from the present work; for particulars, consult the commentary.

²Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 357. Lupus begins the year on 1 September, so that he would have recorded Michael's death and Basil's succession at the year 868, if he had noted it in the correct place. Other dates in this discussion are not affected by this convention.

³Thus Grumel, *loc. cit.* There is some controversy on Alexander's association in the reign, with some writers preferring the date 879; see the commentary.

given in the chronicle is far too short for the joint reign of Basil and his sons. Even if the date 879 for Alexander's association in the rule be accepted, the chronicle would still be in error by lengthening Alexander's reign.

Leo and Alexander, says Lupus, ruled twenty-six years alone, besides the time with their father. The time from the death of Basil to the death of Leo in 912 is indeed twenty-six years. But the time elapsed between Basil's death and Alexander's in 913 is twenty-seven years. The accession of the two princes to rule in their own right is noted at 885, a year too early. Since that is also the year given for the death of Basil I, Lupus is not even internally consistent about his reign, since 885 less 861 leaves 24, not the twenty-one years specified in the chronicle. A contemporary writing at the time of Basil's accession could have had no knowledge of the length of his reign, nor of that of his sons. Similarly, a contemporary of the accession of Leo and Alexander would not have been able to say how long they would rule; and a contemporary would not have been likely to make such a mistake in the length of their joint rule with Basil.

It has been noted that the later parts of the chronicle differ both in the length of the entries and in the focus of attention. The entries in the first part are brief, give few details, and are focused on Byzantine and provincial matters, and that pattern holds for notices through the year 1023. Two examples from the first part have just been examined; here are two others:

The year 1014, the twelfth indiction. This year the emperor Henry [II] came to Rome in the month of February, and Cassano was burned down in the month of August.

The year 1023, the sixth indiction. This year Rayca came with the qā'id Ja[<]far [al-Akhal] to the city of Bari in the month of June, and besieged it for one day; and when they had gone away from Bari, they took the town of Palagiano; and the castle of Mottola was built.¹

But then, with the year 1024, the entries become longer and provide more details; for example:

The year 1024, the seventh indiction. This year there was a great miracle in the cathedral of Acerenza under Bishop Stephen II of Matera, on the holy day of Easter: The great silver crucifix was struck in three places, the head, the arms, and the feet, while everyone was watching this. And there was a heavy snowfall in this year. And in this year Boioannes crossed over the sea to Croatia, and captured the Patricissa, the wife of Krešimir [III], and sent her to Constantinople. And in this year the emperor Henry [II] died, and his grandson Conrad [II] succeeded him.

The year 1099, the seventh indiction. This year in the month of October pope Urban [II] convened a universal synod in the city of Bari, which was attended by one hundred eighty-five bishops.

And in this year in the month of June, on the feast of Saint Peter the Apostle [29 June], the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Christians; and they killed all whom they found there. It is reported that 200,000 persons were killed there. And then the Christians raised up for themselves a king, Godfrey, who had been Duke of Swabia. Then in the month of July the afore-mentioned pope Urban [II] died, and Paschal became pope.²

¹ Anno 1014^a. Indictione 12^a. Hoc anno uenit Henricus imperator Romam mense february, et Cassanus incensa est mense augusti.

Anno 1023^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno uenit Rayca cum Jaffari caiti in ciuitate Bari in mense junii et obsedit eam uno die, et amoti exinde comprehenderunt Palagianum oppidum; et fabricatum est castellum Mutule.

² Anno 1024^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno factum est signum magnum in episcopio acherontino sub presule secundo Stephano materiensi, in sancto die pasche: Crucifixus magnus argenteus concussus est tribus uicibus, capite, brachiis et pedibus, cunctis hoc aspicientibus. Et in hoc anno cecidit nix magna. Et in hoc anno transfretauit Bujano in Curbathia, et comprehendit

This second section may in turn be divided into two parts. The first runs from 1024 to 1061. Its principal focus is the same as that of the first part, Byzantine and provincial affairs, and most of its entries concern the court at Constantinople and the provincial administration in Italy. Certainly, it mentions the Normans, the German emperors, the Popes, the Saracens, the Apulians; and all of these were of intense interest in Bari and in the surrounding area, not only to the government, which had to be prepared to deal with them as subjects, rivals, rebels or invaders, as the occasion required, but also to the people, whose lives and livelihood would be affected by their policies and actions.

A few examples will illustrate these points:

The year 1033, the first indiction. This year on 1 May Constantine the protospatharius, also called Opos, the catepan of Italy, arrived.

The year 1034, the second indiction. This year on 11 April, the emperor Romanos [III Argyros] died, and the emperor Michael [IV the Paphlagonian] succeeded him. And Argiro of Bari departed for Constantinople.

ipsam patricissam uxorem Cismigi, et direxit illam Constantinopolim. Et in hoc anno mortuus est Enricus imperator, et surrexit Conus nepos eius.

Anno 1099^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno in mense octobris papa Urbanus congregavit universalem sinodum in ciuitate Bari, in qua fuerunt 185 episcopi.

Et hoc anno in mense iunii in festiuitate sancti Petri apostoli, comprehensa est per pugnam Ierusalem ciuitas a christianis; et omnes quos ibi inuenerunt occiderunt. Fertur autem occisa esse ibi ducenta milia hominum. Et tunc leauerunt sibi christiani regem Gotofredum qui fuerat Sueuorum dux. Tunc in mense iulii predictus papa Urbanus obiit, et electus est Paschalis papa.

The year 1041, the ninth indiction. This year [Michael] Dokeianos arrived from Sicily and went off to Ascoli. And in the month of March the Lombard Arduino called together the Normans in Apulia, in the city of Melfi; and the afore-mentioned Dokeianos fought a battle with the Normans on a Tuesday [17 March], and the Greeks lost. And in the month of May, on the fourth, the Normans again fought with the Greeks; and Dokeianos fled to Bari.

The year 1046, the fourteenth indiction. This year the patrician Argiro reached Constantinople, and the catepan Eustathios Palatinos recalled all the exiles to Bari, and went to Taranto. And on 8 May he began a battle with the Normans, and the Greeks lost.

And in this year Conrad [II], king of the Germans, came to Rome, because there were three popes there; Sylvester [III] in the church of St. Peter, Gregory [VI] in the Lateran, and Benedict [IX] in Tusculum. When these had been thrown out, a pope by the name of Clement [II] was consecrated by the said emperor. Then the said emperor came to Benevento; but the Beneventans, to his injury, cut the stirrups of his horse. And in this year William [Ironarm] died, and his brother Drew became count.¹

In what has preceded, the Byzantines and their interests in fact receive the greatest attention. But at the year 1061,

¹Anno 1033^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno prima die intrante mense maji, descendit Constantinus protospatharius qui et Opo vocabatur, catepanus Italie.

Anno 1034^a. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno undecima die intrante mense aprilis, obiit Romanus imperator, et surrexit Michael imperator. Et Argiro barensis abiit in Constantinopoli.

Anno 1041^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno descendit Dukyano a Sicilia, iuitque Asculum. Et in mense martii Arduinus lombardus conuocauit Normannos in Apulia in civitate Melfie, et predictus Dukyano fecit prelium cum Normannis feria tertia, et ceciderunt Greci. Et mense maji iterum preliati sunt Normanni cum Grecis, et fugit Dukyano in Barum.

Anno 1046^a. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno perrexit Argiro patricius Constantinopolim, et Palatinus catepanus qui et Eustasius reuocauit omnes exiliatos in Barum perrexitque Tarentum. Et octaua die intrante mense maji, commisit prelium cum Normannis, et ceciderunt Greci. Et hoc anno uenit Conus rex Almannorum Romam eo quod erant ibi tres pape: Silvester in ecclesia sancti Petri, in Laterano Gregorius, et Benedictus in Tusculano; quibus ejectis, consecratus est ibi papa nomine Clemens a predicto imperatore. Deinde predictus imperator uenit Beneuentum; Beneuentani uero ad ejus injuriam absciderunt streuas equi ejus. Et hoc anno obiit Guidelmus, et frater ejus Drogo factus est comes.

the focus shifts to the Normans, who heretofore have been merely one of several important groups; from here to the end of the chronicle they remain at the center of attention.¹ The following examples may serve to illustrate this difference in focus, when they are compared with the examples which have preceded:

The year 1061, the fourteenth indiction. This year Duke Robert [Guiscard] captured the city of Acerenza.

The year 1062, the fifteenth indiction. This year [the bishop] of Lucca became Pope Alexander [II]. And in this year Duke Robert [Guiscard] entered the city of Oria; and again, he took the city of Brindisi and the merarches.

The year 1063, the first indiction. This year Taranto was taken by the Normans.

The year 1064, the second indiction. This year Matera was taken by Count Robert [of Montescaglioso] in the month of April.²

The activities of the Normans beyond Apulia are also noted in Lupus:

¹It is true that Lupus continues to talk about papal affairs, the German and Byzantine emperors, and the first Crusade. These matters would have been of interest in Norman-dominated southern Italy, because the policies and actions of the other powers affected the policies and actions of the Normans, and also the lives of the population.

²Anno 1061^o. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno Robertus dux cepit ciuitatem acherontinam.

Anno 1062^o. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno factus est papa Alexander lucanus. Et in hoc anno intrauit Robertus dux in ciuitatem Oriem. Et iterum apprehendit Brundusium et ipsum miriarcham.

Anno 1063^o. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno comprehensum est Tarentum a Normannis.

Anno 1064^o. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno comprehensa est Matera a Roberto comite mense aprilis.

These are among the shortest entries in this section of the chronicle; they are adduced here to illustrate typical subject matter, not typical length.

The year 1067, the fifth indiction. ... And in this year [Halley's] comet appeared, and the Norman count Robert [=William] fought a battle with Harold, King of the English; and Robert [=William] won, and himself became king over the English people.

The year 1097, the fifth indiction. This year Bohemund, with count [Raymond] of Saint-Gilles and count [Robert] of Normandy, and the other counts of the West, left the Queen of Cities in the month of April with an innumerable multitude. Then they crossed over and took back the lands which the Turks had taken away from the emperor. And when battle had been joined with the Turks, Christ gave the victory to his Christians. It is reported that there were 140,000 pagans. This was done at the city of Nicaea.¹

In this section, Bari is mentioned only seven times, and receives no special emphasis. Matera also is noted seven times, and there are fewer references to other Italian cities, which are mentioned almost without exception in connection with Norman affairs; thus Amalfi is mentioned when it is besieged by Roger of Sicily (1096), Benevento when it is besieged by Guiscard (1078), Brindisi when it is taken by Guiscard (1070, 1071), Capua when it is taken by Roger of Sicily (1098), Irsina [=Montepeloso] when it is taken by Guiscard (1068), and so on.

There are other indications that Lupus is indeed a chronicle in annal form. At 1017, the arrival of Kontoleon

¹Anno 1067^a. Indictione 5^a. ... Et hoc anno apparuit stella cometes et comes normanus Robertus fecit bellum cum Araldo rege Anglorum, et uicit Robertus, qui et factus est rex super gentem Anglorum.

Anno 1097^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno Boamundus cum comite sancti Egidii et cum comite Normannie et aliis comitibus occidentis, cum innumera multitudine in mense aprilis a regia urbe se mouentes, transfretauerunt et ceperunt terras quas Turki imperatori abstulerant. Et facto bello cum Turkis, uictoriam Christus suis concessit christianis. Fertur enim fuisse paganos centum quadraginta milia. Hoc actum est juxta Niceam ciuitatem.

Tornikios is noted twice, once under the name 'Turniki', and then at the end of the notice, under the name 'Condoleo'; and again, at 1042, there are clearly two full reports for the same year, one given after the other.

From what has preceded, the structure of the chronicle known as the Annales Lupi Protospatharii may be summarized as follows:

Part I: 855-1023, short notices, few details, focus on Byzantine subject matter;

Part II: 1024-1060, longer notices, more details, focus on Byzantine subject matter;

Part III: 1061-1102, still longer reports, more details, focus on Norman subject matter.

Because there are mis-datings which contemporaries of the events described could hardly have perpetrated, and because in some entries there is information to which contemporaries could not have had access; because there are duplications of reports, and because the structure is tri-partite, it is plain that the Annales Lupi Protospatharii are not annals properly so called; that is, they are not a series of notices written year after year by contemporaries of the events they describe. Rather, they are a chronicle in annal form, a compilation made from several sources by a later redactor.

I. B. 4. a. ii. The Structure of the Annales barenses

The Annales barenses exhibit many of the characteristics of Lupus. There are divisions similar to Lupus I and II, both in structure and in content, but because the AnBa run only to 1043, there is nothing to correspond to Lupus III. There are fewer entries in the AnBa than in Lupus, and they are distributed somewhat differently.

An entry for the year 605 opens the chronicle, and is followed by a notice for 782. The ninth century, which Lupus deals with in fourteen entries, is omitted entirely. For the tenth century there are only seven notices, against fifty-three in Lupus. The eleventh century to 1043 is covered in ten entries only, while Lupus for the same period has thirty-two. Gaps between years covered in the AnBa are necessarily longer than those occurring in Lupus. The impression given by this distribution is one of haphazardness and lack of intention to keep up the account regularly.

There are mis-datings in Lupus, and the AnBa too commit this fault. For example:

The year 928. This year Michael [of Zachlunia], king of the Slavs, captured the city of Siponto on the feast of St. Felicity, Monday [10 July], in the fifteenth indiction.¹

Since 10 July fell on a Monday in 926, not 928, the entry is dated incorrectly.² Again, the indiction noted applies to the year 927, not to the year 928.³ Whatever may be

¹Anno 928^o. Hoc anno comprehendit Michael rex Sclavorum civitatem Sipontum mense julio, die sancte Felicitatis, secunda feria, indictione quintadecima.

²Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

³Ibid., p. 252.

the source of the error, this entry is misdated. In fact, the raid in question occurred in 926.¹

Another example of incorrect dating may be found in the notice for the year 1011, where the AnBa indicate that Melo began his rebellion on 9 May, against the catepan John Curcuas. The passage is paralleled by one in Lupus dated 1009, which indicates that the rebellion began in the month of May, after a particularly hard winter, and this passage in turn is corroborated by one in the AnBen, dated 1009. Lupus notes further that Curcuas died sometime between 1 September 1009 and March 1010, when his successor arrived. Lupus most likely has the correct date, and it is his dating that historians have accepted.²

A third example of misdating may be found in the entry for the year 1021, where the AnBa indicate that the catepan Basil Boioannes fought a battle against the Franks [Normans], and won. The passage is paralleled and elucidated by a notice in Lupus dated 1019, which speaks of the same battle and of the catepan's victory, and then mentions that the rebel Melo

¹See the commentary for discussion of the facts.
²AnBa: '...rebellauit Longobardia cum Mele ad ipsum Curcua mense majo nona die entrante...'; Lupus: 'Hoc anno cecidit maxima nix, ex qua siccauerunt arbores oliue, et pisces et uolatilia mortua sunt. Et in mense maji incepta est rebellio...'; AnBen, ad an. 1009, p. 130; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 348, telescopes the story of the entire course of the rebellion from 1009 to 1018 into a few sentences at the year 1011, and so is not entirely reliable here; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 399 ff., and Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 42 ff., and the commentary.

fled to the emperor Henry II.¹ The point here is that the year 1021 is not even a possibility, since Melo died at Henry's court in Bamberg on 23 April 1020.²

The AnBa parallel the division of Lupus into an earlier section characterized by brevity of report and paucity of detail, and a later section of longer notices and more particulars. The first section, corresponding to Lupus I, runs from 605 to 1021. The following notices are typical:

The year 605. The death of pope St. Gregory. Phocas reigned eight years.

The year 929. This year Taranto was captured by the Saracen people on the Solemnity of St. Mary in the month of August.

The year 979. This year the monastery of St. Benedict in Bari was begun by the venerable abbot, Dom Girolamo.

The year 1021. Here Basil Boioannes fought a battle with the Franks, and beat them in the city of Cannae.³

The second section, corresponding to Lupus II, is characterized by longer and more detailed entries, and runs from 1027 to 1043, where the AnBa come to an end. The following examples are typical of the entries in this section:

The year 1035. Here, on the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord, the bishop Bisanzio died. He

¹AnBa: 'Hic fecit prelium Basilius Bujano cum Francis, et uicit illos in ciuitate Canni'. Lupus: '...fecit prelium supradictus Bujano in mense octobris cum Francis, et uicit, et Mel fugit cum aliquantibus Francis ad Enricum imperatorem'.

²See Mathieu, WmAp (Comm. to I 95-103), p. 166, and our commentary on these entries.

³Anno 605^o. Obitus sancti Gregorii pape. Phocas regnauit annis octo.

Anno 929^o. Hoc anno Tarentum captum est a gente Saracenorum mense augusti in solemnitate sancte Marie.

Anno 979^o. Hic inchoatum est monasterium barensis sancti Benedicti a domino Hieronymo uenerabili abbate.

Anno 1021^o. Hic fecit prelium Basilius Bujano cum Francis, et uicit illos in ciuitate Canni.

was a most pious father to the orphans, founder of the cathedral church of the diocese of Bari, the guardian and defender of the whole city, terrible and fearless against all Greeks. Romuald the protospatharius was elected by the whole people to the office of bishop, but in the month of April the emperor summoned him into exile in Constantinople. And on 9 August, Nicholas was elected.

The year 1043. In this year in the month of September, Tubakes the protospatharius, Pardus the patrician, and Nicholas the archbishop arrived in Otranto with a gold-sealed letter and a pardon. Then the iniquitous Maniakes, going out to meet them with a false peace, immediately ordered Pardus to be put to death by the sword, and Tubakes to be imprisoned; and in the month of October he had Tubakes, too, killed in a similar way.¹

It is apparent from these entries that the tone of this second section of the AnBa is different from that of the first: The writer seems to inject his own judgments and emotions into the report. Instances occur at 1027, where the chronicler speaks of sins getting in the way of the Sicilian expedition; at 1041, where the Macedonians fighting against the Normans are called unfortunate, Maniakes evil, and his actions impious. Such subjectivity is not found at all in the first section.

The structure of the Annales barenses may then be summarized as follows:

¹Anno 1035^o. Hic in Epiphania Domini obiit Bisantius episcopus, qui fuerat piissimus pater orpahnorum, et fundator sancte ecclesie episcopatus barensis, et cuncte urbis custos ac defensor, atque terribilis et sine metu contra omnes Grecos. Et electus est in ipso episcopatu ab omni populo Romualt protospatharius, et in mense aprilis uocauit eum ad se imperator in exilium. Et quinto idus intrante augusto electus est Nicolaus.

Anno 1043^o. Hoc anno mense septembri descendit Tubaki protospatharius, et Pardus patricius, et Nicolaus archiepiscopus cum chrisubulo et simpatia. Tunc ipse iniquus Maniaki, pacifica fraude eis obuiam exiens, statim occidi jussit Pardum gladio, et Tubaki retrudi in custodia, quem mense octobris occidi similiter fecit.

Part I: 605-1021, short notices, few details, focus

on Byzantine subject matter, parallel to Lupus I;

Part II: 1027-1043, longer notices, more details, focus on Byzantine subject matter, subjectivity, parallel to Lupus II.

Because there are in this work mis-datings which a contemporary of the events recounted could not have perpetrated, because the structure is twofold, and because there is a change both in the length and in the tone of the notices from Part I to Part II, it is clear that the Annales barenses as they stand are not annals properly so called, but a later compilation from at least two sources, made by a later redactor.¹

Ferdinand Hirsch, who undertook an analysis of these and other chronicles as his doctoral dissertation at the University of Berlin in 1864, reached much the same conclusions in regard to the general structure of the AnBa and Lupus. His approach was different, however, and he did not take sufficient account of the differences between the first and second parts of the two chronicles, and so held the opinion that Lupus I ran through 1028, whereas our analysis ends Lupus I at 1023; and again, Hirsch believed that AnBa I included 1027, while our analysis groups that entry with AnBa II.²

¹Whether this redactor was also the author of AnBa II is a valid question, and will be dealt with in the discussion of sources and authorship.

²Hirsch, Ann., pp. 2 ff.

I. B. 4. b. Language

The Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospa-tharii were written in the Middle Ages, and deal with the events of a Byzantine province, in an Italy that had already been much invaded, and indeed settled, by barbarian groups. In the period covered by the two chronicles, the area in consideration continued to be contested by different peoples: The Byzantines, the Arabs of Africa and Sicily, the Lombards of the neighboring principalities, the Franks and the Normans all appear on the scene to play their roles. It is only natural, then, that the chronicles reflect some influence from these groups in their language, and particularly in their vocabulary.

Proper names and titles figure among the non-classical words found in the chronicles, as do technical terms, the Christian vocabulary, and a few items of Greek origin. Among the proper names are a few from each of the groups mentioned above. Greek names of some frequency are Basil, Alexius and Constantine.¹ Arabs mentioned include Abū al-Qāsim, who appears as 'Bulcassimus', and Abū as-Sayyid, who is recorded as 'Busitu'. Among the Lombards are the rebel Melo and his brother-in-law Datto ('Dactus'), the princes Aio and Ursus, and their ancient king, Alboin. Charlemagne and his son Pipin

¹The list of non-classical and non-Latin words given in this brief discussion is not meant to be exhaustive; nor is this the place for a concordance to the chronicles. Words of particular importance will receive full consideration in the commentary on the passage where they occur, and will be found in the index nominum et rerum, together with a list of all the places where they occur in the AnBa and Lupus.

are the first of the Frankish rulers to appear in the chronicles, but they are followed by the Ludwigs and Ottos and Henrys who later rule in their place. The Normans include Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger of Sicily, some of their other relatives, and even William the Conqueror. On occasion a name from another part of the world figures in the narrative, such as that of Krešimir III, king of Croatia, who appears disguised as 'Cis-migi'.

Such names are frequently accompanied by titles or official designations. Lombards, Franks and Normans usually bear titles derived from Latin, such as rex, princeps, dux, comes, and these have their Mediaeval meanings of hereditary nobility. Greek titles, however, are another matter; most of the Greek functionaries have both an honorific title and a job designation. Thus protospatharios and patricius are honorific, while catepanus, dux, strategos and merarches indicate the governmental functions filled by the persons so designated. Two Arab titles which are noted are amīr, 'prince', which appears as 'ammira', and a military title, qā'id, which becomes 'caytus'.

The Christian vocabulary includes titles (such as papa, episcopus, abbas, prior, sanctus), names of feasts, the names of the days of the week (feria secunda, feria tertia, etc.), vigils, councils, synods, and so on. The various dating terms may be included here as well, such as cyclus solaris, cyclus lunaris, epacta luna, since they served to fix the ecclesiastical calendar and the movable feasts.

The system of dating by indiction is used in the chronicle of Lupus, and that acceptation of the term indictio is post-classical.

Some other words which have taken on non-classical meanings are traditio, which has come to mean 'treason' as well as 'tradition'; senior, a title given by the Normans to Argiro of Bari, whom they elected their leader, would seem to stand for the French seigneur; igniculus is used to speak of meteorites; argumenta means 'siege engines'; laudem dicere has the meaning 'to recognize (or acclaim) as Emperor', and may reflect the Greek εὐφημεῖν.¹ Certainly Greek in origin are the terms suda, 'palisade, encampment', from σοῦδα (which in turn is probably derived from Latin sudis); stolus, 'fleet', from στόλος. There are few words of more recent coinage; strepae, streuuae, 'stirrups', tregua, treuua, 'truce', and guerra, 'war', are significant.

¹See G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford [1961] 1968), p. 578, s.v. εὐφημέω, and cf. J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leyden 1976), p. 586, s.v. laudare, nos. 6, 11, and p. 588, s.v. laus, nos. 11, 13, 14. See also the commentary on paragraph 29.

Even as the vocabulary of the chronicles shows post-classical developments, so too the grammar used by Lupus and by the AnBa is no longer precisely that of the Augustan era. In the use of the verb, for example, there are instances of the perfect passive tense formed with the appropriate participle and the perfect tense of esse in place of the normal present of that auxiliary (cf. Lupus line 30 'facta fuit perditio' and line 155 'tradita est'). The pluperfect sometimes substitutes for the imperfect (AnBa line 61 'qui fuerat piissimus pater'). The indicative is occasionally found in a result clause (Lupus line 616 'ita ut...fertur'). The sequence of tenses is not always observed (Lupus line 158 'quantos cepit ...fecit occidere' -- one would have expected ceperat). In one place, the present participle functions as a finite verb (AnBa line 123 'tunc scripsit ad Normannos...et omnes uenientes...in Mutulam' -- the perfect tense would be required by classical grammar). There is one instance of the ablative absolute used in reference to the subject of the period (Lupus line 292). In several places the gerund in -o is found where the present active participle would be expected (e.g., Lupus line 70). Some purpose clauses are introduced by quatenus and qualiter (Lupus line 467). Some intransitive verbs are constructed with expressions of agency, whereby the sense is rendered passive (Lupus lines 15-16, 38-39, 88, 169-170).

The treatment of nouns and adjectives also shows a few differences from classical norms. Personal and place names are occasionally treated as undeclinable forms (AnBa lines 80 120, 124). Greek names often have the Greek definite article

between the name and the surname, or show some other peculiarities of treatment: Isaki o Comni (Lupus line 419), Constantinus o Ducos (Lupus line 421), Nichiforus qui et Dulkyano (AnBa line 70). To show limit of motion, the ablative is used alongside the accusative, and either may occur with or without prepositions. To show location in a place, the ablative is used, sometimes with a preposition, sometimes without one; the locative also occurs (Lupus line 619). To speak of duration of time, the AnBa and Lupus regularly use the ablative instead of the accusative.

The preposition cum (followed by the ablative) sometimes means simply et: e.g., Lupus line 660 says '...Boamundus cum aliis comitibus...' and follows this expression with plural participles and verbs.

Most of these constructions are quite normal in the Latin of the period, especially in southern Italy, and some of them were in use even at the time of Augustine, or before.¹ Others, however, are quite unusual, and may imply the use of Greek material in the compilation of the chronicles; these will be discussed below, in the section on sources.

¹See A. Blaise, Manuel du latin chrétien (Strasbourg 1955), pp. 78-190; James M. Campbell and Martin R. P. McGuire, edd., The Confessions of St. Augustine, Books I-IX (Selections) (New York 1931), pp. 23-51 -- these authors note that many such constructions were used by Tacitus; but above all, see Westerburgh, Chron. sal., pp. 233-283, where the author treats of specifically south Italian usage in the period during which our chronicles were produced.

I. B. 4. c. Chronology

The reader will note at Lupus 891 that there is something strange: The events of October are mentioned before those of June. This peculiarity is then repeated in the entry for 1017, where November precedes May. Again, at 1029, the death of Constantine VIII is given as the vigil of St. Martin, a feast which falls in November; and then the events of July are narrated. At 1041, Lupus notes the arrival of the catepan Michael Dokeianos, before speaking of the battle with the Normans, in March; the AnBa note that the catepan arrived in Bari in November, and go on to speak of the battle. Again, at 1042, Lupus speaks first of the events of September and December, and then talks about the happenings of February, April and June. In the same entry, at line 344, Lupus begins a second account of the events of the same year, and again he starts the account with September, goes on to February, April and June (without mentioning the months), and finally speaks of July and August. The AnBa begin this year with September, go on to February, April and July, and then change the subject to speak of the events of June. Lupus at 1043 speaks first of September and October, then passes on to February. And again at 1047, the order of the months is October, December, June. At 1081, October comes before July; at 1098 the order is October, April, May; at 1099 it is October, June, July; at 1011, September precedes June, and at 1102 November comes before May. In fact, in all the entries where any of the last four months of the year

is mentioned along with any of the first eight, the period from September to December always precedes that from January to August. Apparent exceptions occur at Lupus 969 and 1042, and at AnBa 1003-Lupus 1002; but in the first of these, the author is clearly speaking of the events of two years; in the second, there are obviously two reports for the same year, given one after the other; and in the last instance, the siege which began in May is regarded as one event.

During the long period covered by the chronicles, several styles of calculating the course of the months were in use in Italy. Our style, which begins the year on 1 January, was one of them. Another was the so-called Pisan style, which began the year on 25 March, but with the year ahead of ours; thus our 25 March 1000 is 25 March 1001 (New Year's Day) in this system. Another mode was the Florentine, which similarly used 25 March as the first of the year, but with the year behind ours; thus our 24 March 1000 converts to 24 March 999 in this system, and the day following would be 25 March 1000. But there was only one calendar in use in Southern Italy during the period, that can account for the course of the months found in the AnBa and in Lupus: the Byzantine style. In this system, the year begins on 1 September, with the year ahead of ours;¹ thus Lupus notes the Battle of Hastings, which oc-

¹On the various systems mentioned here, see A. Cappelli, Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo, 3rd. edition, (Milan 1969), p. 3; and for further information on the Byzantine system, see Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 111-128.

curred on 14 October 1066 in our system, among the events of the year 1067.

It is also noteworthy that Lupus accompanies every year with the indiction, and that this always corresponds to the year in question. The indiction is a cycle of fifteen years, starting with the year 312; successive years in the cycle are referred to by the ordinal numeral and the word 'indiction' (indictio secunda, tertia, etc.), but the cycle itself is never numbered. The Byzantine indictional year began on 1 September, but different systems were in use in the West, where the indiction also took on great importance.¹ In Lupus, then, there was no discrepancy between the year of grace and the indictional year.

In dating, the Byzantine writers did not rely on the use of the year of grace, but used instead an era based on the creation of the world. According to this system, the birth of Christ took place in the year 5508. There is some indication in the sources that this year did not always begin on 1 September, although that was the date used by the time of our chronicles.² In fact, this system does not figure in the Bari chronicles; but at two points the chronicler does mention a world era. At 1082, Lupus notes that the year since the beginning of the world is 6281, and at 1091, he notes that the correspondence is 6291. It is obvious that this is not the Byzantine world-year, because in that system, our 1082 is

¹See Cappelli, *op. cit.*, p. 6 for a summary; for a full discussion, see Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 193-206.

²See Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 111-128.

6590, and our 1091 is 6599. From the figures given, the world-era used in these instances shows a difference from the Byzantine world-era of three hundred nine years; where Lupus may have got it must remain a mystery.¹ It should be noted that if 1082 corresponds to 6281, then 1091 should correspond to 6290, so that the chronicler has an internal inconsistency of one year; this fact could be explained by the loss of a minimum in a number transmitted in the Roman system -- a phenomenon not unknown.

To be noted also is the chronicler's method of dating within the month. The systems most used are that of numbering the days from the beginning to the end of the month, as we do now -- this was also the Byzantine style² -- and the Bolognese style. In this latter, each month is divided into two parts, which are designated 'mense intrante' and 'mense exeunte' or 'astante'. Days are counted from one to fifteen (sixteen in months with thirty-one days) 'mense intrante', and then backwards to one 'mense astante'.³ Thus at Lupus 1002, the expression 'adstante maio secunda die' means in fact 30 May.⁴

¹The figures do not correspond to any of the world-eras discussed by Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 5-25, 56-85, 111-128.

²See Grumel, Chronologie, p. 176.

³C. R. Cheney, ed., A Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London 1946), p. 6.

⁴And not as Gay, Italie, p. 369, would have it; he speaks there of the siege beginning 'depuis les premiers jours de mai', although Pertz's edition, which Gay cites in his footnote, contains the word 'astante' in this passage; but Gay seems to have been completely unaware of the conventions of the Bolognese system, and this is a defect he shares with a great many earlier historians. Thus in reading earlier works, the reader must be aware that the dates assigned may be incorrect by as much as a month, and so consult the sources.

The Julian system is also used for a few dates.¹ Thus at AnBa 1003, 'decimum kalendas octobris' means 22 September.² But on occasion, confusion enters in, as at AnBa 1035, where the date is given as 'quinto idus intrante augusto', a fusion of the Julian and Bolognese systems.

The days of the week are designated numerically, except Saturday and Sunday, which are *Sabbatum* and *Domenica*; Monday then is *Feria secunda*, Tuesday is *Feria tertia*, and so on. In at least one place, the author seems to have confused the meaning of feria and dies: At Lupus 1041, a battle is said to have taken place 'mense maji...feria quarta'. The AnBa supply the correct date, 'mense maji...quarto die intrante', which in fact fell on a Monday in 1041, not on a Wednesday ('feria quarta').³

It was noted in the discussion on the structure of the chronicles, that misdatings occur in both of them, and that some events are noted in the AnBa with a date two years later than that found in Lupus, while other matters are assigned identical dates. The explanation of these discrepancies may be found in the state of the sources, or in the carelessness of copyists; there is no reason to assume that the AnBa are using some calculation different from that employed by Lupus, particularly since most of their dates coincide.⁴ Indeed, such discrepancies as may be found are quite in keeping with the composite character of the chronicles.

¹Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 175-176.

²And not 20 September, as given by Gay, Italie, p. 369.

³Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

⁴Cf. Hirsch, Ann., pp. 15-17, 24-26.

I. B. 4. d. Sources

Even at first glance, it is obvious that at least one source for the Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospa-tharii was a series of annals in paschal tables. The brevity of most of the entries in the AnBa I, in Lupus I and II, and of not a few notices in Lupus III; the words 'hoc anno' or 'hic' which open every notice; the fact that in Lupus the indiction always corresponds with the year, even though the events may in fact have occurred in some other year -- all of these are easily accounted for by the hypothesis that the AnBa and Lupus drew on such annals.¹

Surviving manuscripts of such paschal tables reveal what they were like. They contained the year of grace, the indiction, sometimes indications of solar and lunar cycles for the year, such as the nineteen-year cycle, or the cycle of five hundred thirty-two years; the date of Easter was always noted, and usually some at least of the other movable feasts were indicated, such as the first Sunday of Lent, the Ascension, and Pentecost.² The tables were found in liturgical books, and served as guides to the celebration of the liturgy. They were necessary because there were (and are), both in the Roman and Byzan-

¹Hirsch, Ann., p. 6, and Pertz before him, MGH-SS V 51, advanced the same hypothesis.

²On the various cycles, see Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 31-35 and 186-191 for the lunar cycles, and pp. 129-139 for the cycle of 532 years. A late eleventh-century manuscript containing a paschal table is described in Bertolini, AnBen, p. 38, and there is an illustration on the facing page.

tine liturgies, two series of feasts, those celebrated on a fixed date in the solar calendar, and those whose celebration depends rather on a lunar criterion. The two cycles overlap, and it is necessary to know the date in the solar calendar of the feasts depending on the moon. Such tables are still published in modern liturgical books, in both rites.¹ It is noteworthy that when Lupus records the various cycles at the year 1083 (the only place he does it), he is able to give the nineteen-year cycles of both East and West; and the very fact that he is able to give all these cycles confirms the hypothesis that he used annals in paschal tables as a source.

Such tables, it is known, served as matrices for annals; the notices were written in the margins, or between the lines. Space was necessarily limited, and in consequence the notices were brief. It was not always possible to record the events of a given year precisely next to the place that year occupied in the table, especially if the previous notice was rather long, and so notices were written where there was room, and were connected to the year they referred to by a line, or by coordinated signs at the entry and at the year (much as numbered footnotes are used today). In the course of time, such signals can fade, or they can be misunderstood by later copyists; thus one may find the year and the indiction, which were both in the table, in perfect correspondence, at the head of an entry recording

¹See, for example, Book of Prayer for Personal Use, a Short Breviary abridged and simplified by monks of Saint John's Abbey from the Liturgia Horarum, fourth edition (Collegeville, Minnesota 1975), pp. 1806-1807; and Μέγας ἱερός συνεκδήμιος τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου χριστιανοῦ (Athens 1976), pp. 964-969.

events of quite a different year -- as, indeed, one finds in both Lupus and the AnBa. In compiling these annals, the writers often began their marginal entries with the words 'hoc anno' or 'hic', and the presence of these words in chronicles like Lupus and the AnBa, is often indicative of a later redactor's use of the tables.¹

Thus for the AnBa I, and for all of Lupus, one may conclude that annals written in paschal tables were used as a source by the redactors.

But what about the AnBa II? Hirsch held that the redactor of the AnBa used the older written source he refers to as the ancient annals of Bari, even for the AnBa II.² Yet the very length of the entries in this section seems to preclude their origin in paschal tables, in spite of the usual opening phrase. In addition, the unity encountered in each of the entries, as if each were written as a whole, argues against the paschal tables as a source for this section, as does the personal tone of the narrative. (In contrast, Lupus II and III show a mosaic character, and this fact indicates that Lupus' redactor had at his disposal several sources which he merged.) For the AnBa II, one is free to speculate that the writer was perhaps a continuator of the chronicles found in the paschal tables; whether these had been transcribed into another manuscript, or whether the writer found blank folia in the original

¹Bertolini, AnBen, pp. 27-28, 62.

²Hirsch, Ann., pp. 26-31.

manuscript, is immaterial. This paper proposes as sources for the AnBa II the personal experience of the writer, along with whatever information he could get from contact with witnesses or participants in the events described.

Lupus, however, used more than one source, as has been seen above in the section on the structure of the two chronicles. It would be rash to assume that every time he introduces a sentence with the words 'hoc anno', he took that sentence from a new source; but the sources are probably so mingled that it would not be possible to separate their contributions from one another, even if some purpose were to be served by so doing. There are, nonetheless, a few points at which the switch from one source to another is obvious; thus at the year 1017, the catepan Kontoleon Tornikios arrives twice, and at the year 1042, there are two quite different accounts for the same year, one following the other.

Lupus evidently used a Greek source, as may be deduced from the fact that some Greek proper names appear in this chronicle in simple transcription, with the definite article included; at 1059, 'Isaki o Comni factus est imperator', and at 1067, 'mortuus est Constantinus o Ducos imperator'. This hypothesis of a Greek source may also account for some at least of the intransitive verbs constructed with expressions of agency. For example, at 868, Lupus records that 'exierunt Agareni a Bari civitate per Francos', which makes rather strange Latin. The Greek verb ἐξβαίνω, which means principally 'to go out', has different forms for the aorist tense, one of which communicates

the principal idea of the verb, that of going out, while the other form means to be forced or driven out.¹ It is not beyond imagination that a reader who knew enough Greek to recognize the basic meaning of the verb, 'to go out', missed the shade of meaning between the first and second aorist, and translated with the intransitive rather than the passive meaning. A simpler explanation of the strange Latin, however, would be to assume that the Greek preposition used was *διά*, which can mean 'through, by', Latin 'per', when constructed with the genitive, or 'on account of', Latin 'propter', when constructed with the accusative, and that it was simply mistranslated; thus the verb could be quite innocuous, and the difficulty would lie with the preposition. But a Greek original would explain well the strange Latin encountered here. Again, at 987, 'mortuus est Andralistus a Nicolao criti'. The word criti is obviously a transliteration of the Greek *κρίτης*, judge; the Greek verb *θνήσκειν* means primarily 'to die', but when it is constructed with an expression of agency, it takes on the meaning 'to be killed', particularly (though not solely) in judicial contexts.² Using the same hypothesis, some other difficulties

¹See Herbert Weir Smyth, Greek Grammar (Cambridge, Massachusetts [1920] 1963), pp. 223, 689; Marco Pechenino and Armando Sorrentino, Verbi e forme verbali difficili o irregolari della lingua greca (Turin 1975), p. 11.

²H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, ninth edition (Oxford [1940] 1968), p. 802; see also *ἀποθνήσκειν*, p. 199, which shows practically the same range of meanings. Nicolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini, Dizionario della lingua italiana, nuova ristampa, vol. V (Turin 1915), p. 366, note an obscure Italian use of the verb morire in a similar context; but since it is obvious from the transcriptions of Greek names that a Greek source was used, it seems reasonable to hold that the construction in the chronicles was influenced by Greek rather than by early Italian.

can be explained. For example, at the year 1029, the mss of Lupus note the arrival of 'Eustachius cum filiis basilico et mandatora'. There is something wrong with the passage as it stands, but the theory of a Greek source allows one to solve the problem. It is likely that the ending -ra on the word 'mandatora' is a misreading of the standard Byzantine abbreviation for βασιλικός, 'imperial': βα; the word 'basilico' is probably a marginal gloss for the abbreviation, and was taken into the text in the wrong place. Again, at the year 1032, Lupus speaks of 'Ychiacon et Ketoniti'; this is a mangling of the title of one of the catepans, and it is likely that here, too, a misunderstood Greek source underlies the reading.¹

Such a Greek source may have been a list of catepans and emperors, or even annals in paschal tables -- there were several Greek churches in Bari, and each of them would have had liturgical books with such tables, in which the annals could have been written.²

In addition to these sources, it seems that one may assume for Lupus III that contemporary accounts of different types of events and from many places were gathered together. Bari was a good place for this sort of thing to happen, since

¹See the commentary for remarks on particular passages. We wish to thank Prof. Demetrios Krekoukias and Prof. Stavros Katsouleas of the National Academy of Greece, Athens, and Prof. Nicolas Oikonomidès, of the University of Montreal, for their consultations on some of these points.

²CDB I 31 no. 18; Archbishop Bisanzio assigns a new church to two Greek monks, who bring with them codices and liturgical objects; cf. Gay, Italie, p. 593, Musca, 'Espansione', pp. 57-58 and map, p. 64, and Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 138-139 (list of Bari churches and monasteries mentioned in the documents).

it remained a center of commerce even after the departure of the Byzantines -- it was, after all, one of the ports of embarkation for the first crusade.¹

Were any of the sources of Lupus also used by the AnBa? Pertz thought, in fact, that Lupus had used the AnBa as source material, since there is some resemblance in language when the two chronicles treat of the same events.² For example:

- AnBa: Anno 902^a. Hoc anno descendit Abraam rex Saracenorum in Calabriam, et mortuus est in Cosentia in ecclesia sancti Pancratii.
- Lupus: Anno 901^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno descendit Abrami rex Saracenorum in Calabriam et iuit Cosentiam civitatem, et percussus est ictu fulguris.

Or again,

- AnBa: Anno 929^a. Hoc anno Tarentum captum est a gente Saracenorum mense augusti in solemnitate sanctae Mariae.
- Lupus: Anno 927^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno fuit excidium Tarenti patratum, et perempti sunt omnes viriliter pugnando; reliqui vero deportati sunt in Africam. Id factum est in mense augusti, in festivitate sanctae Mariae.

Or again,

- AnBa: Anno 949^a. Hoc anno intraverunt Hungari in Italiam, et ierunt usque ad Idrontum. Et fuit interitus boum. Et Platipodi obsedit Cupersanum.
- Lupus: Anno 947^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno introierunt Hungari in Italiam et perrexerunt usque Idruntum, et Platopodi obsedit civitatem Cupersani, et fuit eodem anno interitus bovum per omnem terram.

It is undeniable that there is a certain similarity in the narrative; yet the similarity never becomes identity in language, and one chronicle frequently gives details not

¹Sir Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, vol. I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Cambridge, England 1968), pp. 144, 155, 166f.

²Pertz, op. cit., p. 51.

found in the other. Hirsch, disagreeing with Pertz, points out these facts, and then proposes as an explanation for the similarities between the two chronicles, that the two redactors used a common source, the one he calls the ancient annals of Bari; this series of annals would have contained all the information to be found in each of the chronicles derived from it. To explain the differences between the two chronicles under discussion, Hirsch proposes that each redactor chose some matters and left others, completely at his own caprice.¹

But this hypothesis is unnecessary, as well as untidy. There were many churches and several monasteries in Bari, and paschal tables could have been kept in many of them. In such paschal tables, similarity in vocabulary in entries which report the same events is almost a necessity, given the limitation of space: After all, there are not many ways to say that the Saracens took Taranto, or that the Hungarians came into Italy, or that the king of the Saracens came into Calabria. This paper proposes that the sources for the AnBa and Lupus were in fact paschal tables kept in different institutions in Bari. This hypothesis accounts for the similarity in language, and explains as well the differences between the two chronicles. Thus the difference in years covered is due not to the caprice of some redactor, but rather to the state of the sources; similarly, the difference in details is not due to the caprice of later redactors who used a common source, but again, to the **differences in the sources themselves.**

¹Hirsch, Ann., pp. 2-6, 8.

Hirsch was of the opinion that the AnBa I and Lupus I were drawn from the same source as the first recension of the annals of Benevento [AnBen₁], and that Lupus used also an early redaction of these annals, the ancient annals of Benevento, from which the redactor of the second recension of the annals of Benevento [AnBen₂] also drew.¹ Bertolini goes along with this line of reasoning, up to a certain point. He rejects any connection between the AnBa and the AnBen, and quite rightly, saying that their similarities are only fortuitous. Yet he maintains that Lupus used the older Beneventan text.²

But the hypothesis of a common written source for the Bari and Beneventan chronicles is unnecessary. Where the two sets of annals record similar matters with similar language, there is no information in either one of them that would have been unavailable to writers in either Bari or Benevento, in the ordinary course of events. Hirsch held that information on such matters as the activities of the German emperors and of the princes of Benevento had to come from some written source outside Bari,³ but it has been noted above that such matters were of immense interest to the administration and to the population of the Byzantine province. Whether the news travelled by official courier, by letter from one private person to another, or by word of mouth, makes no difference in the present proposal: All the information now found in the

¹Hirsch, Ann., pp. 24-25.

²Bertolini, AnBen, p. 67

³Hirsch, Ann., p. 8.

AnBa and in Lupus was probably recorded in Bari.

Even on stylistic grounds, the hypothesis of a common written source for the Bari and Beneventan chronicles is unnecessary. It is indeed true that there are similarities between the two groups of chronicles; but such similarities in language are almost inevitable, because of the nature of the independent sources available to the redactors in the two cities -- annals in paschal tables. It has been seen that such notices are necessarily brief, and that because of that brevity, vocabulary is bound to repeat itself when the same event is recorded by different annalists.

Although previous writers thought that similarities between the AnBen and the Bari chronicles, and between the AnBa and Lupus had to be explained by reference to a common written source, it seems more reasonable to seek the source of the similarities in the experience of the same events.

In summary, then, it is here proposed that the AnBa and Lupus were compiled in Bari from the following types of Bari source materials:

- AnBa I (605-1021): a series of annals in paschal tables;
- AnBa II (1024-1043): the personal observations of the writer, along with what he could learn from witnesses of the events described;
- Lupus I (855-1023): a series of annals in paschal tables, and possibly a Greek source;
- Lupus II (1024-1060): annals drawn from different paschal tables, and a possible Greek source;
- Lupus III (1061-1102): annals in paschal tables, a Greek source, and contemporary accounts of the activities of the Normans and others.

I. B. 4. e. Authorship and Dating

Little can be said about the authors or redactors of the Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii.

There is no name for the compiler of the AnBa; one may speculate that he was a monk in Bari, and that he lived toward the middle of the eleventh century; but that is all.

The compiler of Lupus is also unknown. Although the name of Lupus in fact occurs in one surviving manuscript, N, and must have been found also in the ms used by Caracciolo for his edition in 1626, [S], it appears nowhere else in the tradition. Pellegrino notes that there was a column in Brindisi that had the inscription 'Lupus protospata';¹ but except for this, there is no other reference at all. It is a good idea to maintain the name, however, if only to distinguish one chronicle from another, as Hirsch suggested in his time.² Nevertheless, one may suggest some things about the redactor or author of this chronicle: He was most likely from Bari, and probably knew some Greek as well as Latin; he may have been a monk or at least a cleric; and he probably was writing in the last part of the eleventh and first part of the twelfth century.

As to the dating of the two chronicles, again there is not much that can be said. The AnBa were probably put into their present form by the author of the second part, and

¹Pellegrino, op. cit., p. 72.

²Hirsch, Ann., p. 3, note 3.

necessarily before 1050.

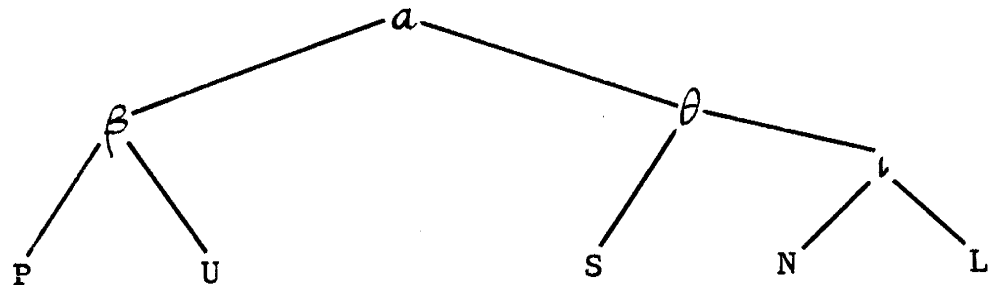
Since Lupus is a compendium, it is possible that the redaction may be later than the last entry. From the fact that Lupus served as a source for the world-chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, who died in 1181,¹ it follows that Lupus had to be completed in time for that author to use the text, or by the third quarter of the twelfth century at the latest. Yet it seems not unreasonable to think that the redaction was done around the time of the last entry, in the first years of the twelfth century.

¹Garufi, op. cit., pp. xxv, xxvii.

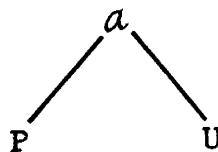
I. B. 5. The New Edition

The Text: Use of witnesses

The text of the Annales barenses and of the Annales Lupi Protospatharii here presented was established by the use of the witnesses described above in sections I.B.1 and I.B.2. It is clear, however, that the mss in Italian can be of little help in reconstructing the Latin text which is the object of the present study, and that they can be used only in those rare instances where they correct or supply a reading or fill a lacuna (e.g., example no. 32 in section I.B.2). And V, of course, has no value at all as a witness to the tradition, since it is derived directly from U. The practical, working stemma for Lupus must accordingly be reduced to this:



In the same way, the practical, working stemma of the AnBa is reduced to this:



The archetypal text of Lupus is then obtained in the following way: Where PU are in agreement, the reading is that

of the hyparchetype beta; where NL are in agreement, the reading is that of hyparchetype iota; where S is in agreement with NL, or with either of them, the reading is that of hyparchetype theta; where the hyparchetypes beta and theta agree on a reading, it is the reading of the archetype, alpha. The same result is obtained whenever either beta or theta is in agreement with one of the mss of the other branch of the stemma, and the remaining mss give divergent readings. The same is true even when one ms from one branch is in agreement with one from the other, provided that the rest are in disagreement. But where two mss agree on a reading, and the others, or any two of them, agree on a different reading, or where all five witnesses are in conflict, then the editor must use appropriate criteria (such as historical accuracy, correct dating, and orthographical and syntactical norms) to form his judgment and make his choice of the reading to adopt.

The archetypal text of the AnBa is established with less difficulty; Where mss PU agree on a reading, it is archetypal; where they disagree, the editor's judgment comes into play.

But certain considerations about the state of the witnesses guarantee that the constitution of the text can not be a merely mechanical process, even with the revised and simplified stemma codicum as a tool.

Manuscript P preserves some readings not found in the other witnesses, or found there in a corrupt state. It treats proper names as frozen, indeclinable forms with some frequency, but is not perfectly consistent in this practice; both in the

usage, and in the inconsistency of its application, the ms reflects the notarial practice of the entire period of the chronicles.¹ Ms U, although it is a sumptuous codex, shows signs of being carelessly copied. It often leaves off the final consonant of a word, or runs two words together, and tends to regularize the orthography and to give proper names their full classical declensions, although it is not consistent in this matter. In a few places, its orthography changes the meaning of a word (e.g., eo for heu). The editio princeps, S, must be used with some diffidence, particularly in passages where it fills lacunae represented by blank spaces in the other witnesses (e.g., Lupus 1085), and also in passages where its orthography and treatment of proper names adhere more closely to classical models than to Apulian practice of the tenth and eleventh centuries.² Ms N, in its treatment of Greek names, seems to suffer from less confusion than do the other witnesses, but it, too, tends to give proper names their full declension. On the whole, ms L is quite similar to S and to N, but in a few places it has readings that are different from theirs, and different at the same time from those of PU; occasionally a word

¹Almost any document from any of the volumes of the CDB will provide examples of the practice, and of the inconsistency of its application.

²As Pasquali points out (Tradizione, p. 79) an early edition which must now be used in place of its lost exemplar often transmits a text drawn from two sources, the lost ms and the early editor's conjectures; an early editor would permit himself to indulge in certain small interventions, and would not bother to mention the fact, particularly where such intervention on his part seemed quite necessary, obviously correct, and on the whole unimportant.

has taken on a new form (capitaneus for catepanus), and in other places a sentence or clause has undergone some change (e.g., the announcement of Robert Guiscard's death, Lupus 1085); on the whole, this ms gives the impression that the scribe did not understand the text very well.

In dealing with these mss, therefore, the editor can not content himself with counting the readings; he must weigh them, considering the whole context.¹

The text established with the use of these five mss, PUSNL, with the intervention of the mss in Italian where that was called for, occasionally yields a reading that simply defies comprehension. For example, the clause cited above, from Lupus 1029 ('uenit Eustachius cum filiis basilico et mandatora') is not readily understood, and calls for emendation by bracketing 'basilico' as a gloss on a Greek abbreviation, surviving in the archetypal text as the ending -ra on the word 'mandatora'; the result is the comprehensible 'uenit Eustachius cum filiis {basilico} et mandato basilico'.² Such interventions are indeed few, and are always explained in the commentary.

Each entry of Lupus' text begins with the year, in all mss. In mss PU, this is followed by the indiction, and then the words 'hoc anno', but these items are normally omitted by the witnesses SNL. Furthermore, L often runs together two or more entries in one paragraph, connecting them with the word annoque or similar phrases. Here, the reading of PU is adopted

¹Cf. Martin L. West, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Stuttgart 1973), p. 49.

²See the commentary on paragraph 112.
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without comment in the apparatus. In the cases where mss SNL also have the indiction, this fact is noted in the apparatus. Figures in dates at the beginning of entries are rendered in Arabic numerals; ms practice varies, with PN using Roman numerals, SL Arabic, and U spelling the date out in full.

#### Orthographical considerations

The editor of a text whose original was written in Beneventan script -- as was almost certainly the case with the Bari chronicles -- has a choice of several possibilities in treating orthography. He may adopt the orthography of his witnesses, or of any one of them; he may impose on the text a purely classical orthography; or he may content himself with receiving into the text ms spellings that would have been possible for a good Beneventan scribe, and standardize the others to conform to good Beneventan practice.

In the present case, the first alternative is unattractive, not only because the mss are so late that their orthography would have little resemblance to that of the archetype, but also because they are not consistent. Even if the oldest of them were chosen, it would yield only the orthography of the early fifteenth century. The second alternative, that of imposing classical orthography on the text, is attractive at first glance because it would allow a certain uniformity of practice; but classical orthography is not that of the archetype, however conservative Beneventan spelling may have been, and classical orthography with non-classical vocabulary and syntax would be almost comical. The third alternative is the one adopted for the present text.

E. A. Lowe provided a brief description of the Beneventan orthography of the best period,<sup>1</sup> and so the modern editor has some guide to what would have been possible for a good scribe at the epoch in which the Bari chronicles were written and first copied. The practice followed for this edition is as follows:

Orthographical variants were noted when the mss were transcribed and collated. Where the orthography of the mss -- or of any of them -- would have been possible for a good Beneventan scribe, it was adopted without comment. Since the Beneventan script regularly preserved the classical distinction between ci and ti, this distinction is observed in the text here presented, with no comment in the apparatus even when the later confusion between the two letter-groups is reflected in the mss. Again, Beneventan practice distinguished between i and i-longa; in this edition, the practice is observed only in the case of semi-consonantal i-longa, which is represented by j. Vocalic i is represented by plain i in all cases, even where Beneventan practice required i-longa; thus one will find in, not jn. When the mss record the letters g, gi, or di in place of semi-vocalic i-longa, the text adopts j, while the other spelling is noted in the apparatus since it is a genuine Beneventan variant.<sup>2</sup> For the vowel e and the digraphs ae and oe (at the period in question they were no longer diphthongs), in the face of inconsistency not only among the mss, but also in

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<sup>1</sup>Lowe, Script, pp. 279-295.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 302-312.

later Beneventan usage as well, the expedient adopted here is to print simple e in all cases, with no comment in the apparatus; this was the practice in at least one good eleventh-century ms.<sup>1</sup>

In dividing words at the end of the line, the present edition adopts the usage outlined by Lowe.<sup>2</sup> That is, a word is divided 'after a vowel or diphthong unless this involves beginning the next syllable with a group of consonants not found at the beginning of a genuine Latin word; in which case the consonants are distributed between the preceding and following syllables in a manner most conformable to ordinary Latin speech'.<sup>3</sup> Compound words are normally divided etymologically, and are assimilated orthographically.

Modern punctuation has been adopted for this edition, but punctuation has been held to an absolute minimum. The capitalization practice here followed is that of the modern romance languages; capital letters are found at the beginnings of sentences, proper names, and proper adjectives used as substantives (Argiro barensis but ceciderunt Barenses).

Further, the title protospatharius is always reported in that spelling, and the occasional metathesis of the h (prothospatarius) is not noted in the apparatus.

As was noted above, Apulian notarial practice in the entire period covered by the two chronicles often treated personal names as frozen, indeclinable forms. When this practice is reflected by the mss, or by any of them, it is adopted,

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<sup>1</sup>Lowe, Script, p. 285, note 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 280-282.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 282

and any variant is mentioned in the apparatus. None of the mss is consistent in this practice, although P seems to follow it more often than the others. It should be noted that the notaries were not consistent, either.

Symbols used in the text include the following:

- [ ] brackets enclose a number to indicate a lacuna represented by a blank of so many letter-spaces in the mss; if there is only a point between the brackets, the indication of a lacuna comes from ms U, which indicates lacunae by a point with one letter-space before and after it;
- < > angle brackets indicate editorial additions to the archetypal text;
- { } braces enclose editorial deletions from the text;
- † † obeli mark words or passages deemed to be corrupt.

The text has been divided into paragraphs, which are numbered consecutively for the entire text. In addition, the lines of the text have been numbered consecutively within each chronicle. The commentary and index are keyed to the paragraph numbers, while the apparatus is keyed to the lines.

#### Differences between the new edition and that of Pertz

The present edition of the AnBa and of Lupus differs from the edition published by Pertz in 1844. The method used to establish the present text is quite different from that Pertz used (outlined above in section I.B.3). The editor has seen all of the mss himself (two in microfilm only), and has done his own transcriptions and collations. The initial transcription was done from a microfilm of ms U, the first witness to become available. The other witnesses were then collated against this transcription, and not against the edition

published by Pertz; as Pasquali points out, many errors are perpetuated from one edition to the next when the new collation is done against the old edition.<sup>1</sup> Difficult passages were examined in the mss themselves. The completed transcriptions were then used as outlined above to establish the new critical text.

At several points, phrases that Pertz consigned to the apparatus are received into the text. These have the character of glosses, and are transmitted by the witnesses SNL, or by S alone, along with the mss in Italian. The fact of transmission by the Italian mss, however, can not be taken as proof that these phrases were also present in lost Latin mss of the beta-branch of the tradition, because it is precisely these readings that lead one to suspect a possible influence from theta on delta -- although such influence can not be proven, either. At eleven points in the text, similar phrases are transmitted by all five Latin witnesses; if these readings are glosses, then they were present in the archetype. The similarities between the two groups of readings have prompted the reception into the text of the group of readings not found in mss PU; the fact that an influence from theta on delta can not be proven also played a part in this choice. These cases are always noted in the apparatus, where the mss which support the reading follow the lemma immediately, and the others are not mentioned.

The following readings are among the more important on

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<sup>1</sup>Pasquali, Tradizione, p. 63.



which the two editions differ. The reading of the new edition is given first.

AnBa

1. Anno 924<sup>o</sup>: anno 925 Pertz
2. 996. septembris: decembri Pertz
3. 1021, and other points. Bujano: Vulano, Vulcano Pertz
4. 1041. Longobardia: Lombardia Pertz
5. 1041. d'Vlibentis: Dulibentis Pertz
6. 1041. haud plures: aut plures Pertz
7. 1042. heu flebilis!: eo flebilis Pertz
8. 1042. ni fallor xvi: om. Pertz
9. 1042. mensis julii: mense iunio Pertz
10. 1042. patriciatus anthipatus: patriciatus an cathepatus Pertz
11. 1042. laudem dixerunt: ad laudem dedit Pertz
12. 1042. quantos...capiat ante, coram...oculis occidi fecit: quantos...capiat, ante coram...oculis occidi fecit Pertz
13. 1043. descendit...cum chrisubulo et simpattia: descendit... cum Chrysubulo et Simpattia Pertz

Lupus

14. 946. inter ciues: in apparatu Pertz
15. 950. et obtinuerunt: in apparatu Pertz
16. 955. entire entry in apparatu Pertz
17. 976. irrito conatu: in apparatu Pertz
18. 986. totam: in apparatu Pertz
19. 989. mense februarii: om. Pertz
20. 992. et annone caritas: in apparatu Pertz
21. 1003. montem Scaueosum: montem Caveosum Pertz
22. 1003. et nihil profecerunt: in apparatu Pertz
23. 1016. et nihil profecerunt: in apparatu Pertz

24. 1017. Leo, frater <ejus>, Argiro: Leo, frater Argiro Pertz
25. 1023. Jaffari caiti: Iaffari criti Pertz
26. 1029. {basilico} et mandato basilico: Basilisco et Mandator Pertz
27. 1029. ascendit in Constantinopolim: descendit in Constantinopolim Pertz
28. 1040: Chirisfacti basilico critin {imperator}: Chirisfactira critiri imperator Pertz
29. 1041. feria tertia: fere tribus milibus Pertz
30. 1042 <Bujano> rex augustot: Exaugustus Pertz
31. 1046. ibi papa nomine: om. Pertz
32. 1050. regnavit imperator Constantinus: om. Pertz
33. 1053. in Italia: om. Pertz
34. 1073. plures Normanni: primo Normanni Pertz
35. 1080. mense julii, uigesimo septimo die: mense iulii, 26. die Pertz
36. 1082. haud longe: aut longe Pertz
37. 1082. ut ui introieret: ut ibi introieret Pertz
38. 1082. Et dominante...Canusium in apparatu: [Et dominante... Canusium] in textu Pertz
39. 1082. sed minime potuit: in apparatu Pertz
40. 1083. mense julii: mense iunii Pertz
41. 1085. quinque milia: mille Pertz
42. 1089. uiuente adhuc papa Clemente: qui venerat adhuc cum praedicto papa Clemente Pertz
43. 1093. decembris: octobris Pertz
44. 1095. in nocte, die <quarta>, quarta feria: in nocte quintae feriae Pertz
45. Alexander: Alexius Pertz

### The apparatus

The apparatus is fairly straightforward and easy to understand. The line number is the first element, then the lemma and gloss follow; in lines where there is more than one lemma, wider spacing sets off the first and subsequent items. Normally there is a colon after the lemma, but not in the case where the comment is om., inv., a word like scripsi, or the name of a person who suggested an emendation. Where the lemma is one of the readings supported by mss SNLCMART, the reading is the lemma, and the sigla of the mss follow immediately (the fact that the other mss omit the reading is implicit in this). For additions, the apparatus always gives as the lemma the word after which the addition is made; thus in the AnBa, line 3, the apparatus notes the following: 'quindecim: Eraclius xii add. P'. The mss are normally cited in the order PUSNL (followed by the Italian witnesses CMART, in the few cases where that is called for), although in certain instances the order is changed to give an apparatus with as little punctuation as possible.

When the lemma is a word which is divided at the end of a line, or a phrase which covers more than one line, the line number in the apparatus is always the number of the line where the word or phrase begins. Phrases are normally indicated by their first and last words, separated by hyphens. When a conjecture offered by another writer has been noted, that writer's name is always noted; bibliographical information on these cases will be found in the commentary.

To save space, a hyphen is sometimes used to represent that portion of a word that remains constant, while the element that varies is given after the hyphen; for example, 'predictus: -fatus L -to PU -tum N'. In such cases, any orthographical differences in the constant element are not reported; L's reading could conceivably be prae- or prę-; but if it were pro- or per- it would be reported. Successive elements in such a gloss refer to the lemma, not to the preceding element of the gloss; thus the reading of PU is predicto, not prefato. Purely orthographical differences are not usually noted, although they are included when there are other variants for a particular reading.

The abbreviations used are as follows:

|                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| <u>om.</u>        | omittit, omittunt      |
| <u>add.</u>       | addit, addunt          |
| <u>inv.</u>       | invertit, invertunt    |
| <u>m. rec.</u>    | manu recentiore        |
| <u>a. corr.</u>   | ante correctionem      |
| <u>mg.</u>        | marginē                |
| <u>ead.</u>       | eadem                  |
| <u>supp.</u>      | supplet, supplet       |
| <u>corr.</u>      | corrigit, corrigunt    |
| <u>canc.</u>      | cancellat              |
| <u>lac.</u>       | lacuna                 |
| <u>lin.</u>       | linea                  |
| <u>var. orth.</u> | variatio orthographica |

## II. TEXT AND APPARATUS

## &lt;ANNALES BARENSES&gt;

1 Anno 605<sup>a</sup>. Obitus sancti Gregori pape. Focas  
 regnauit annis octo.

2 Anno 612<sup>a</sup>. Domitianus regnauit annis quindecim,  
 5 Eraclius xxui.

3 Anno 782<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Carolus rex celebrauit sanc-  
 tum Pasca in Roma, et baptizatus est Pipinus filius ejus  
 ab Adriano papa.

4 Anno 902<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit Abraam rex Sara-  
 10 cenorum in Calabriam, et mortuus est in Cosentia in ec-  
 clesia sancti Pancratii.

5 Anno 924<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Orie capta est a gente Sa-  
 racenorum mense julio; et obitus Eusebii in Clauso.

6 Anno 928<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno comprehendit Michael rex  
 15 Sclauorum ciuitatem Sipontum mense julio, die sancte Fe-  
 licitatis, secunda feria, indictione quintadecima.

7 Anno 929<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Tarentum captum est a gente  
 Saracenorum, mense augusti in solemnitate sancte Marie.

8 Anno 931<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit Ambrosius mediolanen-  
 20 sis antistes.

9 Anno 949<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno intrauerunt Hungari in Ita-  
 liam, et ierunt usque ad Idrontum. Et fuit interitus  
 boum. Et Platipodi obsedit Cupersanum.

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 1 <ANNALES BARENSES> Pertz om. PU      5 Eraclius xxui om. U  
 14 Michael scripsi Itachael PU      22 ierunt; uenerunt U  
 interitus; introitus P      boum om. U

10 Anno 979<sup>a</sup>. Hic inchoatum est monasterium ba-  
 25 rense sancti Benedicti a domino Hieronymo uenerabili  
 abbate.

11 Anno 981<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno fecerunt bellum Sipontini  
 et Asculenses in uado Somilo.

12 Anno 996<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsessa est Materies tri-  
 30 bus mensibus currentibus ab iniqua gente Saracenorum,  
 et in quarto mense -- id est septembris -- per uim inde  
 eam comprehenderunt; in qua quedam femina filium suum  
 comedit.

13 Anno 1003<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsessa est ciuitas Bari  
 35 a Saphi apostata atque caiti, et perseuerauit ipsa ob-  
 sidio a mense majo usque ad decimum Kalendas octobris;  
 et liberata est per Petrum ducem Venetiarum, bone me-  
 morie.

14 Anno 1011<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno rebellauit Longobardia  
 40 cum Mele ad ipsum Curcua mense majo nono die intrante;  
 et fecerunt bellum in Bitecte ubi multi Barenenses ceci-  
 derunt. Et Ismael fecit bellum in monte Peloso cum  
 ipsis Grecis, et cecidit illic Patiano.

15 Anno 1013<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsessa est Bari a cate-  
 45 pano Basilio cognomento Sardoniti, undecimo die astante  
 mense aprilis, et completis diebus sexagintauno fecit

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 27 bellum -- Asculenses; Sipontini et Asculenses bellum P  
 31 septembris; decembri U 32 eam comprehenderunt inv. P  
 40 ipsum; sum add. U Barenenses; barinenses P 43 Patia-  
 no scripsi Pasiano PU 45 Sardoniti; -donti U 46 sexa-  
 gintauno scripsi -unum PU

pacem cum ipsis, et ipse intrauit castellum Bari, ubi  
sedes est nunc grecorum magnatum.

16 Anno 1021<sup>a</sup>. Hic fecit prelium Basilius Bujano  
50 cum Francis, et uicit illos in ciuitate Canni.

17 Anno 1027<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit Ispochitoniti  
in Italiam cum exercitu magno -- id est Russorum, Guan-  
dalarum, Turcorum, Bulgarorum, Vlachorum, Macedonum,  
aliorumque -- ut caperet Siciliam, et Regium restaura-  
55 tum est a Bujano catepano. Sed peccatis prepedientibus,  
mortuus in secundo anno Basilius imperator, qui omnes  
frustra reuersi sunt.

18 Anno 1035<sup>a</sup>. Hic in Epiphania Domini obiit Bi-  
santius episcopus, qui fuerat piissimus pater orfanorum,  
60 et fundator sancte ecclesie episcopatus barensis, et  
cuncte urbis custos ac defensor, atque terribilis et  
sine metu contra omnes Grecos. Et electus est in ipso  
episcopatu ab omni populo Romualt protospatharius, et  
in mense aprilis uocauit eum ad se imperator in exilium  
65 Et quinto idus intrante augusto electus est Nicolaus.

19 Anno 1040<sup>a</sup>. Hic nono die intrante <mense> ja-  
nuarii obiit Nikyforus qui et Dukyano catepanus in ciui-  
tate Asculo; et quinto die intrante mense maji occisus  
est Michael criti, qui uocatur Kirofacti, sub castello

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49 magnatum: -tis P 53 Bulgarorum: Vul- P bur- U  
55 Bujano: uulcano PU 59 fuerat: fuit U 60 episcopa-  
tus om. U 66 <mense> supplevi 67 Dukyano: dulkyano P  
dulchiano U 68 et: ut P in U 69 criti: cati U



- 70 Mutule ab ipsis conteratis, et septimo die astante uenerunt omnes in ciuitate Bari cum Argiro filio Meli. Tunc ipse Argiro sauciauit Musondo qui erat primus inter eos, et ligatis manibus misit eum in carcere cum Joanne stonense; et omnes conterati dispersi sunt.
- 75    20    Anno 1041<sup>o</sup>. Hic uenit a Sicilia in Longobardia Michael protospatharius et catepanus qui et Dukyano junior. Mense nouembri intrauit in Bari, qui et iussit in patibulo furce appendi quatuor homines super murum butontinum.
- 80    21    Mense martio, decimoseptimo die intrante, factum est prelium Normannorum et Grecorum juxta fluuium d'Vlibentis et ceciderunt ibi multi Russi et Obsequiani. Ipse uero Dukyano cum reliquo exercitu qui remanserat ex ipso prelio fugam petierunt in montem Pelosum.
- 85    22    Deinde mense maji, collectis in unum omnibus Grecis apud montem Majorem juxta fluuenta Aufidi, initiatum est prelium quarto die intrante, ubi perierunt pluri Natoliki et Obsequiani, Russi, Trakysi, Calabrisi, Longobardi, capitinates; et Angelus presbyter episcopus trojanus atque Stephanus acherontinus episcopus ibi interfecti sunt. Nam nempe ut dictum est ab omnibus qui

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 75 Longobardia: lombardia U      76 Dukyano: dulkiano U  
 77 et iussit: eiussit U      80 die om. U      81 prelium: bellum P  
       d'Vlibentis: dulibentis PU      83 Dukyano: dulkiano U  
 85 mense majii collectis: collectis mense maii U      87 ubi: et add. P  
       88 Trakysi: trachici U      Calabrisi: colabrisi P  
 calabrici U

hec nouerunt, haud plures quam duo milia Normanni fuerunt,  
Greci uero decem et octo milia exceptis seruatoribus.

23 Hinc rediens Michael confusus, cum paucis relic-  
tis semiuiuis pro pauore Normannorum seuentium, scripsit  
95 ad Siciliam, et uenerunt ipsi miseri Macedones et Pauli-  
kani et Calabrenses. Et collectis insimul cum reliquis  
in catuna montis Pilosi, tunc descendit catepanus filius  
Bujano in Apuliam; Michael rediit ad Siciliam, iubente  
100 imperatore, unde uenerat.

24 Anno 1042<sup>o</sup>. Hoc anno, tertia die intrante mense  
septembri, Grecorum exercitus descenderunt ex monte Pi-  
loso, et Normanni ex castello Siricolo. Inter duos mon-  
tes inierunt conflictum maximum, in quo omnes miseri Ma-  
105 cedones ceciderunt, et pauci de reliquo remanserunt exer-  
citu. Ibi quippe et Bujano uiuus captus et portatus est  
per totam Apuliam usque Beneuenti patriam. Nam ut ajunt  
ueraciter qui in ipso bello inuenti sunt, Normanni sep-  
tingenti et Greci decem milia fuerunt.

110 25 Postmodum peracto bello tertio jam dicto, inie-  
runt pactum cum ipsis Franchis Materianenses et Baren-  
ses, dum non esset qui ex ipsorum manibus eos eriperet.  
Deinde mense februarii Normanni et ciues barisani elege-  
runt Argiro, qui et Meli, principem et seniore sibi.

115 26 Mense aprilis descendit Maniaki in Tarentum, qui

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92 haud; aut U 99 Bujano: budiano PU 106 et Bujano:  
et bugiano P ebugiano U 110 jam dicto om. P 111 Baren-  
ses: barinenses P 115 Maniaki: manichi PU

et magister, et coadunavit omnem exercitum Grecorum, et fecit suda in loco qui dicitur Tara. Tunc scripsit Argiro in Auersam ad ipsos Normannos, et in Melfiam, et omnes uenientes quasi septem milia in Mutulam. Tunc  
 120 ipse iniquus Maniaki una cum cuncto agmine, hostium pauore nimio exterriti, noctu fugientes reclusi sunt in Tarentum. At ipsi Normanni, cum starent ante portam terraneam querentes pugnam, et minime esset qui eis percunctaret, depredauerunt totam terram Orie. Et sic re-  
 125 uersi sunt ad sua.

27 Mense quidem julio miseri Juuenatienses, per-  
 acto federe cum ipsis Grecis manentibus in Trane, ipse princeps Argiro circumdedit eandem miseram Juuenatiam cum Normannis et Barenibus, et -- heu flebilis! --  
 130 tertia die sue obsessionis, per uim capta est et expoliata omni suppellectili. Et Greci necnon interfecti in eadem sunt, ni fallor xui. Populum uero ipse princeps uirorum ac mulierum multa prece liberauit ex Normannorum manibus.

135 28 Postea uero, dum Tranenses non acquiescerent Baresanis malum ingerere, ultima hebdomada mensis iulii, ipse princeps cum Normannis et Barenibus obsederunt eam

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 117 Argiro: -ri U 119 uenientes: uenerunt SNL 120 Ma-  
 niaki: maniki U 121 noctu: -te U 123 minime: mime U  
 percunctaret: -rent P 125 sua: suam P 126 julio: iu-  
 nii P 127 manentibus: mantibus U 128 circumdedit:  
 -sedit P 129 heu: eo U 131 ni fallor xui om. U  
 133 prece: preces P 136 iulii scripsi iunii PU  
 137 cum om. U

trigintasex diebus; quam preliis uel aliis calamitati-  
 bus angustiauit eandem fortiter, nam talem turrem ex  
 140 strue lignorum ibidem componere fecit qualis humanis  
 obtutibus nusquam uisa est modernis temporibus.

29 Sed ipse Argiro, susceptis imperialibus litteris  
 federatis et patriciatus anthipatus uel uestati honori-  
 bus, iussit argumenta incendi omnia. Et sic reuersi  
 145 Barum, laudem dixerunt sancto imperatori Constantino  
 Monomacho cum suis conciuibus.

30 Hactenus facti talia; nunc ad Maniaki impietatem  
 reducam articulum. Igitur remotis, ut dixi, Normannis  
 ab ejus finibus, conglobato in unum exercitu, mense ju-  
 150 nio Maniaki sub nocte una ad Materiem ciuitatem profec-  
 tus est, ubi quantos per segetes et undecumque homines  
 cepit ante, coram materialis oculis plusquam ducentos  
 occidi fecit impius. Similiter secunda profectio in  
 Monopolim iniquus facere non timuit.

155 31 Anno 1043<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno mense septembris descendit  
 Tubaki protospatharius, et Pardus patricius, et Nicolaus  
 archiepiscopus in Idruntum cum chrisubulo et simpathia.  
 Tunc ipse iniquus Maniaki, pacifica fraude eis obuam  
 exiens, statim occidi iussit Pardum gladio, et Tubaki  
 160 retrudi in custodia, quem mense octobris occidi similiter  
 fecit.

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 141 obtutibus: oculis U      143 anthipatus: an cathepanus U  
 144 omnia om. U    sic om. U      145 Barum: bari U    laudem:  
 laude P ad laudem U      148 dixi: dixero U      152 cepit: ca-  
 piat U    ducentos: -tum U      153 fecit: fecerat P      155 sep-  
 tembris: -bri U      157 in om. U    chrisubulo: chrisibullio P  
 simpathia: -tia U

## &lt;ANNALES LUPI PROTOSPATHARII&gt;

32 A transitu sancti Gregorii pape anni ducenti  
quinquaginta duo, anni Domini octingenti quinquaginta  
quinque, indictione tertia.

5 33 Anno 860<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 8<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno comprehensa  
est ciuitas Barum ab imperatore constantinopolitano.

34 Anno 861<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno mortuus  
est Michael imperator, et surrexit Basilius parakenum-  
nus ejus, et regnauit annis xxi ipse solus et nouem cum  
10 filiis.

35 Anno 866<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 14<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno intrauit  
Ludouicus imperator Beneuentum.

36 Anno 867<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 15<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno incensa  
est Matera a Ludouico imperatore. Et idem Ludouicus  
15 imperator intrauit ciuitatem Oriam.

37 Anno 868<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 1<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno exierunt  
Agareni a Baro ciuitate per Francos tertio die intrante  
mense februarii. Eodemque anno comprehensus est predic-  
tus Ludouicus in Beneuento.

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1 <ANNALES LUPI PROTOSPATHARII> Pertz Lupi Protospatae rerum  
in Regno Neapolitano gestarum ab anno Sal. 860. vsque ad 1102.  
breue chronicon S Chron: Lupi Protospat(ar)j ... N 5 860;  
789 ART 6 Barum; Barium P Bari L constantinopolitano SNL  
CMART 7 Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>; PUS om. NL 8 parakenumenus;  
parastenumenus PU parascenumenus SN himenus L 9 ejus om. U  
filius eius S parens eius L nouem; octo U 10 filiis;  
suis add. SNL 13 incensa; incesa L 14 Ludouicus om. SNL  
Ludouicus imperator inv. P 15 Oriam; Oriem P Oriae U Orię L  
18 mense; mensis SL februarii; Septembris L

20 38 Anno 875<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 8<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno intrauerunt  
 ~~~  
 Greci in Barum mense decembris die Natalis Domini, feria
 tertia; Gregorius stratigo, qui et bajulus dicebatur.

39 Anno 880^o. Indictione 13^a. Hoc anno exierunt
 ~~~  
 Agareni de Tarento.

25 40 Anno 884<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 2<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno surrexit  
 ~~~  
 Ajo princeps mense octobris.

41 Anno 885^o. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno mortuus est
 ~~~  
 Basilius imperator, et ceperunt regere Leo et Alexander  
 filii ejus, annis uigintisex soli et cum eo annis nouem.

30 42 Anno 886<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 4<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno facta fuit  
 ~~~  
 perditio in Baro mense junii quando princeps fecit pre-
 lium cum stratigo Trapezi et Grecis.

43 Anno 890^o. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno obiit Ajo
 ~~~  
 princeps et surrexit Vrsus frater ejus.

35 44 Anno 891<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno intrauerunt  
 ~~~  
 Greci Beneuentum mense octobris, et stratigo Sabbatichi
 in Siponto mense junii.

45 Anno 894^o. Indictione 12^a. Hoc anno exierunt
 ~~~  
 Greci de Beneuento in mense augusti per Francos.

40 46 Anno 900<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
 ~~~

 21 in om. NL Barum; Baro PU Bari L feria tertia om. U
 25 884; 883 U Indictione 2^a PUS inter lin. N om. L
 27 est om. U 28 Alexander; Alexius U 29 filii; filius U
 annis a. corr. in annos L soli; sol [.] U et om. NL eo;
 uero add. SNL 31 perditio; pro- S prę- L 32 stratigo;
 -co U 33 Indictione 8^a P 34 ejus; Indictioque quarta
add. U 37 junii; -o P 39 in mense; mensis L

Melisiano stratigo in Apulia.

47 Anno 901^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno descendit
Abrami rex Saracenorum in Calabriam et iuit Cosentiam
ciuitatem et percussus est ictu fulguris.

45 48 Anno 912^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno complentur
ab obitu sancti Martini quingenti anni.

49 Anno 913^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno coronatus
Constantinus imperator filius prefati Leonis, qui regna-
uit annis quadragintaseptem.

50 50 Anno 916^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno exierunt
Agareni a Gariliano. Et sunt anni trecenti quinquaginta
quo intrauerunt Longobardi in Italiam sub Alboin rege
eorum.

51 Anno 919^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno explentur
55 octoginta anni ex quo Agareni introierunt in Italiam.

52 Anno 920^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno introierunt
Hungari -- id est Hunni -- in Italiam mense februarii.

53 Anno 921^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno interiit
Vrsileo stratigo in prelio de Asculo mense aprilis, et
60 apprehendit Landolfus Apuliam.

41 Melisiano: -nus SN Meibitanus L 43 Abrami: Abraham S
Abrahamus L Calabriam: -a L iuit; iit P 46 quingenti
anni inv. S quinque anni PNL 47 Indictione 1^a PUS inter
lin. N om. L 48 prefati: praedicti S 49 annis: -ni NL
51 a; de SNL 52 Alboin: Alboun S Albour N Albouino L
54 Anno 919: Anno 916 SN annoque eodem L 55 octoginta:
quadraginta S ex om. L introierunt: intrauerunt L
57 Italiam: -a L 59 aprilis: -li P 60 Landolfus scripsi
Nan- P Nadulfus U Pandolfum S Nandulfus N Andulph L Apuliam
scripsi Apuleo PUSN Asculum mg. N Apuleium L

54 Anno 924^a. Indictione 12^a. Hoc anno capta est
 ~~~  
 Oria a Saracenis mense julii. Et interfecerunt cunctos  
 mares, reliquos uero duxerunt in Africam, eos uenundantes.

55 Anno 926<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 14<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno comprehen-  
 ~~~  
 65 dit Michael sclauus Sipontum mense julii.

56 Anno 927^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno fuit exci-
 ~~~  
 dium Tarenti patratum, et perempti sunt omnes uiriliter  
 pugnando; reliqui uero deportati sunt in Africam. Id  
 factum est in mense augusti, in festiuitate sancte Marie.

70 57 Anno 929<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 2<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Landolfus  
 ~~~  
 et Guaimari principes intrauerunt in Apuliam.

58 Anno 936^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno uenerunt
 ~~~  
 Hungari in Capuam.

59 Anno 939<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obscuratus  
 ~~~  
 est sol, et apparuerunt stelle mense julii astante tres
 dies, feria tertia, hora tertia, luna uigesimanona.

60 Anno 940^a. Indictione 13^a. Hoc anno introie-
 ~~~  
 runt Hungari in Italiam mense aprilis. Et in ipso anno  
 factum est prelium in Matera a Grecis cum Longobardis  
 80 cum stratigo Imogalpto, et necauit Pao in mari.

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 62 Oria: ciuitas add. L julii: -o P cunctos: -tas SN  
 63 mares: mulieres SN reliquos uero: reliquosque L duxe-  
 runt: deduxerunt SL eos: cunctos SNL 65 sclauus: sclau-  
 bus SNL mense: in mense P julii: -o P iunii U 68 Id S  
 [-5-] P hoc L om. UN 69 in om. SL mense: -sis L  
 70 Landolfus scripsi Nan- PN na- U Pandulfus S Nandulphus L  
 71 Guaimari: grai mali U Guaymarius SL 73 in om. SNL Ca-  
 puam: -a P 75 julii: -o P tres dies: tertia die U hora  
 tertia: ad horas (hora L) tres SNL 77 introierunt: intra-  
 uerunt UL 78 Hungari: uel Vnni add. SNL in ipso anno om.  
SNL 80 necauit: negauit eum S Pao: Lao L



61 Anno 942<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 15<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit  
Landolfus princeps decima die astante mense aprilis.

62 Anno 945<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno ceciderunt  
Romanus et Vbo mense decembris. Et perierunt Hungari a  
85 rege Ottone.

63 Anno 946<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 4<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno factum est  
homicidium in Baro, mense decembris, inter ciues.

64 Anno 947<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 5<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno introie-  
runt Hungari in Italiam et perrexerunt usque Idruntum,  
90 et Platopodi obsedit ciuitatem Cupersani. Et fuit eodem  
anno interitus bouum per omnem terram.

65 Anno 950<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 8<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsederunt  
Greci Asculum, et obtinuerunt.

66 Anno 951<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Malachiano  
95 fecit prelium in Calabria cum Saracenis, et cecidit.

67 Anno 955<sup>a</sup>. <Indictione 13<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno> descendit  
Marianus patricius in Apuliam.

68 Anno 956<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 14<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno incensi  
sunt Marantius, Clemens et Excelsula in Baro.

100 69 Anno 960<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit Con-

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81 obiit: obii U 82 Landolfus scripsi Nan- PU na- U Pandul-  
fus S Nandulphus L decima die inv. SNL astante om. SNL  
mense: -sis USN 83 Indictione 3<sup>a</sup> PUS inter lin. N om. L  
84 Romanus: -ni NL et om. L decembris: -bri S perierunt:  
-run U 87 in Baro: Bari SNL inter ciues SCMART  
90 obsedit: sedit SL ciuitatem: in ciuitate SNL Cupersani:  
-num P Et om. U eodem: eo S 91 interitus bouum: bonus  
introitus SNL 93 et obintuerunt SCMART 94 Malachiano:  
-nus SNL 96 Anno -- Apuliam om. PU <Indictione...anno> sup-  
plevi 97 in om. L 99 Clemens scripsi clemeri PU Cle-  
ri S Clēri N Clēm L 100 Indictione 3<sup>a</sup> PUS inter lin. N om. L

stantinus imperator, qui regnavit annis quadragesima  
septem, et surrexit Romano filius ejus. Et fuit pre-  
lium inter Adralistum et Ismael.

70 Anno 961<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 4<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno comprehensa  
105 est insula Cretes a Grecis sub Romano mense martii, et  
Trabomen capta est a Saracenis. Et obscuratus est sol.

71 Anno 963<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 6<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit Romano  
imperator et eleuatus est Nichiforus, qui regnavit annis  
septem. Et Otto rex intrauit Romam. Et obscuratus est  
110 sol.

72 Anno 965<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 8<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno introiuit  
Manuyli patricius in Siciliam, et mortuus est ibi.

73 Anno 966<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno introiuit  
Nichiforus magister in ciuitatem Bari. Et sunt anni  
115 quadringenti ex quo intrauerunt Longobardi in Italiam.

74 Anno 967<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 10<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
Otto rex et senex, pater Ottonis regis, qui pugnavit cum  
Bulchassimo, Saracenorum rege, et interfecit eum.

75 Anno 969<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno introiuit  
120 Otto rex in Apuliam mense martii, et obsedit ciuitatem

-----  
102 Romano: -nus USNL 104 comprehensa: capta SNL compre-  
hensa -- Cretes: insula cretes comprehensa est U 105 mar-  
tii: -o PNL 106 Trabomen: Titabomen SNL 107 Romano:  
-nus SNL 109 obscuratus est sol: sol obscuratus est PNL  
112 Manuyli: manuli U Manuyci S Manuelis L mortuus est ibi:  
ibi mortuus est SNL 113 introiuit: intrauit L 114 ma-  
gister om. U ciuitatem: -te P Bari: Baro P sunt: fuit L  
115 intrauerunt: introierunt S introuerunt N 118 Saraceno-  
rum rege inv. U 120 martii: -cio P

Bari irrito conatu. Et in alio anno intrauit in Calabriam mense octobris. Et sol obscuratus est in mense decembris.

- 76 Anno 970<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 13<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno occidit  
 ~~~  
 Simischi Nichiforum imperatorem, et eleuatus est ille.
- 125 77 Anno 972^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno pugnavit
 ~~~  
 Atto filius Transmundi marcise cum quadraginta milibus Saracenorum; caytus eorum Bucoboli uocabatur. Et uicit Atto cum sexaginta suis, prosequens Agarenos usque Tarentum.
- 130 78 Anno 973<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 1<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit Pas-  
 ~~~  
 sarus protospatharius.
- 79 Anno 975^a. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno Ismael in-
 ~~~  
 terfectus est, et Zacharias Botuntum accepit.
- 80 Anno 976<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 4<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsederunt  
 ~~~  
 135 Saraceni Grauinam, irrito conatu. Et obiit Simischi im-
 perator qui et Joannes, et ceperunt regnare Basilius et Constantinus germani.
- 81 Anno 977^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno incenderunt
 ~~~  
 Agareni ciuitatem Orie, et cunctum uulgus in Siciliam  
 140 deduxerunt.
- 82 Anno 978<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 6<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno mortuus  
 ~~~  
 est Joannes episcopus, et surrexit Pao archiepiscopus.

 121 Bari: Barum P irrito conatu SCMART 122 in om. SNL
 126 marcise: marase U Marchisii S marcese L 127 caytus:
 cartus L Bucoboli: -lus S 130 973: 977 USN 133 Botun-
 tum: butontem P Botitem L accepit: cepit SNL 134 obsede-
 runt Saraceni inv. U 135 irrito conatu SCMART 136 Ba-
 silius: basulux U 139 Orie: -em PN 141 Indictione 6^a
P post archiepiscopus U om. SNL

83 Anno 979^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno occidit
 Porfirius protospatharius Andream episcopum oretanum in
 145 mense augusti.

84 Anno 981^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno fecit pre-
 lium Otto rex cum Saracenis in Calabria in ciuitate Co-
 lumne, et mortui sunt ibi quadraginta milia paganorum,
 cum rege eorum nomine Bullicassimus.

150 85 Anno 982^a. Indictione 10^a. Hoc anno tradita
 est ciuitas Bari in manus Calochiri patricii qui et Dal-
 fina, a duobus fratribus Sergio et Theophilacto, mense
 junii undecima die. Et Otto rex obiit Rome.

86 Anno 983^a. Indictione 11^a. Hoc anno compre-
 155 hendit predictus Dalfina patricius ciuitatem Asculum
 mense decembris.

87 Anno 985^a. Indictione 13^a. Hoc anno descendit
 Romanus patricius cum filio suo in Apuliam.

88 Anno 986^a. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno comprehen-
 160 derunt Saraceni sanctam Chiriachi ciuitatem, et dissipau-
 erunt Calabriam totam.

89 Anno 987^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno occisus
 est Sergius protospatharius a Barenibus mense februarii,

 144 in om. SNL 147 Calabria: -am NL Columna: colupna P
 -nae U Corruna S 148 paganorum: penorum NL Poe- S penorum
canc. paganorum a. m. inter lin. P 149 Bullicassimus:
 -nus U Bulcassino L 150 982: 942 L 151 est: esta U
 ciuitas Bari: barus PU manus: -nu PU 153 undecima:
 -mo N 154 comprehendit: ap- SL 155 predictus: -fatus L
 Dalfina patricius: Delphinus Francie L Asculum: Ascoli U
 159 Comprehenderunt Saraceni inv. U ciuitatem: -te L
 161 totam SCART

quintodecimo die. Et in ipso anno mortuus est Andra-
 165 listus a Nicolao criti mense augusti, quintadecima die.
 Et obscuratus est sol.

90 Anno 988^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno depopula-
 ~~~~~  
 uerunt Saraceni uicos barenses, et uiros ac mulieres in  
 Siciliam captiuos duxerunt.

170 91 Anno 989<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 2<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno <mense fe-  
 ~~~~~  
 bruarii> descendit Joannes patricius qui et Ammiropolus,
 et occidit Leonem cannatum et Nicolaum critis et Porfirum.

92 Anno 990^a. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno occisus
 ~~~~~  
 est Bubali et Petrus exubitus mense martii.

175 93 Anno 991<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 4<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno fecit bel-  
 ~~~~~  
 lum Atto comes cum Saracenis in Tarento, et ibi cecidit
 ille cum multis Barensibus.

94 Anno 992^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno facta est
 ~~~~~  
 magna fames per omnem Italiam, et annone caritas.

180 95 Anno 993<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 6<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno defunctus  
 ~~~~~  
 est Pao archiepiscopus, et Chrisostomus eleuatus est.

96 Anno 994^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno obsessa
 ~~~~~  
 est Matera a gente Saracenorum tribus mensibus, et in  
 quarto mense comprehensa est ab eis.

-----  
 164 quintodecimo -- anno om. SNL 165 quintadecima die  
inv. U 167 Indictione 1<sup>a</sup> PUS inter lin. N om. L depopu-  
 lauerunt Saraceni inv. U 168 uicos; uiros PU 169 Sici-  
 liam; -a P duxerunt; deduxerunt L 170 <mense februarii>;  
 del (nel R) mese di Febraro ART [-6-] C 172 Nicolaum;  
 -laus PN 174 Bubali; -lus S exubitus; ex subitus P  
 178 facta est om. S 179 magna fames inv. U omnem; to-  
 tam SNL et annone caritas S cf. gran carestia CART  
 183 gente Saracenorum; Saracenis SNL in om. S 184 mense  
om. S comprehensa; capta S est om. S

185 97 Anno 997<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 10<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno occisus  
 ~~~  
 est tmarco Theodorus exubitus in ciuitate Orie a Sma-
 ragdo et Petro germanis.

98 Anno 998^a. Indictione 11^a. Hoc anno uenit
 ~~~  
 Busitu caitus cum Smaragdo prefato in Barum mense oc-  
 190 tobris, et prefatus Smaragdus eques intrauit Barum per  
 uim a porta occidentali, et exiit iterum. Tunc Busitu,  
 cognita fraude, discessit.

99 Anno 999<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
 ~~~  
 Trachanioti catepanus qui et Gregorius, et obsedit ci-
 195 uitatem Grauinam, et comprehendit Theophilactum.

100 Anno millesimo ab Incarnatione Domini. Indic-
 ~~~  
 tione tertiadecima. Hoc anno captus est predictus Sma-  
 ragdus a Trachanioti in mense iulii, undecima die. Et  
 in ipso anno obiit rex Otto in Roma.

200 101 Anno 1002<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 15<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obsedit  
 ~~~  
 Saphi caytus Barum, adstante majo secunda die, usque in
 sanctum Lucam mense octobris, tuncque liberata est per
 Petrum ducem Veneticorum.

 186 t marco: nearco P Marcho S Marcus L excubitus: exubi-
 tus PUN 189 Busitu: -tus S Smaragdo prefato: predicto
 (prae- S pre- L) Smaragdo SNL in om. SNL Barum: -ro P
 -ri L 190 prefatus: -dictus SN Barum: in baro P Bari L
 191 Busitu: -tus S 194 Trachanioti: Trachamoti PUN Tracha-
 motus S Traemonti L 196 Anno -- Domini: millesimo anno --
 Domini P Anno Domini millesimo S Anno ab incarnatione Domini
 millesimo NL Indictione tertiadecima PUSL inter lin. N
 197 est supra lin. U predictus: -fatus L 198 Trachanioti:
 Trachamoti PU Trachamoto S Tracamoto N Tracamotto L in om. SN
 199 in ipso anno om. SNL in Roma: Romae S 201 Barum:
 -ri L adstante -- die: 2 Maii S ij^a die mense madij N ij die
 mens. maii L in: ad PU 202 sanctum: -to P Lucam: -ca P
 tuncque: tunc S 203 Veneticorum: Be- NL uenetorum U

- 102 Anno 1003^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno obsede-
 ~~~  
 205 runt Saraceni montem Scauiosum mense martii, et nihil  
 profecerunt.
- 103 Anno 1005<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno rediit  
 ~~~  
 Durachium in manus imperatoris per Theodorum.
- 104 Anno 1006^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno descendit
 ~~~  
 210 Xyphea catepanus mense julii.
- 105 Anno 1007<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 5<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno defunctus  
 ~~~  
 est prefatus catepanus in ciuitate Bari.
- 106 Anno 1008^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno descendit
 ~~~  
 Curcua patricius in mense maji.
- 215 107 Anno 1009<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 7<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno cecidit  
 ~~~  
 maxima nix, ex qua siccauerunt arbores oliue, et pisces
 et uolatilia mortua sunt. Et in mense maji incepta est
 rebellio. Et in mense augusti apprehenderunt Saraceni
 ciuitatem Cosentiam, rupto federe, nomine cayti Sati.
- 220 108 Anno 1010^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno obiit
 ~~~  
 Curcua et descendit Basilius catepanus Mesardoniti men-  
 se martii. Et Silictus incendit ipsos homines in ciui-  
 tate Trani.
- 109 Anno 1014<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno uenit  
 ~~~  
 225 Henricus imperator Romam mense februarii, et Cassanus

 204 obsederunt Saraceni inv. S 205 Scauiosum: Caueosum P
 et nihil profecerunt SCMART 208 Durachium: di- P eraclius U
 209 descendit om. L descendi U 212 Bari: -ro P 214 in
om. SNL maji: mayo P 217 in om. SNL maji: mayo P
 218 in om. SNL apprehenderunt: com- U 219 ciuitatem Co-
 sentiam inv. P c. cosentiae U nomine -- Sati om. L nomine:
 nomen P no.ti U 221 Mesardoniti: masedoniti P marsedoni-
 ci U cum Macedonibus S 222 ipsos: multos S 225 Cas-
 sanus: -num U

incensa est mense augusti.

110 Anno 1015^a. Indictione 13^a. Hoc anno apparuit
 ~~~ stella cometis mense februarii. Et Samuel rex obiit et  
 regnauit filius ejus.

230 111 Anno 1016<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 14<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno occisus  
 ~~~ est ipse filius prefati Samuelis a suo consobrino filio  
 Aroni et regnauit ipse. Et ciuitas Salernum obsessa est
 a Saracenis per mare et per terram, et nihil profecerunt.

112 Anno 1017^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno abiit in
 ~~~ Butrunto Mesardoniti catepanus. Et in mense nouembris  
 235 interfectus est Leo, frater <ejus>, Argiro. Et in hoc  
 anno descendit Turniki catepanus mense maji. Et fecit  
 prelium cum Mele et Normannis Leo Patiano exubitus.

Iterum in mense junii, uigesima secunda die, prelium  
 240 fecit prefatus Turniki catepanus, et uicit Melem et Nor-  
 mannos; et mortuus est Patiano ibi. Et Condoleo descen-  
 dit in ipso anno.

113 Anno 1018<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 1<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
 ~~~

 226 incensa: -sum U 228 stella om. SN cometis: -tae U
 -ta SNL 229 regnauit -- ejus: filius regnauit S filius
 ejus regnauit L inter lin. N 231 ipse om. SNL prefati:
 -dicti S a suo: ab ejus SNL consobrino: -na S 232 Aro-
 ni: -nis U Salernum: -ni U 233 per terram: terram SNL
 et -- profecerunt SCMART 234 abiit Guillou obiit PUSNL
 235 Butrunto: Butunti SNL Mesardoniti: Marsedonici U Masar- L
 catepanus: Capitaneus L nouembris: -brio PUL 236 <ejus>
supplevi Argiro: -ri SNL in hoc anno om. SNL 237 cate-
 panus: Capitaneus NL 239 in om. SNL junii: Iulii L a.
corr. N 240 prefatus: -dictus S Turniki: -chius S cate-
 panus: Capitaneus L Melem: -lum S 241 Patiano: -nus SNL
 Condoleo -- anno om. SNL 243 1018: 1008 L Indictione 1^a
PUSNL

Basilius catepanus qui et Bujano, et Abalanti patricius
 245 mense decembris. Et Ligorius tepoteriti fecit prelium
 in Trane, et occisus est ibi Joannacius protospatharius;
 et Romoald captus est, et in Constantinopolim deportatus
 est.

114 Anno 1019^a. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno fecit pre-
 ~~~  
 250 lium supradictus Bujano in mense octobris cum Francis,  
 et uicit. Et Mel fugiit cum aliquantis Francis ad En-  
 ricum imperatorem.

115 Anno 1020<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descende-  
 ~~~  
 runt Saraceni cum Rayca, et obsederunt Bisinianum, et
 255 apprehenderunt eam. Et mortuus est ipse ammira et Me-
 lis dux Apulie.

116 Anno 1021^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno captus
 ~~~  
 est Dactus et intrauit in ciuitatem Barum equitatus in  
 asina, quintodecimo mensis junii.

260 117 Anno 1022<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 5<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno uenit Ene-  
 ~~~  
 rich imperator in Beneuentum mense martii, et obsedit
 ciuitatem Trojam in Capitinata.

118 Anno 1023^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno uenit
 ~~~

-----  
 244 Bujano: bugiano PU Bugianus SNL Abalanti: ababanti U  
 abalautius S 246 in om. NL Trane: -ni SNL 247 est  
om. L 248 est om. L 250 Bujano: bugiano PU Bugianus SNL  
 in om. L 251 Mel: nel U Melus S fugiit: fugit UL ali-  
 quantis: aliquibus SNL Enricum: Honorium L 255 apprehen-  
 derunt eam: illud apprehenderunt SNL Et: hoc anno add. S  
 Melis: -lus S 258 Dactus: dictus [.] U dictus a. corr. P  
 Barum: -ri UL 259 quintodecimo: die add. N mensis om. S  
 in mense N 261 in om. SNL Beneuentum: -to P 261 ciui-  
 tatem om. SNL Trojam: troiorum U in Capitinata SART

Rayca cum Jaffari caiti in ciuitate Bari in mense junii  
 265 et obsedit eam uno die; et amoti exinde comprehenderunt  
 Palagianum oppidum; et fabricatum est castellum Motula.

119 Anno 1024<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 7<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno factum  
 ~~~  
 est signum magnum in episcopio acherontino sub presule
 secundo Stephano materiensi in sancto die Pasche; Cru-
 270 cifixus magnus argenteus concussus est tribus uicibus,
 ~~~  
 capite, brachiis et pedibus, cunctis hoc aspicientibus.

120 Et in hoc anno cecidit nix magna.  
 ~~~

121 Et in hoc anno transfretauit Bujano in Curbathia,
 ~~~  
 et comprehendit ipsam patricissam uxorem Cismigi, et di-  
 275 rexit illam Constantinopolim.

122 Et in hoc anno mortuus est Enricus imperator, et  
 ~~~  
 surrexit Conus nepos ejus.

123 Anno 1028^a. Indictione 11^a. Hoc anno descendit
 ~~~  
 Oresti ketoniti in mense aprilis. Et tunc obiit barensis  
 280 episcopus Joannes, et factus est Bisantius archiepiscopus.

124 Anno 1029<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno uenit Eusta-  
 ~~~  
 chius cum filiis {basilico} et mandato basilico, et adduxit

 264 Jaffari; Taf- UL Saf- S caiti scripsi criti PUSNL in
 ciuitate om. SNL Bari; -ro P -rum SN in om. SNL
 266 Motula; Mutula P Mutule U in Motala L 268 est om. U
 episcopio; -patu U 269 materiensi; -se P materialis L
 sancto; quinto S Crucifixus; enim add. S 272 in hoc an-
 no om. SNL 273 in hoc anno om. SNL Bujano; Bugiano PU
 Bugianus SNL 274 patricissam; patro- P principissam SNL
 Cismigi; Cosmici SN Cormici L 276 in om. SNL hoc -- est;
 mortuus est hoc anno SNL 277 Conus; Constantinus L
 279 ketoniti; chetonici U che- SN chesanti L in om. NL ba-
 rensis; baronensis U 282 {basilico} glossam seclusi Basi-
 lisco S et om. PUNL mandato basilico; mandatora PUSNL
 adduxit -- Christophorum; elegit catepanum C. S eduxit Cathe-
 satum Xpophorum L

honorem catepani ad Christophorum, et Orestes prefatus
ascendit in Constantinopolim cum Bujano.

285 125 Et in hoc anno mortuus est Constantinus imperator
in uigilia sancti Martini, et se uiuente imposuit in sede
sua Romano, et dedit ei uxorem Zoi filiam suam.

126 Tandem Rayca et Jaffari obsederunt castellum
Obbianum, qui Obbianenses extraneos tradentes pacifica-
290 uerunt cum ipsis.

127 Et in mense julii uenit Potho catepanus fecitque
pugnam cum Rayca in Baro.

128 Hoc anno obiit Guamarius princeps Salerni.

129 Anno 1031^o. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno in mense
295 junii comprehenderunt Saraceni ciuitatem Cassanum. Et
tertia die astante mense julii, fecit prelium Potho cum
Saracenis, et ceciderunt Greci.

130 Anno 1032^o. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno descendit <...>
Ychiacon et Ketoniti, et secum adduxit ipsos Anatoliki.

300 131 Anno 1033^o. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno prima die
intrante mense maji, descendit Constantinus protospatha-

283 honorem om. NL catepani: -num U prefatus: -dictus SL
284 ascendit: descendit PU Bujano: Bugiano PUSNL 285 in
hoc anno om. SNL 286 uiuente: -ti U 287 Romano: -num
SNL Zoi: Zoem S 288 Jaffari: Za- P Zaf- U Saf- SL ca-
stellum Obbianum: obbianum [.] U 291 in om. SNL julii:
-o P catepanus: -ni U 293 Hoc -- Salerni om. SNL supp.
in fine lin. et mg. ead. vel aequali manu P 294 in om. SNL
295 comprehenderunt Saraceni inv. U ciuitatem om. SNL Cas-
sanum: -ni U 296 tertia: -o SN astante om. SNL mense:
-sis U julii: -o P 299 Anatoliki: -ky P anacolichi U
Anacolichium S -chi S Anatholicii L 300 Indictione 1^a PUSNL
prima die inv. SNL 301 intrante om. SNL mense om. U
-sis S maji: mayo P

rius qui et Opo uocabatur, catepanus Italie.

132 Anno 1034^a. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno, undecima
 ~~~~  
 die intrante mense aprilis, obiit Romanus imperator, et  
 305 surrexit Michael imperator. Et Argiro barensis abiit in  
 Constantinopoli.

133 Anno 1038<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 6<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
 ~~~~  
 Michael patricius et dux qui et Sfrondili uocabatur, et
 transfretauit cum Maniaki patricio in Sicilia.

310 134 Anno 1039^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno in mense
 ~~~~  
 februaryi descendit Nikyforus catepanus qui et Dukyano  
 dicebatur.

135 Anno 1040<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 8<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno predictus  
 ~~~~  
 Dukyano excussit conteratos de Apulia; et predicti con-
 315 terati occiderunt Chirisfacti basilico critin {imperator}
 subtus Mutulam, et Romano materiense mense maji.

136 Eodemque mense obsedit Argiro filius Melis Bari
 ~~~~  
 ciuitatem, et percussit Musandum et ligauit eum uincula,

-----  
 302 et Opo: ropo U catepanus: -ni U 303 undecima die  
inv. U 304 intrante om. SNL mense om. S Romanus: -no  
a. corr. P 305 Et -- Constantinopoli om. SNL supp. in fine  
lin. et mg. ead. vel aequali manu P abiit Guillou obiit PU  
 Argiro: cergico U 306 in om. U 307 1038: 1036 L  
 309 Maniaki: -ky P mamachi U -chi SN -ochi L Sicilia: -am U  
 310 in om. SNL 311 catepanus: -ni U Dukyano: dulkyano P  
 Dulchiano U Dulchianus SNL 313 predictus: -fatus L  
 314 Dukyano: dulkyano P Dulchianus USNL conteratos: Contrac-  
 tos S de: in L predicti: -fati L conterati: Contracti S  
 315 Chirisfacti basilico critin: Kyrisfactora critin P Chirisfac-  
 tira critin U Chirifactora Crithiri S Chyrisfactora crithin N  
 Xpophorum critim L {imperator} glossam seclusi imperator PUN  
 -rem SL 316 Romano materiense: -num -sem S maji: mayo P  
 317 Argiro: Argyrus SN -rus L filius: filiu U Melis: -li S  
 Malis L 318 Musandum: -drum S eum: ei U uincula: -lo S

- et intravit cum eo in Baro; et conterati dispersi sunt.
- 320 137 Anno 1041<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno descendit  
 ~~~~ Dukyano a Sicilia, iuitque Asculum. Et in mense martii  
 Arduinus lombardus conuocauit Normannos in Apulia in ci-
 uitate Melfie, et predictus Dukyano fecit prelium cum
 Normannis feria tertia, et ceciderunt Greci. Et mense
 325 maji iterum preliati sunt Normanni feria quarta cum Gre-
 cis, et fugit Dukyano in Barum.
- 138 Anno 1042^a. Indictione 10^a. Hoc anno uenit
 ~~~~ <Bujano> rex augustot fecitque bellum cum Normannis ter-  
 tia die intrante mense septembris, et comprehensus est  
 330 ille ibi et in Melfia deportatus est.
- 139 Et in mense decembris obiit Michael imperator,  
 ~~~~ et eleuatus est Cesar nepos ejus nomine Michael impe-  
 rator.
- 140 Et in mense februarii factus est Argiro barensis
 ~~~~ 335 princeps et dux Italie.

-----  
 319 intravit: introiuit S in Baro: Barum SN Bari L conte-  
 rati: Contracti S 320 Indictione 9<sup>a</sup> P 321 Dukyano:  
 dulchia U Dulchianus SNL in om. SNL martii: -cio P  
 322 Arduinus: Ardumus SNL Normannos om. PU Apulia: -am U  
 323 predictus: -fatus L Dukyano: Dulchianus USNL  
 324 feria tertia scripsi fere tribus milibus PU fecit N om. SL  
 la terça feria C ala terça feria M la terza (3<sup>a</sup> T) feria ART  
 Et mense: et in mense P maji: mayo P 325 feria quarta:  
 fere quadringenti PU 326 Dukyano: Dulchianus USNL Barum:  
 -ro U 327 <Bujano> scripsi cf. Annales barenses 23 [...] S  
 [-10-] C [-7-] AR [....] T rex augustot: ex aug.to PU mense  
 augusto S ex Augusto NL forsitan ἐξακουστός Mathieu 329 in-  
 trante om. SNL mense: -sis S 330 Melfia: -am S  
 331 in om. SL 332 et eleuatus -- imperator om. U 334 in  
om. SNL Argiro: Argyrus SL -rus N

- 141 Et mense aprilis descendit Maniaki magister  
 ~~~~  
 Tarentum, et in mense junii deportavit Monopolim ciui-
 tatem, abiitque in ciuitatem Materam et fecit ibi grande
 homicidium.
- 340 142 Et in mense septembris electus est comes Guidel-
 ~~~~  
 mus a Matera.
- 143 Et hoc anno depositus est prefatus Cesar Michail  
 ~~~~  
 a regno cecatusque est Zoi et Theodore sororum jussione,
 et Constantinus Monomachus factus est imperator.
- 345 144 Et tertia die intrante mense julii capta est Ju-
 ~~~~  
 uenatias ab Argiro duce. Et in mense augusti iuit prefa-  
 tus Argiro ad obsidendum Tranem seditque super eam mense  
 uno.
- 145 Anno 1043<sup>o</sup>. Indictione 11<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno reuersa  
 ~~~~  
 350 est ciuitas Barum in manus imperatoris. Et in mense
 Septembris descendit Pardus patricius cum multo auro,

 336 Et mense: et in mense U Maniaki: -ky P -chus S -chi NL
 magister: -stro U -ster SNL 337 Tarentum: -ti PU in
om. SNL deportavit om. S Monopolim: var. -is mg. N
 338 in om. PNL ad S Materam: matheriem U 340 electus --
 Guidelmus: Gulielmus e. est comes S electus: eleuatus L
 Guidelmus: Gulielmus SL 341 a Matera: Materae S 342 est
supra lin. U prefatus: -dictus S Cesar: -rus P 343 ce-
 catusque: et excaecatus S et caecatus N cecatusque -- jussio-
 ne om. L Zoi: Zoy P Zoes S 344 et -- imperator: et eleua-
 tus est Constantinus Monomachus in imperium L Monomachus:
 monachus U 345 tertia: -o L intrante om. L mense om. U
 julii: -o U capta: -tum U Juuenatias: -um U 346 in
om. SNL augusti: -to P prefatus: -dictus S 347 obsiden-
 dum: obsidionem SNL Tranem: -ni SL 349 reuersa: -sum U
 350 ciuitas om. PU Barum: -rus P -ri L in: ad PU in men-
 se: mense SNL

quem Maniaky fecit occidi, seque imperatorem ab omnibus
appellari. Et in mense octobris uenit Barum, minimeque
illum recepit. In mense uero februarii descendit Theo-
355 dorocanus magister et catepanus, et Maniaky predictus
perrexit Dyrachium.

146 Anno 1044^a. Indictione 12^a. Hoc anno Guidel-
mus, filius Tancredi, descendit cum Guarimari principe
in Calabriam, feceruntque ipsam Stridulam castellum.

360 147 Anno 1046^a. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno perrexit
Argiro patricius Constantinopolim, et Palatinus catepa-
nus qui et Eustasius reuocauit omnes exiliatos in Barum,
perrexitque Tarentum. Et octaua die intrante mense maji
commisit prelium cum Normannis, et ceciderunt Greci.

365 148 Et hoc anno uenit Conus rex Almanorum Romam, eo
quod erant ibi tres pape: Silvester in ecclesia sancti
Petri, in Laterano Gregorius, et Benedictus in Tuscula-
no; quibus ejectis, consecratus est ibi papa nomine Cle-
mens a predicto imperatore. Deinde predictus imperator

352 Maniaky: manachi U -ches S Manichij L seque: sicque U
atque L imperatorem om. U 353 in om. SNL Barum: -ro P
-ri L 354 Theodorocanus: Theodoro canus P Theodorus ca-
nus USNL 355 Maniaky: manachi U -ches S -chi N -chy L
predictus: -fatus L 356 Dyrachium om. L Di- PN Du- U
357 Guidelmus: Guillelmus S Gulielmus L 358 filius supra
lin. ead. manu N Tancredi: -e P de Sicilia add. L descen-
dit: descenditque P 359 ipsam: ipsum S Stridulam: Squil-
laci S 361 Argiro: Argyrus S -rus N -rius L 362 Eusta-
sius: -um PU -chius L in: ad S 363 perrexitque Tarentum:
petiitque Tardum L intrante: in Trano SNL 365 Conus: Con-
radus L 366 erant: erat P pape: pontifices S 368 con-
secratus: confirmatus SNL ibi papa om. U nomine om. UL
369 predicto: -fato L predictus om. L dictus SN impera-
tor om. L

370 uenit Beneuentum; Beneuentani uero ad ejus injuriam
absciderunt streuvas equi ejus.

149 Et hoc anno obiit Guidelmus, et frater ejus
Drogo factus est comes.

150 Anno 1047^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno compre-
375 hensum est oppidum Stira a Guarangis in mense octobris,
et in mense decembris depopulauerunt Licce.

151 Et in mense junii supradictus papa Benedictus
per poculum ueneni occidit papam Clementem.

152 Anno 1050^a. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno mense sep-
380 tembris obiit Zoi imperatrix, soror Theodore, que fuerunt
filie Constantini imperatoris. Zoi enim habuit uiros
tres; primum Romano, secundum Michail, tertium Constan-
tinum Monomachum. Regnauit cum his tribus uiris annis
uiginti duobus; post mortem uero predictae Zoi, regnauit
385 ipse Constantinus imperator cum Theodora sua cognata;
jam nouem annis regnauit imperator Constantinus.

370 Beneuentani uero; Beneuentanique L 371 absciderunt:
-scin- L streuvas; sercuuas U strenutas S strenuas canc. N
frenos L equi; equorum L 372 et hoc; hoc etiam SNL
Guidelmus; Gulielmus L 373 Drogo; Drago UL 374 compre-
hensum; ap- SNL 375 Stira; Scyra S Stita NL Guarangis:
garganis U -gnis L in om. SNL 376 in om. SNL Licce:
Litium SN Liticem L 377 in om. SNL junii: -o P supra-
dictus; dictus SNL 378 ueneni; -no S 379 mense septem-
bris om. PUSN 380 Zoi; Çoy P Zoe S Theodore; -i L que:
qui L fuerunt; fuerat L 381 filie; -a L Zoi; Zoy P
Zoe S om. L enim om. L 382 Romano; -num USNL Michail:
Michaellem S 383 Monomachum; monachum U 384 predictae
om. L Zoi; Zoes S regnauit; regine NL 386 nouem annis
inv. U nono anno NL regnauit -- Constantinus om. US

153 Anno 1051^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno descendit
 ~~~  
 Argiro magister, uesti et dux Italie, filius Melis, in  
 mense martii, et abiit Barum; et non receperunt illum  
 390 Adralistus et Romoaldus cum Petro ejus germano. Sed  
 non post multum tempus, Barenses receperunt eum sine  
 uoluntate Adralisti et aliorum; sed Adralistus fugiit.  
 Romoaldus uero et Petrus fratres ab Argiro sunt compre-  
 hensi, ac catenis uincti, Constantinopolim deportati  
 395 sunt.

154 Hoc anno Drogo occisus est in monte Ilari a suo  
 ~~~  
 compatre Concilio, et frater ejus Vmfreda factus est
 comes.

155 Anno 1053^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno in feria
 ~~~  
 400 sexta in mense junii Normanni fecerunt bellum cum Ala-  
 mannis quos papa Leo conduxerat et uicerunt. Et hoc  
 anno fuit magna fames in Italia.

156 Anno 1054<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 7<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno obiit Syco  
 ~~~  
 protospatharius materiensis.

405 157 Anno 1055^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno obiit Con-
 ~~~  
 stantinus imperator qui et Monomachus.

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 387 1051: 1052 U 388 Argiro: Argyrus S -us NL magister:  
 magnus L Melis: -li S in om. SNL 389 martii: -cio P  
 receperunt: recepit L 390 Adralistus: Magnus add. L et:  
 ac S 391 tempus: -poris PSL eum: illum US 392 fugiit:  
 fugit US 393 fratres: frater L Argiro: Argyro S Argiuo L  
 394 ac: et SL 396 Drogo: drago U -gus NL 397 Concilio:  
om. S Con. L Vmfreda: -dus S 400 in om. SNL de U junii:  
 -io P 401 papa Leo: prepleo U conduxerat: ad- SNL hoc  
 anno fuit: fuit hoc anno SNL 402 in Italia SART 404 ma-  
 teriensis: mantuensis U 406 Monomachus: monachus U

- 158 Anno 1056<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno cepit re-  
gnare predicta Theodora augusta soror Zoi imperatricis.
- 159 Et Vmfreda obiit et Robertus frater ejus factus  
410 est dux.
- 160 Et hoc anno obiit Petrus archiepiscopus cosenti-  
ne ecclesie.
- 161 Anno 1057<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 10<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno mortua  
est Theodora augusta et Michail Bringa factus est impe-  
415 rator.
- 162 Anno 1058<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 11<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Trombi  
patricius fecit occidere scribones in Cotroni ciuitate.
- 163 Anno 1059<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno mortuus  
est Michail Bringa et Isaki o Comni factus est imperator.
- 420 164 Anno 1060<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 13<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno eleuatus  
est imperator Constantinus o Ducos.
- 165 Anno 1061<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 14<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Robertus  
dux cepit ciuitatem acherontinam.
- 166 Anno 1062<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 15<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno factus  
425 est papa Alexander lucanus.
- 167 Et in hoc anno intrauit Robertus dux in ciuita-

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407 regnare: regina SNL 408 predicta Theodora: Theodora  
p̄fata L augusta om. L Zoi: Zoy P Zoes S 409 frater  
ejus om. U 411 hoc anno om. SNL cosentine ecclesie: co-  
sentinus U Cosentiae S 414 Michail: -el S -yl N -ele L  
417 scribones: -nem S Cotroni ciuitate inv. SNL 419 Mi-  
chail om. S -yl N -el L Bringa: imperator add. S Isaki o  
Comni: Ysaky ocomny P isaki occomni U Isachus Oconnus S Ysa-  
chy ocōni N Isachus Oconi L 421 Constantinus: -nos L  
o Ducos: Ducas S 422 acherontinam: -tiam N -thiam L  
426 et in om. P in hoc anno om. SNL intrauit Robertus  
inv. SNL

tem Oriem. Et iterum apprehendit Brundusium et ipsum miriarcham.

168 Anno 1063<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 1<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno compre-  
 ~~~  
 430 hensum est Tarentum a Normannis.

169 Anno 1064^a. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno comprehen-
 ~~~  
 sa est Matera a Roberto comite mense aprilis.

170 Anno 1065<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 3<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Robertus  
 ~~~  
 435 dux intrauit Siciliam et interfecit Agarenorum multitu-
 dinem, et tulit obsidem ex ciuitate Panhormo.

171 Anno 1066^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno Geofredus
 ~~~  
 comes, filius Petronii, uoluit ire in Romaniam cum multa gente, sed obstitit illi quidam ductor Grecorum nomine Mabrica.

440 172 Et hoc anno princeps Ricardus intrauit terram  
 ~~~  
 Campanie, obseditque Ciperanum et comprehendit eam et deuastando usque Romam peruenit.

173 Anno 1067^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno in mense
 ~~~  
 445 maji mortuus est Constantinus o Ducos imperator, et Michail filius ejus suscepit imperium.

174 Et hoc anno apparuit stella cometes et comes  
 ~~~

 427 Oriem: -ae S -e L ipsum: ipsam L 428 miriarcham:
 Ma- L 429 Indictione 1^a PU supra lin. N om. SL compre-
 hensum: -sa SNL 430 Tarentum: ciuitas Tarenti SNL
 432 comite om. U 435 obsidem: obsidionem S Panhormo:
 -mi U 436 Geofredus scripsi Lofredus PUSNL 438 gente:
 gente L obstitit: obstetit SNL 439 Mabrica: Mambrita PU
 440 hoc anno om. SNL 441 Campanie: capitanię L Ciperanum:
 Ciparum L eam: eum NL 443 in om. SNL 444 maji: mayo P
 o Ducos: Ducas S -se L Michail: -el USL 446 hoc om. SNL
 anno om. PSNL cometes: -tis U -ta SNL

normannus Robertus fecit bellum cum Araldo rege Anglorum, et uicit Robertus, qui et factus est rex super gentem Anglorum.

450 175 Anno 1068^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno in sextadecima die mensis februarii, Robertus dux obsedit ciuitatem nomine Montepilosum; ubi nihil proficiens, cum paucis abiit Obbianum et cepit eam. Et ex traditione cuiusdam Gotifredi, intrauit ipse dux in prefatam ciuitatem Montispilosi.

176 Anno 1069^a. Indictione 7^a. Hoc anno in mense septembris prefatus dux Robertus obsedit ciuitatem Bari.

177 Et Romano Diogenis, qui cum prefato Michail priuigno suo tenebat imperium, fraude predicti Michail priuigni sui apud quandam ciuitatem Armenie comprehensus et cecatus est.

178 Anno 1070^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno mense januarii magnum homicidium actum est in ciuitate Brundusii, nam Normanni uolentes eam comprehendere, tenti sunt ex eis quadraginta cum aliis eorum ministris quadraginta-

 447 normannus: -manis P -manus U -niae S -nie L Araldo: Arnaldo US 448 Robertus om. PUNL 450 in om. SNL sextadecima die inv. NL 451 die om. S mensis om. SNL
 452 nomine om. SNL Montepilosum: -ti- P -si S Montipilosi N Montispilosi L 453 cepit: recepit SNL ex supra lin. P om. SNL 454 prefatam: dictam SNL ciuitatem Montispilosi inv. P 456 in om. SNL 457 Robertus om. PSNL ciuitatem Bari inv. P Barum SNL 458 Romano: -nus SNL Diogenis: -nes S prefato: -dicto S Michail om. U -ele S 459 predicti: -fati L Michail: Michaelis SL 460 Armenie: Arthe-PU Arte- NL comprehensus: est add. L 463 actum: factum U in ciuitate om. SNL ciuitate Brundusii: Brundusio ciuitate P Brundusii: -sim L 464 tenti: teneti N

tribus, et capita omnium predictorum ad imperatorem deportata sunt.

179 Anno 1071^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno Robertus
 ~~~  
 dux intrauit Brundusiopolim, dimissa ante Barum obsi-  
 470 dione; nam ipse dux fecit fieri pontem in mari quatenus  
 concluderet portum prefate urbis Bari.

180 Hoc etiam anno, dolo cujusdam Argirizi, filii  
 ~~~  
 Joannaci, occisus est Bisantius cognomento Guirdeliku
 in Baro.

475 181 Et in quintodecimo die mensis aprilis, cepit
 ~~~  
 Robertus dux ciuitatem Bari.

182 Et in mense julii dux predictus transmeauit  
 ~~~  
 Adriatici maris pelagus, perrexitque Siciliam cum quin-
 quaginta octo nauibus.

480 183 Anno 1072^a. Indictione 10^a. Hoc anno mense
 ~~~  
 januarii die decima intrauit Robertus dux in Panhormum,  
 ciuitatem Sicilie.

184 Anno 1073<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 11<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno intraue-  
 ~~~  
 runt plures Normanni in Tranem in octaua Epiphanie cum
 485 Petrono comite. Sed Robertus dux, ejecto Petrono, in-

 466 et -- sunt om. U deportata: portata S 470 quatenus:
 conantis L 471 concluderet: -re UL prefate: -tum PN
 -dictum S -tem L urbis: urbi P Ciuitatis L 473 Guirde-
 liku: gir- U Guinderlichus S -chu N -thum L 475 in om. SNL
 quintodecimo: quintadecima (15^a L) SNL mensis om. S
 477 in om. SNL predictus: -fatus L 478 pelagus: -gum S
 481 januarii: Iunii S intrauit: introiuit U Panhormum: pa-
 normam NL 482 ciuitatem Sicilie: in Sicilia S 484 plu-
 res: primo SNL Tranem: -ne P -no SN Taranto L 485 Petro-
 no: petro U Petronio L ejecto: electo PUN Petrono: pa- PU
 Petronio L introiuit: intrauit L

troiuit in ipsam ciuitatem in Purificatione sancte Marie.

185 Anno 1076^a. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno comprehen-
sus est quidam nepos africani regis a Rogerio, fratre du-
cis Roberti, qui preerat Sicilie, cum centum quinquaginta

490 nauibus in ciuitate Mazaria.

186 Et hoc anno dedit prefatus dux filiam suam nurum
ad imperatorem Constantinopolis.

187 Anno 1077^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno obsessa
est ciuitas Salerni a Roberto duce Normannorum, et com-

495 prehensa est ab eo.

188 Anno 1078^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno obsessa
est Neapolis a Ricardo principe et minime comprehensa.

189 Et Robertus dux obsedit Beneuentum, sed ejus ob-
sedio dissipata est a Radulfo Pipino comite.

500 190 Et hoc anno obiit prefatus Ricardus princeps.

191 Anno 1079^a. Indictione 2^a. Hoc anno intrauit
Petronus in Tranem; et Barum rebellauit, ejecto exinde
presidio ducis; et Bajalardus filius Vmfredi comprehen-
dit Asculum.

505 192 Et in hoc anno ejectus est imperator predictus

486 in ipsam ciuitatem; in ea ipse ciuitatem PN in eam ipse
ciuitatem S in ea ipse ciuitate L 489 Roberti om. PSNL
490 Mazaria; Marzaia L 491 Et; in add. P hoc anno
om. SNL nurum; uxorem L 492 ad om. UL imperatorem
C.polis; imperatori C.polis U i. c.politanum S c.politano im-
peratori L 494 ciuitas Salerni; Salernum P Neapolis add.
sed canc. P Normannorum; Normandię L 498 obsedio; obses-
sio U 499 Pipino om. L 500 prefatus; -dictus S
502 Tranem; -ne P -num NL ejecto; electo PN eilecto L
503 presidio; -side SNL Vmfredi; -dae S -de N Manfredi L
505 in hoc anno om. SNL ejectus; electus PN effectus a.
corr. L predictus; -fatus L

Michail a regno, et Botaniati quidam factus est imperator; qui abstulit prefati Michail uxorem et abusus est ea.

193 Et hoc anno fuit mortalitas hominum in Matera.

194 Anno 1080^a. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno inuentum
510 est corpus beati Canionis in Acherontia ab Arnaldo archiepiscopo. Et idem archiepiscopus construere cepit nouum episcopium, id est ecclesiam sancte Dei matris Marie.

195 Hoc anno Barum ciuitas reuersa est in potestate
515 Roberti ducis, et idem dux obsedit ciuitatem Tarentum, et in mense aprilis comprehendit eam. Et iterum obsedit Castellanetam, et cepit eam.

196 Et hoc anno imperator Michail descendit in Apuliam querendo auxilium a Roberto duce contra Botaniati.

520 197 Et in mense iulii, uigesimo septimo die ejusdem, mortuus est Robertus comes eximius, et electi sunt Normanni a Matera secundo, et cepit regnare Geofredus comes filius ejus pro eo in Matera in uigilia sancte Marie mense augusti.

506 Michail: -el S regno: Rege NL Botaniati: botamiti U
-tes S 507 qui: et add. SNL abstulit: actulit N pre-
fati: -to U -dicti S Michail: -elis NL ea: eam PL 508 Et
om. PU hoc anno fuit: fuit hoc anno SNL mortalitas: -tos L
509 inuentum: -tus L 512 episcopium: episcopum L id est:
in L matris: genetricis U 514 Barum ciuitas: ciuitas Ba-
ri U Baris ciuitas L potestate: -tem S 515 Tarentum:
-ti U 516 in om. SNL 517 Castellanetam: -tem a. corr. L
518 Michail: -el S 519 Botaniati: bocthamati U -tem N Bota-
nisios L 520 Et om. L in om. SNL uigesimo septimo:
uigesimo sexto U ejusdem om. SNL mensis add. P 521 elec-
ti: ejecti USL 522 a: de US secundo om. L Geofredus
scripsi Lofredus PUSNL 524 mense: -sis L

- 525 198 Anno 1081^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno Robertus
dux intrauit Tricarim mense octobris.
- 199 Et in mense aprilis Archirizi perrexit ad Michalam regem Sclauorum, deditque ejus filio suam filiam uxorem.
- 530 200 Et Robertus dux cum prefato Michail imperatore perrexit Idruntum, missisque antea nauibus in insula Corifu que apprehenderunt eam; ubi et ipse post paululum una cum imperatore transfretauit, posueruntque in mense julii ante Dirachium obsidionem per mare et per terram,
- 535 quam stolus Veneticorum ueniens dissipauit, aperuitque Diracenis mare.
- 201 Hoc anno Botaniatini factus est monachus, et Alexius factus est imperator.
- 202 Et Alamannorum rex Henricus uenit Romam ut eji-
- 540 ceret exinde papam Gregorium.
- 203 Anno 1082^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno complentur ab initio mundi 6281 et ab urbe condita 1824.
- 204 Et hoc anno Alexius imperator collecto grandi

527 in mense aprilis; eodem mense SL mense octobris N Michalam canc. N Michaellem S 528 suam; ejus S filiam; in add. S 530 prefato; -dicto S Michail; -ele S 531 Corifu; -fo PL corfu U -fe S 532 post om. S prius L
533 una om. L in om. SNL 534 Dirachium; du- UL Dyr- S per mare et om. U per terram bis N 535 stolus; solus L Veneticorum; uenitorum U aperuitque -- mare; apertumque est mare Durachii U 536 Diracenis; Dyr- S 537 Botaniatini; boti- P bothimatini U Botaniates S 539 Alemannorum; Al- UNL Ale- S ut; et L ejiceret; eiceret PN eiecerat L
541 complentur; -pletur L 542 et om. S 1824; 824 PSNL
543 Et om. S hoc anno om. SNL collecto; electo U

exercitu iniit bellum cum Roberto duce haud longe a Di-
 545 rachio, et terga uersus fugiit. Cecideruntque in ea
 pugna plus quam sex milia ex suis; fuerunt autem in ejus
 exercitu septuaginta milia hominum. Et in mense januarii
 Robertus dux cepit ciuitatem Dirachium, traditione quo-
 rundam Veneticorum.

550 205 Et hoc tempore predictus rex Henricus obsedit
 Romam ut ui introieret et faceret ibi papam rauennensem
 archiepiscopum; sed minime potuit. Et dux Robertus re-
 diens ab Epidauro, relicto ibi Boamundo filio suo, per-
 rexit Romam ferens auxilium pape Gregorio, cum rex jam
 555 in partibus moraretur Ligurie ad debellandam Mathilde
 prouinciam, que cum papa tenebat Gregorio.

206 Hoc anno Bajalardus perrexit ad constantinopoli-
 tanum imperatorem Alexium causa auxilii.

207 Et in eodem anno, sextodecimo die intrante mense

 544 haud: aut U Dirachio: du- U Dyr- S dir- N [....] L
 545 fugiit: -git USNL 547 hominum: Et dominante isto Ale-
 xio imperatore episcopus rubensis nomine Guislibertus (Guis-
 bertus L) donauit priori Montispilosi ecclesiam sancti Sabini
 quae (que L) est in ciuitate Rubi, qui prior tenebatur omni
 anno ad quattuor libras cere (-rae S) in die Sabbati sancti
 (Sabbatis L) et mittere unum hominem equestrem (e- L) ad suas
 expensas, quando episcopus rubensis ibat ad Barum (Barensem
 ciuitatem L) seu (siue L) ad Canusium add. SNL in om. SNL
 548 Dirachium: du- UL Dyr- S 549 Veneticorum: uenetorum U
 550 predictus rex: rex pr̄fatus L 551 ui: ibi U ibi:
 ibidem SNL ibi papam: papam ibidem L 552 archiepiscopum:
 episcopum L sed minime potuit om. U Robertus om. PSNL
 553 relicto: sub lecto sibi S lecto N Boamundo: Boamons PN
 554 rex jam inv. U 555 Ligurie: Lombardiae S debellandum:
 bellandum U 557 Bajalardus: Bailardus U 559 in om. SNL
 eodem: eo S sextodecimo die inv. SNL intrante om. SNL
 mense om. S

560 maji, dedicatum est in Matera nouum templum in honore
sancti Eustasii ab Arnaldo archiepiscopo sub domino
Stephano abbate, auctore ipsius templi.

208 Anno 1083^a. Indictione 6^a. Hoc anno complentur
~ ~ ~
517 anni ex quo intrauerunt Longobardi in Italiam. Hoc
565 anno cyclus solaris uigintiocto extitit, et cyclus luna-
ris decem et septem, et cyclus nouennalis primus, et
epacta luna nulla.

209 Et hoc tempore Romani a pape Gregorii societate
~ ~ ~
discedentes, legatos ad predictum direxerunt regem, quo
570 eum Rome mitterent; sed dux hoc anticipans direxit plus-
quam triginta milia solidorum Romanis, quatenus sibi eos
papeque reconciliaret; quod et factum est.

210 Attamen rex Romam adueniens cepit totam regionem
~ ~ ~
trans Tiberim in qua apostolorum principis eminent templum.
575 Et in mense junii, relicto ibidem suo presidio ac filio
in castellum quod ipse illic construxit ad debellandum
Gregorium papam qui in Laterano ac in Celio se continebat

560 maji: mayo P honore: -rem L 561 Eustasii: -chii UL
domino Stephano abbate: Stephano domino abbate P dominio S. a.
UN Stephano Abbate et Domino L 563 hoc anno PUSNL
565 extitit om. S cyclus: Circulus L 566 decem et septem:
ix L cyclus: circulus L 567 nulla: [. .] S 568 pa-
pe -- discedentes: papa Gregorio sequuti discedentes S papa
Gregorii subiunctione se humiliantes L 569 predictum:
-fatum L 570 mitterent: -ret U -re L 571 Romanis: Ro-
mam S quatenus: quibus L 573 Attamen: ac tamen P cepit:
incept PNL 575 in om. SNL suo presidio inv. S 576 ca-
stellum: -lo S ipse: ille PU illic: illico a. corr. P statim
add. S 577 Laterano: latino canc. N Latio L Celio monte
inv. L se continebat monte: m. s. c. USL

monte, ablatis secum quadraginta a Roma obsidibus, secessit in partibus Tuscie.

580 211 Et dux in mense maji posuit ante Cannas ciuitatem
 ~~~~  
 Apulie obsidionem, et in mense julii comprehendit eam.

212 Anno 1084<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 7<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno Robertus  
 ~~~~  
 dux, collecta multitudine Normannorum, Longobardorum aliarumque gentium perrexit Romam ut papam Gregorium dura obsidione retentum liberaret, quod et factum est; nam Romam adueniens, urbis maximam partem cepit, et papam exinde viriliter abstrahens, secum deuexit Salernum.

213 Anno 1085^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno predictus
 ~~~~  
 dux grandi apparatu nauium hominumque innumerabili exercitu Brundusiopolim ueniens, et disposita ibidem nauali machinatione, ingressus est Adriaticum pelagus, perrexitque in insulam nomine Cassopim, ubi stulus Veneticorum et filius ducis Venetie cum plurimis nauibus erat infestus duci Roberto.

595 214 Sed bello in mari inter eos confecto, uictoria  
 ~~~~

 578 ablatis om. S secum: cum S a Roma obsidibus: o. R. S
 579 partibus: partes US 580 maji: mayo P Cannas: -nam U
 [.....] L 581 in om. SNL julii: -o P iunii UN 585 re-
 tentum: dentum U quod -- est: factumque est ita L 586 ad-
 ueniens: et add. SNL 586 deuexit: adduxit U Salernum:
 -ni N 588 predictus: -fatus L 589 grandi: -dem U ap-
 paratu: -tum a. corr. P -tum U nauium: idem [-7-] add. P
 multitudinemque add. U hominumque: hominum U innumerabili:
 innumerabili U 590 ueniens: uenit U et om. PNL dis-
 posita: deposita L 592 Cassopim cum var. orth. USL ubi
 stulus Veneticorum: de Dominis Veneticorum L Veneticorum:
 uenetorum U 593 Venetie: -arum U plurimis om. U [-8-] PN
 [.....] L

ad Normannos concessit. Cesi sunt in ea pugna plus quam
quinque milia hominum, preterea naues quinque capte, due
cum hominibus submerse sunt, ita ut qui gladium potuere
euadere bellatoris, pelagi eos uorago glutiret.

600 215 Hoc anno mense maji predictus papa Gregorius dum
moraretur Salerni diem clausit extremum. Quo moriente
tanta fertur grandinum tonitruumque extitisse procella,
ut omnes illic positi hujusmodi turbinibus putarent in-
terire.

605 216 Mense julii, dum jam dictus dux moraretur loco
qui dicitur [-8-] deuictis Veneticis, exercitusque ejus
ob quandam ciuitatem capiendam in Cefalonia moraretur
insula, ipse autem in predicto loco cum parte exercitus
resideret, preparans se qualiter cum grandi apparatu na-
610 uium et militum innumera multitudine ad regiam tenderet
nauigio urbem, jussu misericordissimi et omnipotentis
Dei, qui dissipat ac reprobat cogitationes uel consilia
principum non ex suo procedentia, profluuio uentris ex-

596 concessit: recessit L Cesi: cesa N cesa L 597 quinque
milia: mille U 598 potuere: -runt U 599 pelagi supra
lin. U eos: aequo UN glutiret: deglutiret L 600 maji:
mayo P predictus: -fatus L 601 moraretur Salerni inv. S
Momuretum Salerni esset L 603 hujusmodi turbinibus: hujus
terribilitatis procella U 606 [-8-] P ueneti uicti a S
[-7-] N [.....] L lacunam non indicat U Veneticis: uenetis U
607 capiendam om. L -da U 608 insula: in insula L predic-
to: -fato L parte: patre U 609 resideret: ressidens L
preparans: -rauit L se om. L qualiter om. PU 4 m L cum --
nauium: nauium cum grandi apparatu L 611 nauigio: -um U
urbem: ciuitatem S et om. PU 612 ac: et UL uel om. L
atque U consilia -- procedentia om. L 613 profluuio --
est: profluuio filius praedicti Roberti factus est dux PU
Fluuio prouidente defunctus est L

tinctus est.

615 217 Anno 1086^a. Indictione 9^a. Hoc anno Rogerius
 ~~~ filius predicti Roberti ducis factus est dux.

218 Anno 1087<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 10<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno in mense  
 ~~~ maji corpus beatissimi Nicolai mirrensis archiepiscopi  
 a quibusdam Barenibus a predicta Mirrea ablatum, in

620 Barum deuectum <est>, caput ciuitatum Apulie.

219 Hoc anno abbas Desiderius sancti Benedicti mon-
 ~~~ tis Cassini, consensu quorundam nobilium romanorum, fac-  
 tus est papa romanus, uiuente adhuc Clemente papa qui  
 fuerat Rauenne archiepiscopus.

625 220 Anno 1088<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 11<sup>a</sup> Hoc anno mense sep-  
 ~~~ tembris factus est grandis terremotus per totam Apuliam,  
 ita ut in quibusdam locis turres ac domos subruisse fer-
 tur. Tunc enim cepta est guerra inter Rogerium ducem et
 Boamundum fratrem ejus.

630 221 Hoc anno comprehensa est Siracusa Sicilie quondam
 ~~~ caput a Rogerio comite, in qua fertur homines comestos ac  
 infantes ob diuturnitatem obsidionis.

222 Anno 1089<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 12<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno facta est  
 ~~~ sinodus omnium apuliensium, calabrorum ac brutiorum epi-

 616 predicti: -fati L 617 in om. SNL 618 maji: mayo P
 beatissimi: beati U archiepiscopi: episcopi U 619 predic-
 ta: -fata L ablatum: est add. L 620 Barum: -ri L <est>
supplevi 623: papa: Antipapa S Rauenne: -na P Recensis L
 archiepiscopus: episcopus P 627 ac: et N subruisse fertur:
 ruisse feratur S 631 Siracusa: Sy- S Ci- L quondam om. L
 condam U ac: et SNL 633 facta: -tus U 634 ac: et L
 brutiorum: brieziorum PU bri- N

635 scoporum in ciuitate Melfie, ubi affuit etiam dux Roge-
rius cum uniuersis comitibus Apulie et Calabriae et alia-
rum prouinciarum; in qua statutum est ut sancta treuia
Dei teneretur ab omnibus sibi subjectis.

223 Hoc anno obiit Vrsus barensis archiepiscopus; et
~ ~ ~
640 papa Vrbanus nomine uenit in ciuitatem Barum et consecra-
uit illic confessionem sancti Nicolai, et Heliam archi-
episcopum, uiuente adhuc papa Clemente; et consecrauit
brundusinam ecclesiam prefatus papa Vrbanus.

224 Anno 1090^a. Indictione 13^a. Hoc anno mense au-
~ ~ ~
645 augusti Acheruntia admirandum in modum cremata est a se
ipsa.

225 Et hoc anno mortuus est Jordanus princeps.
~ ~ ~

226 Anno 1091^a. Indictione 14^a. Hoc anno jurata
~ ~ ~
650 est a Normannis treuia Dei, et complentur ab initio mun-
di anni 6291; epacta uigesimanona.

227 Anno 1092^a. Indictione 15^a. Hoc anno dum obsi-
~ ~ ~
deretur Ories ciuitas a Boamundo, auxilio quorundam Orie-

636 cum -- comitibus; et uniuersi comites U et; ac SN et
aliarum; aliarumque U 637 in om. PU treuia; treuia U
treua L 638 Dei om. N teneretur; re- S de- NL sibi
om. SNL 640 Barum; -ri U 642 uiuente -- Clemente; qui
uenerat adhuc cum praedicto papa Clemente U predicto; -fato L
papa; Antipapa S 643 prefatus; -dictus S 644 augusti;
-to P 645 admirandum in modum S cf. miracolosamente CART
647 hoc anno om. SNL mortuus; mortus L Jordanus; Lor- L
princeps om. L 648 a Normannis treuia Dei; treuia Dei a
Normannis U 649 treuia; treuia U treua L et complentur --
uigesimanona om. S 649 6291 -- uigesimanona om. NL sed
habent eo loco siglum uigesimanona; et ab incarnatione domi-
ni .M.XCI. add. P 651 dum; cum S 652 Orietani; orien-
tani U

tani dissipauerunt ejus obsidionem, et ipso Boamundo fugam petente, cunctum ejus apparatus et signa ceperunt.

655 228 Anno 1093^a. Indictione 1^a. Hoc anno obiit Eugenia abbatissa sancti Benedicti monasterii materiensis mense decembris.

229 Et in eodem mense ipsius anni, Vrbanus papa uenit Materam et applicuit ad cenobium sancti Eustachii cum
660 grandi plebe hominum suorum.

230 Anno 1095^a. Indictione 3^a. Hoc anno, mense aprilis, in nocte, die <quarta>, quarta feria, subito uisi sunt igniculi cadere de celo quasi stelle per totam Apuliam, qui repleuerunt uniuersam superficiem terre. Et ex
665 tunc ceperunt Gallie populi pergere -- immo, totius Italiae -- ad sepulchrum Domini cum armis, ferentes in humero dextro crucis uexillum.

231 Anno 1096^a. Indictione 4^a. Hoc anno Rogerius comes Sicilie, cum uiginti milibus Saracenorum et cum
670 innumera multitudine aliarum gentium, et universi comi-

653 dissipauerunt ejus obsidionem; obsidionem dissipauerunt SNL
ipso -- petente; ipse Boamundus fugam petens U fugam; fuga PL
654 petente; capiente L signa; insignia L 655 Indictione
1^a PUSL supra lin. N Eugenia abbatissa inv. U 657 decem-
bris; Octobris SNL 658 in om. SNL ipsius anni om. SNL
uenit; in add. SNL 659 Materam; materiem U ad om. PUNL
660 suorum om. S 661 mense; de mense PU aprilis; -li P
662 nocte; -ta PU die; diei S <quarta> supplevi quarta;
quinte P quinta U quarte N 4^e L feria om. S -e PN -e L
664 superficiem om. U terre; -ram U ex tunc; exterius U
665 pergere -- Italiae; imo totius Italiae pergere S
667 uexillum; signum S 669 uiginti; xx^{ta} P 670 innume-
ra; nimia U

tes Apulie obsederunt Amalfim. Et cum ibi perseuerarent, subito inspiratione Dei Boamundus cum aliis comitibus et plus quam quingentis equitibus, facientes sibi signum crucis super pannos in humero dextro, reliquerunt
 675 obsidionem; et transfretantes perrexerunt in regiam urbem, quatenus cum Alexii imperatoris auxilio, bellando cum paganis pergerent Jerusalem ad sanctum sepulchrum Domini Jesu Christi nostri redemptoris.

232 Anno 1097^a. Indictione 5^a. Hoc anno Boamundus
 ~~~  
 680 cum comite sancti Egidii et cum comite Normannie et aliis comitibus occidentis, cum innumera multitudine in mense aprilis a regia urbe se mouentes, transfretauerunt et ceperunt terras quas Turki imperatori abstulerant. Et facto bello cum Turkis, uictoriam Christus suis concessit  
 685 Christianis. Fertur enim fuisse paganos centum quadraginta milia. Hoc actum est juxta Niceam ciuitatem.

233 Anno 1098<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 6<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno in mense  
 ~~~  
 octobris apparuit stella cometes, et Christiani bellando

 671 Amalfim: -fici PU -phim SL -fin N 672 subito om. U
 673 facientes: -tibus S 674 pannos: -no S reliquerunt:
 relin- L 675 obsidionem: obsiditionem U 676 bellando:
 -dum U 677 pergerent: perexerunt U Jerusalem: ihe- U
 Hie- SNL 678 Domini om. PL Jesu Christi om. PSNL no-
 stri redemptoris inv. U a. manu L 680 sancti: Benedicti
add. tunc canc. N Normannie: -o L aliis: alii PUL
 681 in om. SNL 683 ceperunt: [-7-] add. P omnem add. S
 terras: terram S quas: quam S imperatori: -ribus S -re N
 -res L abstulerant: -runt L 684 uictoriam: uictoriamque
PUNL 685 paganos: de paganis U centum: milia et add. PNL
 686 actum: autem factum L Niceam: nicenam U 687 in om.
SNL de U 688 cometes: -tis U

uenerunt usque Antiochiam et obsederunt eam. Et in
 690 mense aprilis comprehendentes, interfecerunt ibi plus
 quam sexaginta milia hominum. Iterumque commissa pugna,
 Christiani uicerunt et ceperunt multa spolia Turcorum.

234 Et hoc anno comprehensa est Capua a Roberto co-
 ~~~ mite mense maji.

695 235 Anno 1099<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 7<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno in mense  
 ~~~ octobris papa Vrbanus congregauit uniuersalem sinodum  
 in ciuitate Bari, in qua fuerunt 185 episcopi.

236 Et hoc anno in mense iunii in festiuitate sancti
 ~~~ Petri apostoli, comprehensa est per pugnam Jerusalem ci-  
 700 uitas a Christianis; et omnes quos ibi inuenerunt occi-  
 derunt. Fertur autem occisa esse ibi ducenta milia ho-  
 minum. Et tunc leuauerunt sibi Christiani regem Gotofre-  
 dum, qui fuerat Sueuorum dux.

237 Tunc in mense iulii predictus papa Vrbanus obiit,  
 ~~~ et electus est Pascalis papa.  
 705

238 Anno 1100^a. Indictione 8^a. Hoc anno mortuus
 ~~~ est Gotofredus predictus ab urso -- egrediens a saltu --  
 quem ante <uenatus erat>, eum fortiter feriens.

-----  
 689 in om. SNL de U 690 plus quam om. U 694 maji:  
 mayo P Martii S 695 7<sup>a</sup>: uiiijj P in om. SNL de U  
 696 uniuersalem om. L uniuersam S 697 ciuitate: -tem L  
 in qua -- episcopi om. U 698 hoc anno in om. SNL iunii:  
 -o P 699 per -- ciuitas: ciuitas Jerusalem per pugnam U  
 per pugnam om. SNL 704 tunc: et USNL in om. SNL de U  
 iulii: -o P predictus: -fatus L 705 electus: eleuatus L  
 707 est om. U predictus om. L egrediens: -ent U a saltu:  
 ex alto U 708 ante: antea S an. L <uenatus erat> supplevi  
 eum: ipse S feriens: ferierat S

239 Anno 1101<sup>a</sup>. Indictione 9<sup>a</sup>. Hoc anno compre-  
 ~~~  
 710 hensa est Cesarea a Christianis et ad solum usque per-
 ducta.

240 Et in hoc anno in mense septembris, mortuus est
 ~~~  
 Goffridus comes, et Alexander filius ejus intrauit Ma-  
 teram, et superiora inceperunt habitari a montensibus.

715 241 Hoc anno obiit Arnaldus archiepiscopus acheron-  
 ~~~  
 tinus, et Rogerius comes Sicilie in mense junii.

242 Anno 1102^a. Indictione 10^a. Hoc anno in mense
 ~~~  
 nouembris obiit Stephanus abbas materiensis, et Symeon  
 abbas successit ei. Et in mense maji electus est Petrus  
 720 acherontinus archiepiscopus.

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 710 est: ciuitas add. L 712 in hoc anno om. SNL in om.  
SNL de U mortuus est: mortuust U 713 Alexander: alexius  
U Alexij L Materam: materiem U 714 superiora: superia P  
 super ea U [.....] S supra canc. N inceperunt: caeperunt U  
 habitari: -re U a montensibus: a montesibus U Anantensibus L  
 716 Sicilie om. U in om. SNL junii: -o P 717 in om. SNL  
 de U 719 in om. SNL maji: mayo P

### 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.<sup>1</sup> Phocas did in fact have an eight-year 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>

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<sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 605, p. 109; Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 356, 431.

<sup>2</sup>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>

33 The word 'constantinopolitano' is carried by all the manuscripts except PU; although influence from the family SNL on the translations cannot be excluded, neither can it be proven. Other south Italian sources which speak of the event are the Anonymus barensis, which also notes it at the year 860, and the AnBen<sub>1</sub>, which speak of it at the year 861. Both of these chronicles note that the city was taken by the emperor.<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, p. 250

<sup>2</sup>Paulus Diaconus, Continuatio romana, MGH-SRL p. 282; Annales regni Francorum, ad an. 781, p. 56; Annales q. d. Einhardi, 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.

<sup>3</sup>Anonymus barensis ad an. 860; AnBen<sub>1</sub> ad an. 861, p. 115.

refuge in Bari, it seems that Louis did not chase him that far.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

<sup>2</sup>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.

<sup>3</sup>Theophanes, Chronographia I 464; cf. the translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, II 308; Annales Regni Francorum ad an. 788, p. 82 and Annales q. d. Einhardi ad an. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup>See 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 privileges, and some of the parakoimomenoi had extensive powers.<sup>3</sup> The spelling in the text of Lupus is reflected in a tenth-century Greek dedicatory inscription, parakinoumenos.<sup>4</sup> In some of the Latin scripts, k in fact resembles sc; since in these same scripts sc and st are often confused, these two groups of letters have been replaced by 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

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

<sup>2</sup>For example, the catalogue of emperors in the Chronicon s. Benedicti casinensis, p. 486.

<sup>3</sup>Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup>See V. Laurent, 'Ὁ 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.<sup>1</sup>

35 The sources are in conflict on the date of Louis' 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>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>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 brixienis 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 necessary. Then with the siege of Bari under way, it was 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.<sup>1</sup>

37 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 betrothed 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;

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<sup>1</sup>Erchempert, Historia c. 33, p. 247; Chron. sal. 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.
- 870 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>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<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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; Al-Uyūn wa'l-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, Sawdān, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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'sultan' (see Nicola Cilento, Italia meridionale longobarda [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 Biblioteca arabo-sicula, which he cites in translation, for in it this error does not occur; Musca, Emirato, p. 115 note 30 quotes from the AnBen published in the MGH, although the page reference is to Bertolini's edition, where the entry cited does not appear.

<sup>1</sup>Ioannes 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>2</sup>Erchempert, Historia 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', DOF 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.<sup>1</sup>

38     The immediate result of Louis' imprisonment was 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,

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<sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> ad an. 872, and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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 Sawdān, the ex-amīr 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sub>2</sub> give the year 876.

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<sup>1</sup>Erchempert, Historia cc. 34-35, 38, pp. 247-249; Ioannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., pp. 19-23; AnBen<sub>1</sub>, ad an. 875, AnBen<sub>2</sub>, ad an. 876, p. 116; Chron. vult. I 359; see Gay, Italie, pp. 109-110, and Musca, Emirato, pp. 127-132.

<sup>2</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316; Falkenhausen, Heerschaft, pp. 18-19 and p. 19 note 128; letter of John VIII in MGH-Epp VII 45 no. 47; AnBen<sub>2</sub>, ad an. 876, p. 116.

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. The bajulus 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.<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup>The document may be found in Trinchera, Syllabus, p. 1 no. 1; on the primicerius and the protospatharius, see Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 300 and 297, on the bajulus see V. Laurent, 'Ὁ 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. Guiland, '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 Taranto. There the army split into two wings, each with its 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. In 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.<sup>1</sup>

40 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

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<sup>1</sup>Theophanes continuatus, Vita Basilii cc. 65-66, pp. 305-306; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 156-157; Georgius monachus continuatus, pp. 845-846; see Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 19-20 and Gay, Italie, 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 AnBen 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.<sup>1</sup>

41 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>

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<sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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 vulturense II 6; Erchempert, Historia c. 48, p. 255; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 141-142.

<sup>2</sup>Grumel, 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.

42 The event here recorded is the initial defeat suffered 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

886. 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<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*.<sup>1</sup> Lupus alone among the western sources preserves some part of the Greek for Constantine's court position, with the words 'stratigo Trapezi'.

43 The correct date is October 890; see the comments on paragraph 40. The AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.<sup>2</sup>

44, 45 The Byzantine forces under Symbatikios besieged

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<sup>1</sup>On the patrician, see Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 75 and 294-295, and the bibliography there cited, notes 40-41. On the *ἐνὶ τῆς τραπέζης*, the same work, pp. 305-306, and Bury, Administrative System, pp. 125-126 will provide useful information. On Theophylact, the Byzantine commander who provoked the rebellion of Aio, all we know is contained in the notices in Erchempert, Historia 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; Guiland, 'Les patrices-stratèges', 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 Guiland, loc. cit., and Pertusi, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Anonymus barensis ad an. 891 and 894; AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub>, 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.<sup>1</sup>

46 Melisianus is otherwise not noted in the sources, although the family of the Melissenoi is not unknown in the history of Byzantium.<sup>2</sup>

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-Muḥtaḍid 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

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<sup>1</sup>Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 49, p. 615; Oikonomidès, 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 Guiland, 'Les patrices-stratèges', pp. 383-385.

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

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 Ḥajj 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.<sup>1</sup>

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>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 240-242, gives an account that shows Ibrāhīm in a favorable light; Ibn ʿAdṣari, 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.

<sup>2</sup>On the fall of Taormina, the Greek sources limit themselves to brief notices with no details: cf. Theophanes continuatus, Vita Leonis c. 18, p. 365; Symeon Magister, c. 9, p. 704; Georgius Monachus, c. 25, pp. 860-861; for a prophecy, see the Vita S. Elia il Giovane, cc. 49 and 67, pp. 74-77, and the commentary on pp. 168-169; see also the Cambridge Chronicle, Greek, c. 37, p. 336, and the Cambridge Chronicle, 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,

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

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 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.

<sup>1</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

The Arab sources are not in total agreement on the date of Ibrāhīm's death. They agree on the month of Dhū al-qa<sup>c</sup>dah 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-qa<sup>c</sup>dah 289, the date provided by an-Nuwayrī and al-Khaṭīb. This corresponds to 23 October 902. Among the Latin sources, a Monte Cassino 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 Ibrāhīm's

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<sup>1</sup>'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 prayer. 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-Khaṭīb 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 Ibrāhīm died during the night between 22 and 23 October 902.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242; Saturday, 19 Dhū al-qa<sup>c</sup>dah; Ibn <sup>c</sup>Adsari, Al-Bayān, p. 323; Monday, 17 Dhū al-qa<sup>c</sup>dah; an-Nuwayrī, p. 453, and al-Khaṭīb, p. 475; Saturday, 18 Dhū al-qa<sup>c</sup>dah; 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,

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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 Ibrāhīm almost two weeks before the siege of Cosenza was begun in earnest. It is clear, then, that the month is October, not September. Amari, Storia II 116 note 1, fixes the date of Ibrāhīm's death at 23 October, but relies only on an-Nuwayrī and al-Khaṭīb -- 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 Translatio put the meteor shower and Ibrāhīm's death on 18 or 19 October. Another Arab source, Ibn ʿAdṣari, Al-Bayān (cited by Amari, Storia 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-Abbār, Al-ḥulla al-siyarā', ed. Husayn Monés, vol. I (Cairo 1963), pp. 174-175: 'And in Dhū al-qaʿdah . . . Ibrāhīm 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 Ibrāhīm 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.<sup>1</sup>

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>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, p. 242; an-Nuwayrī, p. 453; al-Khaṭīb, p. 475; Iohannes Diaconus, Translatio, cc. 7-8, pp. 457-458; Vita di s. Elia il giovane, ed. Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962), c. 53, p. 82; cf. Romualdus salernitanus ad an. 902, p. 163 ('Dei iudicio').

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

48 The Anonymus barensis 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' Historia Francorum, 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>

49 Although the traditionally accepted date for 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

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<sup>1</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

50 The name Garigliano applies to the lower course 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-

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

<sup>2</sup>Touring Club Italiano, Italia: carta generale al 500.000 (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, Carta d'Italia al 100.000 (1936 edition), fol. 171. This map shows Monte 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.<sup>1</sup>

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),

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<sup>1</sup>Leo Ostiensis, Chronica I 43-44, 50 pp. 609-610, 615; Liutprand, Antapodosis II 44 p. 296; Gay, Italie, pp. 251-252; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 420; Fedele, 'Battaglia', pp. 182-183.

<sup>2</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.<sup>1</sup>

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 and Spoleto. In witness to the difficulties raised and the 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-

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<sup>1</sup>Leo 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, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

<sup>2</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

Lupus' dating is once again off by a year.

On the entry of the Longobardi into Italy, the sources

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<sup>1</sup>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 Chronicon salernitanum in one place says 574, but in another specifies 568; Paulus Diaconus says that the Longobardi left Pannonia in April 568, and the Annales beneventani 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>

51 According to Lupus, the year of the first Saracen 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 Chronicon salernitanum 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 Chronicon venet. puts the occupation of Bari thirty years before its reconquest, and that means 841.<sup>2</sup>

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.

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

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

cap. A specifies further 'quarto die stante mense februarii'; these data translate to 25 February 922. Both recensions of the AnBen 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.<sup>1</sup>

53 It may be useful to examine the events recorded here with the revolt that broke out at about the same time in Calabria. The background of the Calabrian events is provided 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. The fact that that raid is the only hostile action recorded be-

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<sup>1</sup>Anonymus barensis ad an. 920; AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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).<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>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 X<sup>e</sup> 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 minuscule hands.

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

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.<sup>1</sup>

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 strategos of Longobardia. Nicholas reproves him for his 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).

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

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Rom. 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 Oikonomidès, 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.

<sup>2</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

5, 54 Oria lies on the Via Appia between Taranto and 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 Aḥmad Ja'far ibn 'Ubaid, 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 mithqāl, 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 amīr in Ifrīqīyah, and told him of the conquest, and then finally went to Ifrīqīyah,

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<sup>1</sup>Runciman, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn<sup>C</sup>Adsari, Al-Bayān, p. 367; citing the Cambridge Chronicle - Arabic (in BAS p. 170, not reproduced by Cozza-Luzi), Amari, Storia II 203 note 3, says that Ja<sup>C</sup>far left for Sicily on 20 July, thus revising the account in al-Bayān, 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 l'ère chrétienne jusqu'au XXX<sup>e</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabic text of the Cambridge Chronicle 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 Al-Bayān and the Cambridge Chronicle 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>

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<sup>1</sup>The 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>2</sup>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 Ja<sup>c</sup>far raided in Calabria after the capture of Oria, then he may well have arrived in Sicily after 1 September (and Al-Bayān's dating would have to be changed, as Amari suggests; the hājib left on 20 July); thus the chronicler would have recorded the entire expedition in that year.

<sup>3</sup>See the commentary on paragraphs 4, 47.  
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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 Runciman. 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. But what nest on Gargano? Guillou suggests that this group of Slavs was only one of many that fled before Symeon of Bulgaria. If, however, one keeps in mind not only Michael's

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<sup>1</sup>Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, DAI 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 AnBen<sub>1</sub> 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-

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

<sup>2</sup>Filippo Caraffa, 'Felicita di Roma', Bibliotheca Sanctorum V cols. 605-608; Grumel, Chronologie, 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 Ṣābir 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 Ṣābir, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 Chronicon salernitanum gives a lengthy account of a battle fought between the Longobard princes and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 253-254; Ibn Ḥadsari, 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 to the east of Irsina and Monteserico. Its course is about 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 were defeated. They fled through the by-ways and woods, crying for mercy. From the fact that the AnBa specify the 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup>Liutprand, Antapodosis IV 8-9, p. 317, Legatio 7 p. 348; Chron. vult. II p. 60.

8 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.<sup>1</sup> The AnBa anticipate the date by a year.

58 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>

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<sup>1</sup>Gams, Series Ep., p. 796; Liutprand, Antapodosis II 57-58 pp. 298-299, and III 12, 14 pp. 305, 306-307.

<sup>2</sup>AnBen 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.

59 Lupus' phrase, 'astante tres dies', is peculiar, 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.<sup>1</sup>

60 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

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<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 Limnagalaktos. Nothing is known of Pao.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 943, p. 121, and Bertolini's note 5; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 420, gives 4 October 943.

<sup>3</sup>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; Oman, History, pp. 122-125.

plague, the Chronicon salernitanum 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>

65 This notice is probably to be taken together with the previous one, which mentions the battle at Conversano, and with the notice of the AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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 AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 947, p. 122; Fasoli, Incursioni, pp. 179-181; cf. Rom. sal., Chronicon, pp. 165-166; Chron. sal., c. 168 p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>AnBen<sub>2</sub> ad an. 949, p. 122; Capasso, Monumenta I 111-112; 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 AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.

66 Skylitzes says that Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was not willing to pay the tribute to the Saracens, as his father-in-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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 266.

orders of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, 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).<sup>1</sup>

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 is deformed. To account for Skylitzes' version of events, Laurent suggests that Malakenos may indeed have been strategos in Longobardia before the raids, and foreseeing 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

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<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 anthypatos patrikios and imperial protospatharios.<sup>1</sup>

67 After Malakenos' death (7-8 May 951), the emperor 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.<sup>3</sup>

From the Cambridge Chronicle we learn that there was

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<sup>1</sup>On Malakenos, see Pertusi, 'Contributi', pp. 509-510; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 80 no. 19; Guiland, '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; Guiland, '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>2</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 266; Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 310; Cambridge Chronicle--Arabic, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>Theophanes Continuatus, De Constantino c. 30, pp. 453-454; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 266-267.

also Arab military activity at that period. On 9 August 956, <sup>C</sup>Ammār, the brother of the amīr Ḥasan, 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 Ḥasan in Mazzara, and killed a large number of the Arabs. Basil's activity in Reggio and in Sicily was most likely contemporary with <sup>C</sup>Ammār'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 on him. It is most likely that both these raids took place sometime in the spring of 957.<sup>1</sup>

The next thing known about Marianos Argyros is that he was attacked by <sup>C</sup>Ammār and Ḥasan. 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-Khaṭīb, indicates that on more than one occasion the Arab

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<sup>1</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

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

- 956 9 August: <sup>C</sup>Ammār arrives in Palermo with a fleet, winters there;  
December: Marianos Argyros active in Campania;  
957 Spring: <sup>C</sup>Ammār 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.

68 Nothing else is known of this incident:  
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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

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Chronicle--Arabic, BAS 175; Theophanes continuatus, De Constantino cc. 30-31, pp. 453-455; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 266-267; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, A<sup>C</sup>māl al-A<sup>C</sup>lām, Cenario 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. Guiland, '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-Mu<sup>C</sup>izz', 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'.<sup>1</sup>

69 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>

70 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>

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

<sup>2</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; see the volumes in the CDB. 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 49.

<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, Nicéphore 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-Mu<sup>c</sup>izz 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 as may be the account cited!), and only an-Nuwayrī's report provides the exact date: five days remaining in the month of Dhū al-Qa<sup>c</sup>dah 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-Mu<sup>c</sup>izz-zīyah, in honor of the Caliph. The Greek text of the Cambridge Chronicle notes the second fall of Taormina in the world-year 6471.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>An-Nuwayrī, p. 438; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, p. 481; Ibn Abī Dīnār, p. 532; Ibn al-Athīr, p. 263; Abū al-Fidā', p. 408. Amari, Storia 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, Chronologie, pp. 180, 286. Cambridge Chronicle--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 occurred 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  
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 crowned on 16 August, after being proclaimed by his troops,

¹Amari, Storia II 295.

²Oppolzer, 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.¹

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 963.²

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

72 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-

¹Grumel, 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. AnBen₁ and AnBen₂ ad an. 963, p. 123.

²AnBen₂ ad an. 963, p. 123 -- Bertolini says in note 4 that the AnBen₂ are probably referring to the coronation; cf. Chron. sal. c. 169, pp. 171-173; Böhmer, Regesten II 149-169; Dönniges, Jahrbücher, pp. 85-97.

³Oppolzer, 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). The Arabic sources note that Manuel arrived at Messina during Shawwāl 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 Ifrīqīyah). 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

73 Nicephorus Hexakionites was a patrician and 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 twenty-four 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.²

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.

²On Nicephorus Hexakionites, see Laurent, 'Contributions', pp. 315-316; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 81-82; no. 21; Guiland, '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.¹

75 Otto I was in Capua in January 968, and received 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 October. 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. Guiland, 'L'ordre (taxis) des Maîtres (tōn magistrōn)', EEBS 39-40 (1972-1973) 14-28, and Oikonomidēs, 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.¹

76 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

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; AnBen₁ and AnBen₂ 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 tungrensiū, 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.

²Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 279-293; see Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 292-293.

77 Atto is the son of the Marquis of Spoleto. The 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.¹

78 Passaro is unknown, but may well be a native of southern Italy, since the name is not uncommon.

79 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'.²

80-81 From the Vita s. Nili iunioris, 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 Ramaḍān, it seems that the city must have

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

²Cozza-Luzi, Cambridge Chronicle, 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'.¹

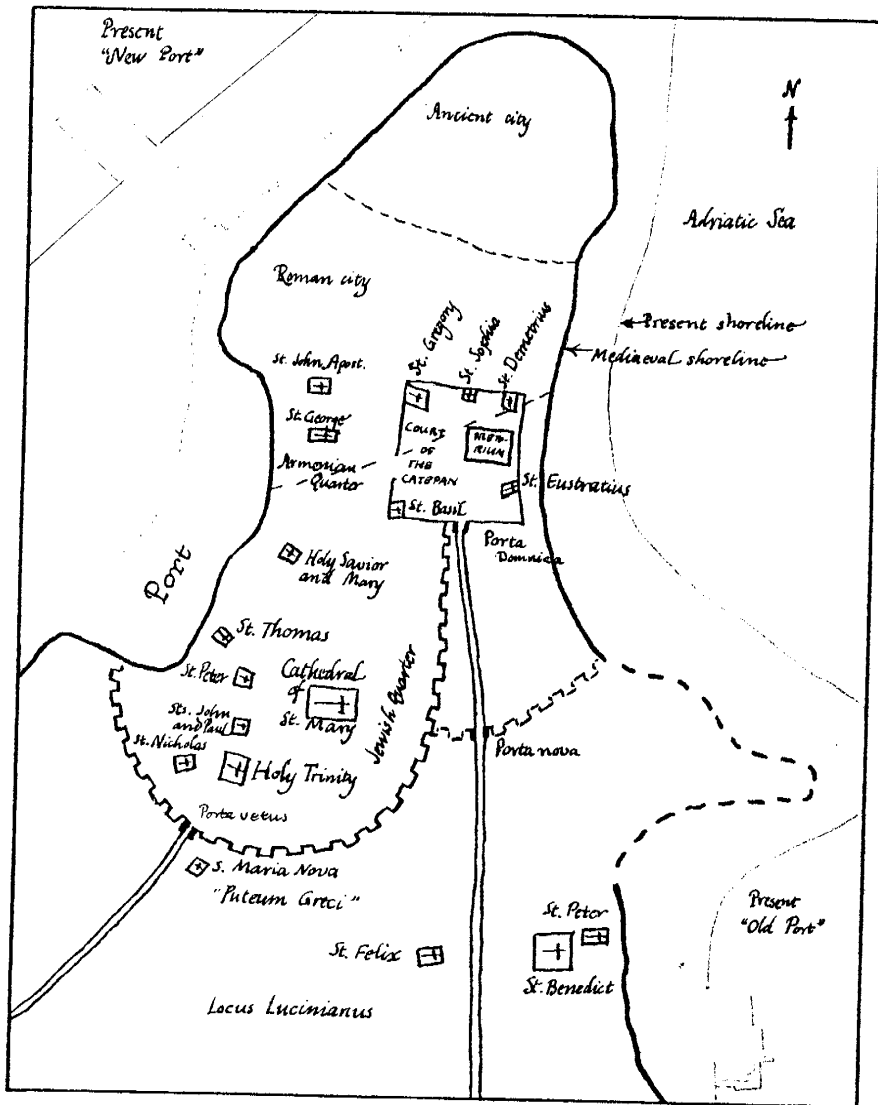
The period noted by Ibn al-Athīr, from Ramaḍān to the end of 365 H and 366 H, corresponds to the period from 3 May 976 to 18 August 977. Ibn al-Athīr says that after raiding at Céllara and Cosenza, Abū al-Qāsim returned to the capital, and that it was the next year that he went on another raid, in which 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.³

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

²Ibn al-Athīr, p. 268; Abū al-Fidā', p. 412; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 286.

³Romualdo salernitano, Chronicon ad an. 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.¹

10 The Anonymus barensis 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.²

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.³

83 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

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

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

³Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, 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.¹

11 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

¹Gay, 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

84 Otto II came to Italy, it would seem, to extend and protect his empire, by taking over the Byzantine lands, and by driving out the Saracens besides. The Annales sangallenses maiores 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.²

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

²Annales 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.¹

Once in Byzantine territory, Otto stopped before Matera, and according to the documents, was there during January. 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. Uhlirz 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

¹Böhmer, Urkunden, p. 32; and see the dating discussion in Sickel, 'Itinerario'; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 331-333.

²Böhmer, Urkunden, 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, Italie, pp. 333-334, holds against Otto's occupation of these cities; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 52; Uhlirz, Jahrbücher, 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, Italie, 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.¹

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 ḌAdṣari, 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, Urkunden, pp. 32-33; Uhlirz, Jahrbücher, pp. 180, 259; cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 340-341; Amari, Storia II 394-395.

Ibn al-Athīr says that the date was 20 Muḥarram 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.²

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

²Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 84 no. 32 and pp. 168-169, document no. 19.

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 Vita s. Sabae iunioris, 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.¹

88 According to the Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, the date is 1 September, indiction 14, our 1 September 985. Lupus, using the indictional year, is correct in his dating. *Ἀγία Κυριακή* is the Greek name of Gerace. The Cambridge Chronicle notes that another town taken in the same raid was Bovalino.²

89 Sergio the protospatharius may be the Sergio, brother of Teofilatto, who handed Bari over to Kalokyros Del-

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 83-84, nos. 31 and 33, and pp. 167-168, document no 18; Vita s. Sabae iunioris, c. 22.
²Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 340; Amari, Storia II 395 and note 3, p. 396; Romualdo salernitano, Chronicon ad an. 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 θνήσκειν, 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 κερτῆς, 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.

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

At this period the empire was beset with troubles on

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

²Oppolzer, Canon, pp. 210-211 and map 105.

³Cambridge 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.¹ 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.

91 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 Tarchaneiotos, 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.²

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.

¹Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 298-315; cf. Gay, Italie, p. 367.

²Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 84 no. 34, and pp. 170-171, documents nos. 24-25; Anonymus barensis ad an. 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.

92 Bubales is unknown, as is Peter, although a document dated 1003 mentions a son of Peter the excubitus. The exkoubittoi, 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.¹

93 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.

¹Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 330; Ahrweiler, 'Administration', pp. 24-32; Bury, Administrative System, pp. 57-60; cf. Falkenhäusen, Herrschaft, 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.¹

94 This is the only notice about this famine and the high price of grain. The reading '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 'carestia' 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

¹Anonymus barensis ad an. 991; cf. Amari, Storia II 396, and Gay, Italie, p. 368.

parallel passage in the Anonymus 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.¹

12, 96 There is no mention of this incident in the 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 P, 'mense septembris', and rejected the reading of ms U, published by Pertz. Among the reasons for this choice is the fact that P generally has more accurate readings than has 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

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 154, and the bibliography there cited; and p. 171, document no. 27; Gams, Series, p. 856.

and palaeographical grounds.¹

97 This entry presents some difficulties in interpretation. It seems that Lupus may have made his usual two-year 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 power. 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

¹Romualdo Salernitano, Chronicon ad an. 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 ignored. The ending in -o instead of the -a or -i to be expected from a Greek word in -ης 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 were. 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

¹Falkenhausen, 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 'advocator'.¹

98 Busitu may have been named Abū Sa^cīd, 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.²

¹Codice cupersanense, pp. 60-62, no. 27; CDB I 14 no. 8; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 122.

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

99 Gregory Tarchaneiotes is the first of a series 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?¹

100 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.²

12-101 Saphi may be the rebel Luke referred to in a diploma of Gregory Tarchaneiotes as the kaphirios (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 version of the Arabic term, but the s in place of the k and the absence of the r tend to argue

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 84-85, no. 35, and pp. 171-173, documents nos 26-31.

²Grumel, Chronologie, 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 Ṣāfī. 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 Ṣāfī than with reference to a misreading of kaphirios; could Luke not have adopted such an Arabic name on becoming Muslim?¹

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 Ṣāfī'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,

¹Falkenhausen, 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,

¹Johannes Diaconus, Chron. ven., 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:

- 30 May 1002 Siege begun ('adstante majo secunda die', Lupus);
- 10 August Pietro sets out from Venice with a fleet of 100 vessels ('sancti Laurentii in solempni die', Johannes Diaconus; 'cum naues C', Vieste inscription);
- 3 September Pietro and the fleet are at Vieste ('Septi: die III', Vieste inscription);
- 8 September The fleet enters the harbor of Bari after fighting off the Saracens who try to prevent the relief of the city ('in suae [sc. sanctę Marię] natiuitatis festo', Johannes Diaconus);
- 22 September After three days of battle by land and 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

102 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

¹Dölger, Regesten I 100, no. 792; Hirsch-Bresslau, Jahrbücher, p. 145 and note 3; R. Cessi, 'Venice to the Eve of the Fourth Crusade', CMH-IV/1, pp. 267-269; Gay, Italie, 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.²

106 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, Synopsis, pp. 342-343; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 310.

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

there is a record of a document issued by Mesardonites in August 1010, it is evident that the entry in the AnBa is misdated.¹

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 AnBen₂ 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.²

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.³

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 85 no. 37 and pp. 174-175, documents nos. 35-36a, 37.

²AnBen₂ ad ann. 1009, 1010, p. 130; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 348.

³ICI Italia 3; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 44, associates this success at Bitetto with the taking of Bitonto noted in the Annales beneventani 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, AnBen, 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 AnBen₂. 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 Smaragdus and his friends.¹

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.²

Lupus' note that the Saracens' taking Cosenza was in

¹AnBen₂ ad an. 1017, p. 131; Chalandon, Domination nor-
mande, pp. 43 and 54-55 note 6; Chalandon apparently overlook-
 ed the entry in the AnBen₂ since he asserts that Ismael appears
 for Meles only in the German sources.

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

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^cId.¹

108 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 1016.²

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.³

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

¹Amari, Storia II 398.

²Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 86 no. 38 and pp. 175-176, documents 37-39a.

³Guillou, 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

¹Guillou, 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

15 This passage seems to be misdated, as was the 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 than 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 brother-in-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

¹The index to any of the volumes of the CDB will show how common the name Silitto was in Byzantine Italy. Bresslau, Jahrbücher, p. 148; cf. Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 44, and Gay, Italie, 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.¹

The castellum 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.²

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.³

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

The Samuel mentioned here is the Tsar of Bulgaria,

¹Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 37, pp. 651-652.

²Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 201-202.

³Böhmer, Urkunden, p. 57.

⁴Grumel, 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 Radoimir, 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.²

112 Guillou identified Basil Mesardonites with the 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

¹Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 348-349; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 310.

²Amari, Storia 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.¹

The proposed emendation, from 'obiit' to 'abiit', is simple, a matter of one single letter. But the substitution of o for 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 is not entirely common. Guillou indicates that a Greek source may lie behind this clause and the following one, and that is probable. But from this probability he goes on to suggest that Lupus took an original ἀπῆλθε, 'he went away', for ἀπέθανε, 'he died'. It is true that the two words have several letters in common, ἀπῆλθε, ἀπέθανε, yet it is difficult to imagine that the letter group ηλ could be taken for ε, or that αω 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 ἀπέρχομαι. 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

¹Guillou, Aspetti, 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 ἀπῆλθε 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.²

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

¹Guillou, Aspetti, pp. 191, 195-196; Lowe, Script, pp. 284-285; Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, and Lampe, Lexicon, s. v.

ἀπέρχομαι.

²Guillou, Aspetti, p. 196; TCI Europa 31 shows the place as Butrint on the inset for the island of Korkira.

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 a genitive. 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 'ἐφονεύθη Λέων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀργυρός'. 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 nominative, 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 Longobardia. The battle had been prepared by Melo, who 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

¹Guillou, 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 l'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 occurred 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 for Melo and the rebels. Leo Ostiensis says that Melo and 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

¹Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 348; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 86 no. 39; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica 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.

¹¹³ 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, Ystoire I 21, p. 28; Wm. Ap. 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, AnBen₁ and AnBen₂ 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.¹

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

¹Mathieu, 'Noms grecs', pp. 299-301, and Wm. Ap. I 84-86 com., p. 265; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 86-87, no. 40, and pp. 176-183, documents nos. 40-49, also 'Boioanne, Basileios' DBI XI 227-229; our Introduction.

²Notae 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.

³TCI 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.¹

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.²

Whom Lupus means by the amīr who died in this year is not clear. On 14 May 1019, Ja^cfar, amīr of Sicily, was deposed, and on 13 February 1021 the fanatical Fatimid caliph al-Hākīm disappeared; could Lupus be referring to either of these? If he means Ja^cfar, 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

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

¹Cf. Gay, Italie, pp. 411-417, Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 57-60, Bresslau, Jahrbücher, pp. 156-157, and Falkenhäusen, Herrschaft, pp. 55-56. Falkenhäusen, op. cit., 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, Syllabus, pp. 18-20, no. 18.

²Amari, Storia II 401; Gay, Italie, p. 417.

at all impossible. If Lupus is speaking of al-Ḥākīm, 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

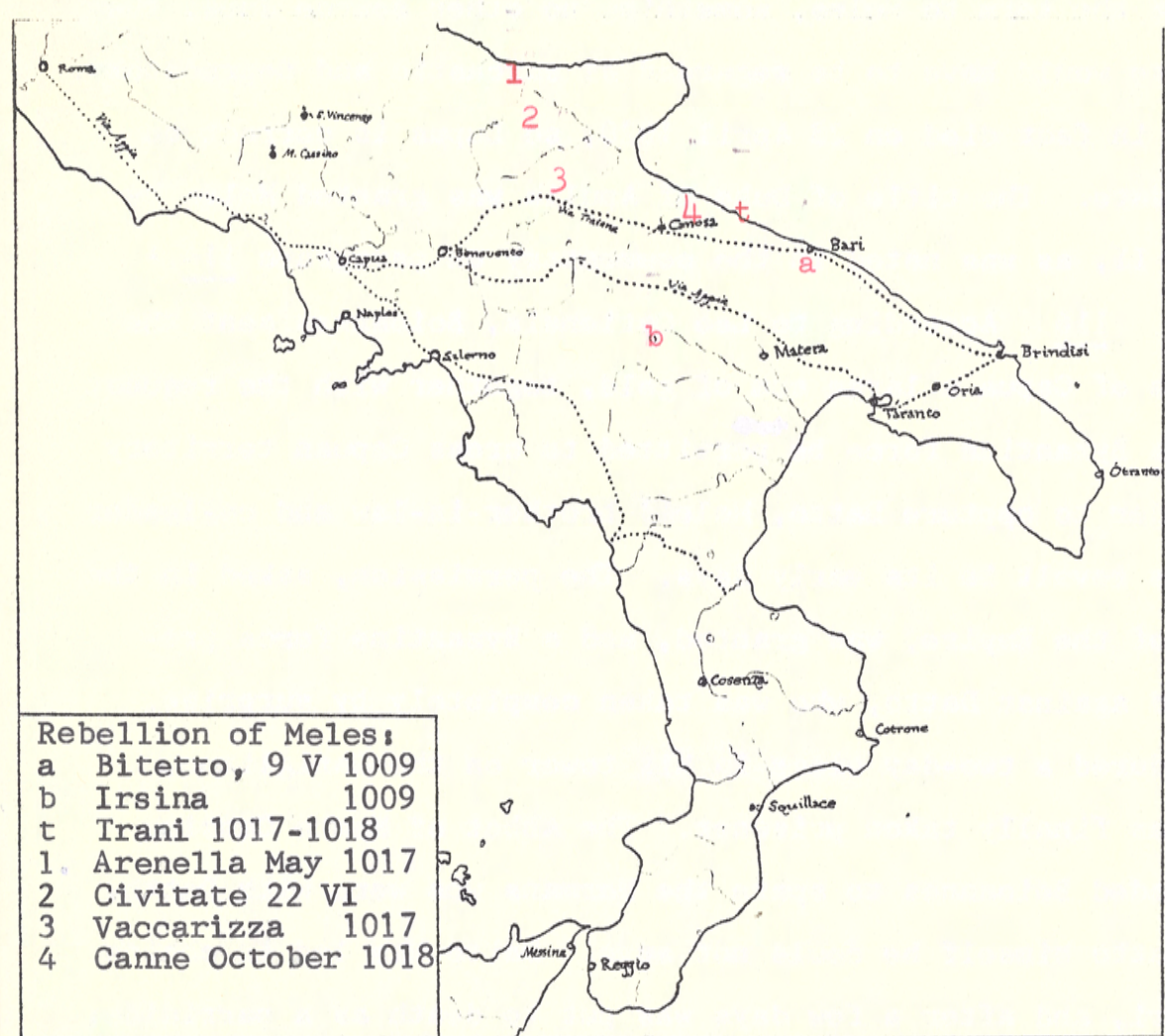
116 According to Leo Ostiensis, Boioannes sent the Prince of Capua a large sum of gold, together with the request that a Byzantine force be permitted to cross Capuan territory in order to capture Datto, Melo's brother-in-law and co-leader of the revolt in its early days. The permission, asked in the 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. In this 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

¹M. Canard, 'Al-Ḥākīm bi Amr Allāh', EI-N III 50; Amari, Storia III

²Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 38, p. 653.

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entry to Jerusalem intended to mock Bateo?
The following chronology of rebel's revolt is based

1. Gagnard, 'Al-Hakim bi Amr Allah', III-9, III 50; Amari,
Storia III
2. Leo Costantini, Chronica II 38, p. 623.

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

June 22
?

December | Kontoleon Tornikios arrives;
Battle at Arenella or Colle d'Arena between
the rebels and the Byzantines under Patianos,
local commander of the exkoubitoi;
Battle at Civitate; Patianos killed;
Battle at Vaccarizza-S. Giusta, the Byzan-
tines are pursued as far as Trani;
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. |

117 Melo was not the only pilgrim to Henry II's court. Pope Benedict VIII also made the trip across the Alps to seek out the emperor in Bamberg and enlist his help. There 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. At the 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 forty days. Naples was pacified without difficulty.¹

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.²

¹Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 62-63 and bibliography.

²The document is summarized and discussed in Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 181-182, no. 46; cf. Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 63-65, and Gay, Italie, pp. 419-422.

118 There is nothing in the Arab sources about this incident, but Amari suggests that the Arabic name reported as Ja^cfar may have been Abū Ja^cfar, 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.¹

119 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 1029.²

120 There is no other record of this hard winter.

121 F. Šišić accounts for this action as follows: Following the defeat of Bulgaria, in the spring of 1018 the rulers of Croatia, the brothers Gojislav 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. Gojislav 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 Italia 3.

²Gams, Series, 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.¹

122 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 1039.²

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

¹F. Šišić, Geschichte der Kroaten (Zagreb 1917), pp. 203-204; Anonymus barensis ad an. 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.¹

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. The 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, Synopsis, p. 378; Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 301, 305; Amari, Storia II 423 and note 1, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, pp. 271-272; cf. Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 88-89, Gay, Italie, pp. 428-429 and Norwich, Conquest, 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

124 The archetypal text of the first clause reads, 'uenit Eustachius cum filiis basilico et mandatorā'. There 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 mandatōr, and that commands from the emperor could be called mandata. One is tempted at first to think that Eustace is an imperial mandator, βασιλικὸς μανδάτωρ. But there is the 'et' between the 'basilico' and 'mandatorā'. Besides that, 'mandatorā' would have to 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

¹The 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'; βα. (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 βα, 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 ἀξία. Although one might have expected 'officium' as a translation, it must be remembered that the range of meanings of 'honor' is fairly well co-extensive with that of ἀξία. 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.²

Boioannes is recalled, along with Orestes. Falkenhausen

¹Oikonomidès, Listes, pp. 298, 310; Lampe, Lexicon, s. v. μανδάρον.

²Cf. Lidell and Scott, Lexicon, and Lampe, Lexicon, s. v. ἀξία, with Lewis and Short, Dictionary, s. v. honor.

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?¹

125 The date generally given for the death of Constantine 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.²

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

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 87-88, no. 41, and 184 document no. 50; Cambridge Chronicle--Greek (ed. Cozza-Luzi), p. 86.

²Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 374; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 321-322.

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.²

128 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.³

129 The capture of Cassano is confirmed by the Greek text of the Cambridge chronicle, which provides the

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, 'Ὁ κατεπάνω Ἰταλίας Πόθος Ἀργυρός', Byzantis 2 (1912) 397-403; Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1029, 1031.

³Grumel, Chronologie, p. 421.

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.¹

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 χρυσοτεμλίνου τοῦ κοιτῶνος καὶ κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου 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 Anátolikon 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.²

131 Constantine Opos arrived in Italy on 1 May 1033, 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

¹Cambridge Chronicle--Greek, p. 340.

²CDB IV table 1; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 88 no. 43, 185 document 54; Oikonomidès, Listes, 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.¹

132 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

18 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

¹Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 88-89, no. 44, and p. 185, documents nos. 55-56.

²Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 389-390; Psellos, Chronographia III 24-26, pp. 49-52; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; cf. Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 323-324.

³Guillou, Aspetti, 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 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.¹

133 At this time Sicily was involved in a civil war. The amīr al-Akhal had requested help from Byzantium, and had been given the title of *μάγιστρος*. 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.¹

Michael Spondyles is not to be identified with Michael Dokeianos, as Amari thought. The deformation of his name may be due to popular pronunciation [sfonðilis]; 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 l, thus: Dukliano, and this letter also seems gratuitous.²

¹Skylitzes, 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.

²Amari, 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. Oikonomidès 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 l in Dokeianos name might have come from a bad reading of a Greek ms, where κελ would probably have been written more or less thus: κλ; 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

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

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, Domination normande, p. 96; Oikonomidès, Listes, 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

It is to be noted that Ahrweiler mentions a seal 'published' by Gustave Schlumberger, of a Choiosfaktes, 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 Choiosfaktes killed by the conterati, then the position of this krites in the provincial administration would need to be reevaluated.²

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.³

¹Guillou, 'Production and Profits', p. 108; A. Petrucci, 'Argiro', DBI IV 127-129; L. Bréhier, 'Argyros', Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris 1930) 94-95.

²Ahrweiler, '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.

³Skylitzes, 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.

¹In this account we follow, in general, the interpretation put forward by Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 91-95; cf. Gay, Italie, 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup>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>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.<sup>1</sup>

The dating phrase, 'decimo septimo intrante' is rather odd, since the consuetudo bononiensis, 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

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<sup>1</sup>Vendola, Apulia 1 and TCI Italia 3.

<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>

22 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 Atenolfo, 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 'capitantes' 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

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<sup>1</sup>Vendola, Apulia 1 and TCI Italia 3.

addition Pisidian and Lykaonian tagmata of the Foideratoi (τῶν φοιδεράτων).<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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>

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<sup>1</sup>Amato, Ystoire II 23 p. 86; Leo Ostiensis, Chronica II 66 pp. 675-676; Mor, 'Difesa', pp. 35-36; Gay, Italie, p. 457; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 426. Mathieu, Wm. Ap. 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>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>3</sup>Skylitzes, Synopsis, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Amato, Ystoire II 24 pp. 86-87; Skylitzes, Synopsis, p. 426; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, 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 did the same. The battle began. The Greeks entered the fort 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. But Atenolfo, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 ἐξαυγουστός, '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

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<sup>1</sup>Amato, 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 au for a is not uncommon in the south Italian sources of the period. There is no truly satisfactory explanation. Ms S and the vulgar mss CART all leave a space before 'tex augustof'; 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

treatment for them. Thus Dokeianos drove the Franks to desert him. When they took up arms against him, he should have gone to meet them with all the Byzantine forces at his disposal, but he did not do this. He took only one tagma of the Opsikianoï 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 foederatoi, and got into another battle with the Franks, who had also had reinforcements in the meantime. This battle was fought at Orai, and again the Byzantines were defeated. The Emperor Michael was not pleased when he learned of this, and replaced Michael Dokeianos with Boioannes. He in turn fought against the Franks, was taken 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

Ostiensis, Malaterra, all speak of the growing success of the rebels and the Normans.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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 the East. In fact, the title 'Duke of Italy' is precisely 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

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<sup>1</sup>Skylitzes, 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.

<sup>2</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

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 fill the power vacuum. Bréhier thinks that Argiro was in fact the leader of the rebellion from the very beginning. Whatever his motives may have been, there is no evidence that Argiro

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

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 Breve chronicon northmannicum 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

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

<sup>2</sup>Mathieu's commentary to Wm. Ap. I 529-557, p. 276; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, 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.<sup>1</sup>

Lupus' form magistrus, found in mss PU, may well be a reflection of a Greek original, which would have carried the form μάγιστρος. 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 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').<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Chronicon breue north. ad an. 1043, col. 1083.

<sup>2</sup>Westerburgh, Chronicon salernitanum, p. 274.

142 Here Lupus begins his second account of the 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

27, 144 The Anonymus says that Giovinazzo was taken by treachery from within, while the AnBa say it was taken by force. There is no real contradiction, since both elements 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 (P) or July (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 Monopoli. The AnBa say that Maniakes did these things in June, and 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-

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<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.<sup>1</sup>

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>2</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 P, available for the first time, is clearly preferable to that of ms U, published in both

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<sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap. I 399; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup>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. The 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 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Oikonomidès, Listes, p. 294; Dölger, Regesten 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, Italie, p. 463; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 93.

tion: laude  $\text{dd}$  P ad laudem  $\text{dd}$  U. The very fact that U contains an abbreviation is unusual, for it is the constant practice of 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  $\text{dd}$  for 'dedit' could easily become  $\text{dd}$ . But a preferable explanation can be found in the standard abbreviations of the Beneventan script, in which  $\text{dd}$  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  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leyden 1976) and Lewis and Short, Dictionary, s. vv. laudare, laus; Lampe, Lexicon, s.v.  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ; E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (New York 1957), vol. I p. 545, s.v.  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ; Lowe, Script, 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.

30, 141 The perfect tense in the clause 'quantos... 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. In fact, 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. It is 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 μάγιστρος, and 'deportavit' may reflect the Greek ἐξορμάω (modern Greek ἐξορμίζω),

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<sup>1</sup>Gay, Italie, pp. 462-463; Anonymus barensis ad an. 1042.

'to sail out of the harbor (de portu)'. 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap. 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

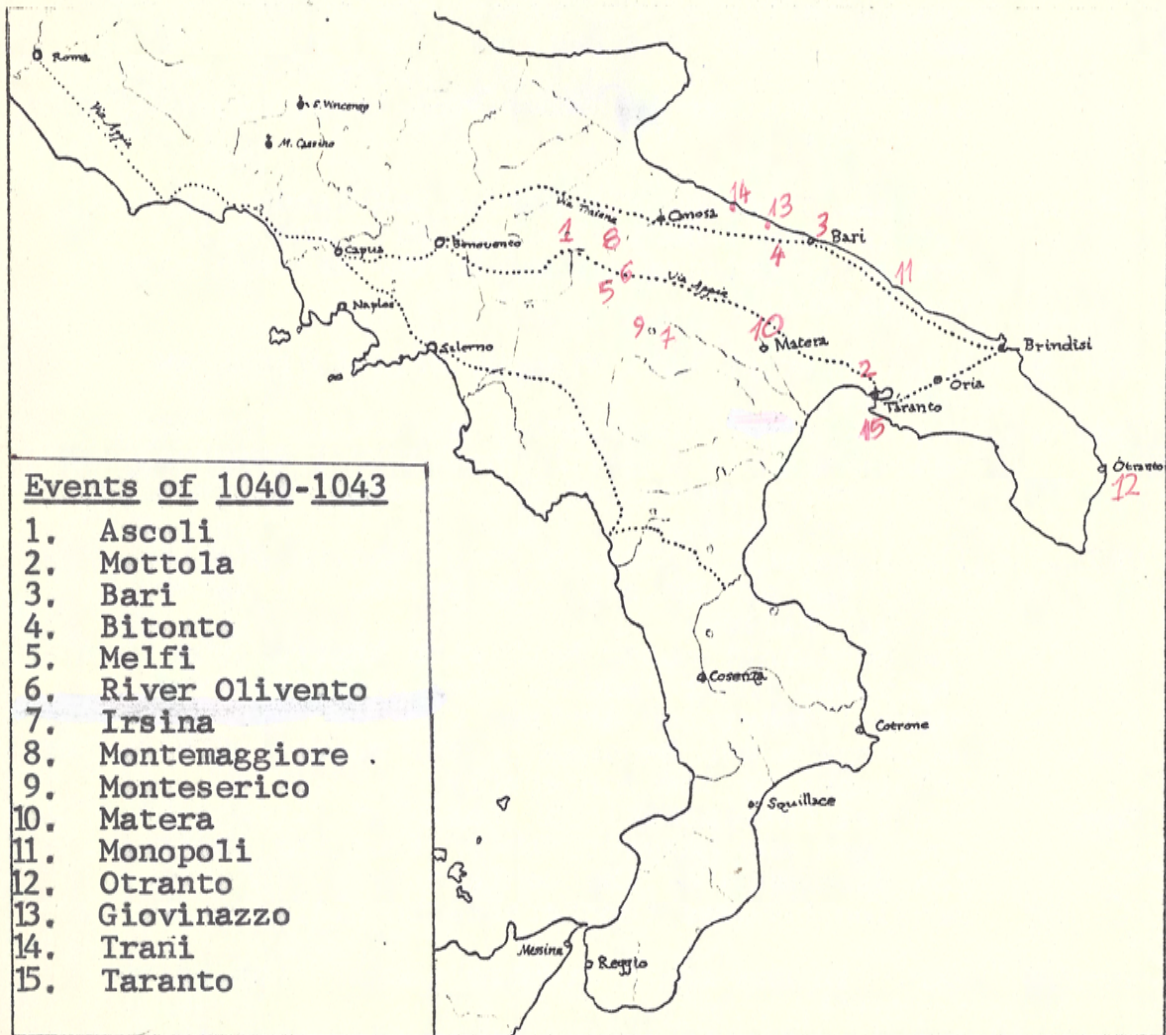
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<sup>1</sup>Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, p. 92, no. 49; Gay, Italie, pp. 463-464; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup>Wm. Ap. I 559-562; Anonymus barensis ad an. 1043; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, 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:

- 1038 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;  
 25 The conterati enter Bari with Argiro, who then imprisons their leader; they are dispersed;  
 Sept.- Michael Dokeianos arrives from Sicily; at Ascoli  
 Nov. 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;  
 May- Reinforcements arrive from Sicily, where the  
 Sept. 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;



Events of 1040-1043

1. Ascoli
2. Mottola
3. Bari
4. Bitonto
5. Melfi
6. River Olivento
7. Irsina
8. Montemaggiore
9. Monteserico
10. Matera
11. Monopoli
12. Otranto
13. Giovinazzo
14. Trani
15. Taranto

- 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-Aug. Trani, still faithful to the Byzantines, is 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.

146  
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 Count William Ironarm became the liegeman of 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.¹

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 catepan, 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 governor? The sources are silent.²

¹Wm. Ap. II 4-13 and Mathieu's note 2 on page 151 as well as her commentary on II 297, p. 287; Amato, Ystoire II 29, pp. 93-95; cf. Garufi, Rom. Sal. Chronicon, p. 179; Chalandon, Dominion normande, p. 107; Gay, Italie, p. 472.

²Wm. Ap. II 14-20 and Mathieu's commentary, p. 278; Skylitzes, Synopsis, pp. 439-442; Anonymus barensis ad ann. 1045, 1048; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, 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.¹

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

¹CDB 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.²

150 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.

¹Jaffé, 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; AnBen₁ and AnBen₂ ad an. 1047, p. 136.

²Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 113-114, although Gay, Italie, 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, Ystoire 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.²

152 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.

153 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

¹Anonymus barensis ad an. 1047; Falkenhausen, Herrschaft, pp. 92-93, no. 52.

²Liber pontificalis II 273 note 1; Chalandon, Domination 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 aristocratic 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.

154 There are different accounts of the death of Drew. 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.¹

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.

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

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.²

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

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

¹AnBen₁ and AnBen₂ 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.

²Wm. Ap., Gesta II 115-121.

³Chron. 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.¹

159 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.²

160 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.³

162 The scribones 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 scribones, 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 scribones, it is not at

¹Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; R. Guillard, '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 Neoellenici, n.s. 8-9 (1971-1972) 7.

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

³Gay, Italie, p. 546.

all easy to imagine what gain a Byzantine strategos would have hoped to derive from such an action. Falkenhausen's hypothesis that the scribonēs of our text is a mis-reading of scriblones, who would be inhabitants of Robert Guiscard's foundation in Calabria (paragraph 146), is attractive; the Greek form, *σκριβωνας*, would then be understood to be a trivialization. If the hypothesis be correct, then Thrymbos slaughtered the inhabitants of the Norman foundation, and thus excited the inhabitants of Calabria, perhaps the other Normans settled there, against him, and had to flee to Constantinople, perhaps after suffering defeat at the hands of the Normans, who in fact made new conquests in Calabria at about this time.¹

163 Isaac I Comnenus 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.² Lupus' dating is off again. The forms 'Michai1' and 'Isaki o Comni' 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.³

¹George 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; Oikonomidēs, Listes, p. 330 and note 251.

²See Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 338.

³Grumel, Chronologie, p. 358; Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 341.

165 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 mean-
 time 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

166 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 com-
 mand 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.³

¹Chron. breve north. ad an. 1061; Gay, Italie, p. 526;
 Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 176.

²Grumel, Chronologie, p. 452; Gay, Italie, p. 528; Cha-
 landon, Domination normande, pp. 212-218.

³Chron. breve north. ad ann. 1059-1061, col. 1085; Falken-
 hausen, Herrschaft, p. 94 no. 54 and pp. 111-112.

168 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 1066.¹

169 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.²

170 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 1068.³

¹Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 178-179.
²Chron. breve north. ad an. 1064, col 1085; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1064, p. 186; Chalandon, op. cit., pp. 179-182.
³Malaterra, Historia sicula II 36, pp. 46-47; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1065, p. 186; Chalandon, op. cit., pp. 182-184, 204.

171 The manuscript reading, Lofredus, is evidently 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 Normans. 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.²

173 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 Comnena, Alexiad IV iii 1, vol. I 148-149, where the name of the Greek commander, perhaps the same as this Maurikas, appears as Μαυρίξ; 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 1071.¹ 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.

174 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 northern cousins. The attempt to identify south Italian Normans among those rewarded by William lies outside the scope of this paper, but might prove an interesting project.²

175 According to William of Apulia, Godfrey had been 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

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

¹Grumel, Chronologie, p. 368.

²Guy 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', Papers of the British School at Rome (n.s. 9) 22 (1954) 124-125.

³Chron. breve north. ad an. 1068, col. 1085; Malaterra, Historia sicula II 39, p. 48; Gay, Italie, p. 536; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 184.

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 city. 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. The 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 ring-leaders 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 1071.¹

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.

177 This entry is connected with the major reason
 ~~~~ 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

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<sup>1</sup>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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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

184 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.¹

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 1075.²

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, Domination normande, pp. 206-211; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 174-184.

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

²Malaterra, Historia sicula 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 1081.¹

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

¹Wm. 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 been. 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. Then 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.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the leader of the troops that came to

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<sup>1</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.

191, 195, 198 In the spring of 1078, Robert married 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. The 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.<sup>1</sup>

192 Michael VII had initiated policies that not 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.<sup>2</sup>

193 Nothing is known of the cause of these deaths 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.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup>See Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, pp. 346-348.

<sup>3</sup>AnBen<sub>1</sub> and AnBen<sub>2</sub> 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.

197 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 i-longa, which ascended from the line, and was frequently mistaken for 'l' 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).

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<sup>1</sup>Antonio Balducci, 'Canione', Bibliotheca Sanctorum 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.

199 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.<sup>1</sup>

200-201, 204, 196 Upon the deposition of Michael VII Dukas (7 January 1078), the engagement between Constantine Dukas and Robert Guiscard's daughter Helena was broken off. 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 expedition. In the spring of 1081, Robert sent off a preliminary 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 forces. In May, Robert sailed with the main force and joined the other at Butrint. Just a month before, Nicephorus III

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<sup>1</sup>Wm. Ap., Gesta III 655-698; Letopis popa Dukljanina, ed. F. Šišić, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Posebna Izdaña Kniga 67, Folosofski i Filološki Spisi, Kniga 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. Then 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>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  
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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 Ra-  
venna, 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. Robert  
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 Durrës), 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 crown. 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 May 1084. They entered the city on the evening of the twenty-seventh, 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.<sup>1</sup>

203 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>

204 See paragraph 200.

205 See paragraph 202.

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<sup>1</sup>Wm. 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, Dominatio normande, pp. 271-278; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 234-243.

<sup>2</sup>Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 5-25, 56-85, 111-128.

206     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 em-  
 peror, who is only too happy to do anything likely to dis-  
 tract the Normans from their campaign in Greece. Although  
 there has been some dispute about the date of Abelard's pas-  
 sing 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 trans-  
 mit gold and precious stuffs from Byzantium to the West; he  
 may have been a conduit for Byzantine funds and influence  
 in Apulia as well.<sup>1</sup>

207     The same Arnaldo mentioned above in para-  
 graph 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 recon-  
 quest of Canne is one of the actions he had to take to quell  
 the rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

212 See paragraph 202.  
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213-214 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. And 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. Kassiope is a city of the NE corner of Kerkira. The 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 Kassiope, 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. Anna 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

¹Anna Comnena, Alexiad VI v 3-9, vol. II pp. 51-54; Wm. 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; Chandon, 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.
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 The Annales beneventani note that there was much rain in this year, over a period of five months.<sup>1</sup>

216-217 After his victory over the Venetian fleet  
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 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 To Kastro. Instead, the ship put in at the northern end of 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 Comnena 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 heir. 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

¹AnBen, 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.²

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

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

²F. Nitti di Vito, 'La traslazione delle reliquie di San Nicola', Japigia 8 (1937) 295-411; Λόγος εις την ανανομιδήν του Λειψάνου του σοφίου πατρός ημών και θαυματότερου Νικολάου, ed. G. Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche: 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.²

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.³

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

¹Grumel, Chronologie, p. 432; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 290-294; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 261-266.

²Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316.

³Malaterra, Historia sicula IV 9-10, pp. 90-91; Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1088, p. 198; Chalandon, Domination normande, 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.¹

222 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.²

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.³

224 Romualdo of Salerno gives a few more details, and says that no house, no building survived the conflagra-

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

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

³Locc. citt.

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

225 Jordan of Capua died on 20 November 1090, and was succeeded by his son Richard.²

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 6599.³

227 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

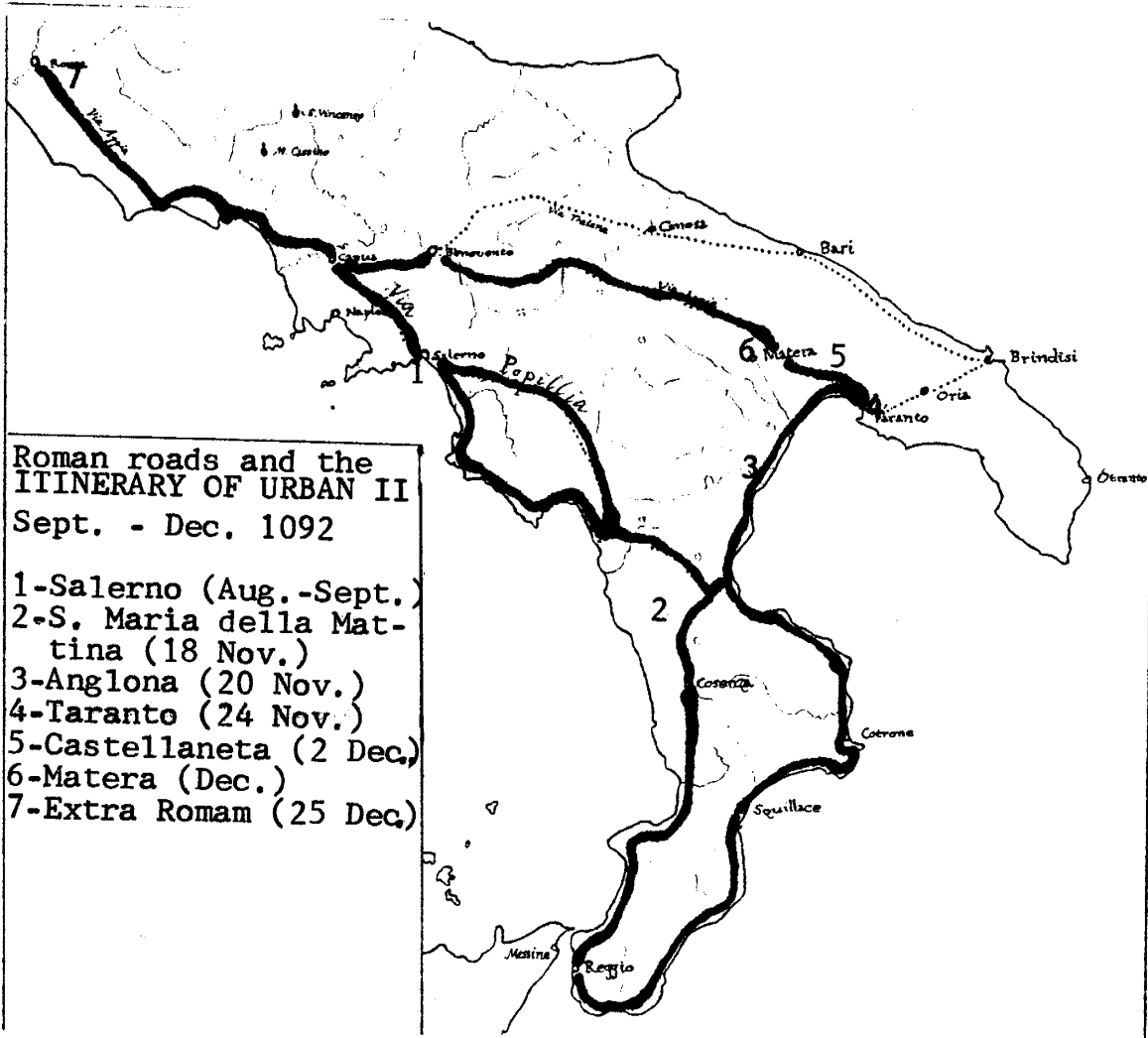
228-229 In paragraph 228 there is a clear choice to be made between the manuscript readings for the month of the death of the abbess, and the division is between the two families of manuscripts, so that purely textual criteria fail in this case. The itinerary of Urban II, if properly established, might provide the clue to the correct reading.

¹Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1090, p. 199; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 341.

²Grumel, Chronologie, p. 425.

³Grumel, Chronologie, pp. 256, 270, 277.

⁴Rom. Sal., Chronicon ad an. 1091, p. 199; Chalandon, Domination normande, 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

¹Jaffé-Loewenfeld, Regesta I 664-665; V. Chapot, 'Via,

230 In the year 1095, 4 April fell on Wednesday
 (~~~ ('feria quarta'); hence the restoration of the word 'quarta'
 between angle brackets, in the belief that the second occur-
 rence 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 Novem-
 ber 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' ex-
 pression is not as exaggerated as it may at first seem.¹

231 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 num-
 bers of men from the army was the result, and caused the
 leaders to abandon the siege.²

232 The 'Comes sancti Egidii' is Raymond of Saint-
 (~~~ Gilles, of which name 'Egidius' is the Latin form. The Count

 route ou rue', Dictionnaire des antiquités grecs et romaines,
 ed. Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio et all., vol. V (Paris 1917) pp.
 777-817, esp. p. 798; the work published by the Società Con-
 cessionari e Costruzioni Autostrade p. A., Comunicazioni stra-
 dali attraverso i tempi, 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.

¹Grumel, Chronologie, p. 316; Runciman, Crusades I 107 ff.;
 Peter Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West and the First Crusade',
Byzantion 19 (1949) 17-36.

²Runciman, Crusades I 106-133, 142-171; Chalandon, Domini-
 nation normande, pp. 301-302; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 276-277;
 the Byzantine reaction to and handling of the beginnings of
 the first Crusade is found in Anna Comnena, Alexiad X v-vii,
 vol. II pp. 205-236.

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 1097.¹

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.²

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.³

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-

¹Runciman, Crusades I 175-183; Anna Comnena, Alexiad XI i-ii, vol. III pp. 7-16.

²Runciman, Crusades I 213-215; Anna Comnena, Alexiad XI iv, vi, vol. III pp. 19-23, 27-32.

³Petrus diaconus, Chronica IV 10; Malaterra, Historia sicula IV 26 ff.; Chalandon, Domination normande, pp. 303-304; Norwich, Conquest, 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.¹

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.²

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

¹Eadmer, Vita₁ pp. 884-885, Vita₂ 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.

²Runciman, Crusades I 279-293, 312-324; Anna Comnena, Alexiad XI vi 9, vol. III p. 32; Grumel, Chronologie, p. 432.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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

¹Runciman, Crusades II 73.

²Rom. sal., Chronicon ad an. 1101, pp. 202-203; Chalandon, Domination normande, p. 354; Norwich, Conquest, pp. 277-284; Gams, Series, p. 843.

IV. APPENDIX: ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IV. English Translation

The Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospa-tharii appear here for the first time in English. The translation is not word-for-word; rather, every effort has been made to render the sense and the information of the original in clear, readable and smooth, if not quite colloquial English.

Personal names and place names

Personal names and place names receive some special treatment. The chronicles speak of persons of several ethnic and linguistic spheres. When these persons can be identified, they are mentioned in the translation by the correct form of their names, in transliteration in the case of Greeks and Arabs.¹ Natives of the Italian peninsula appear in Italian guise; 'Stephanus archiepiscopus' becomes 'archbishop Stefano', 'Pandolfus' becomes 'Pandolfo'. Norman names are usually rendered by their English equivalents; where there is none, then a French form is used; thus 'Guidelmus comes' becomes 'Count William', but 'Petronus' becomes 'Pierron'. Where English equivalents exist for Greek personal names, these are used; otherwise the names appear in transcription; thus 'Constantine', not 'Kōnstantinos', but 'Boioannes' for 'Bujano'. The Popes

¹The principles which govern the transcription of Arabic and Greek names are to be found in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts 1965), p. 26, except that the Arabic article is usually transcribed 'al', and the Greek χ is transcribed as kh; vowel quantities are not always indicated.

and the German emperors are already known in the English-speaking world under English forms, and these are retained in the present translation. The same practice is followed for well-known Byzantine emperors. Where it seemed useful, persons are further identified in the translation, usually by including a little further information in brackets after the name; thus 'papa Vrbanus' becomes 'Pope Urban [II]', and 'imperator Constantinus' becomes 'the Emperor Constantine [VII Porphyrogenitus]*.

Places noted in the chronicles are rendered in the translation by the modern name of the place; thus 'ciuitas Montispilosi' is rendered by 'the city of Irsina', 'apud montem Majorem' becomes 'at Montemaggiore', 'Ciperanum' appears as 'Ceprano'. When the place is well known under an English form, however, this is used; thus 'Rome', 'Naples' and not 'Roma', 'Napoli'.

Numbers

The numbers which precede each paragraph of the translation refer to the corresponding paragraph of the Latin text. The index nominum et rerum and the commentary are keyed to these numbers as well to facilitate reference from one part of the work to the other.

ANNALES BARENSES

- 1 The year 605. The death of Pope St. Gregory. Phocas reigned eight years.
- 2 The year 612. Domitian reigned fifteen years, Heraclius twenty-six.
- 3 The year 782. This year King Charles celebrated Holy Easter in Rome, and his son Pepin was baptized by Pope Adrian.
- 4 The year 902. This year Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmad, the king of the Saracens, descended on Calabria, and died in Cosenza in the church of St. Pancratius.
- 5 The year 924. This year Oria was captured by the Saracen people in the month of July, and the death of Eusebius in Clauso.
- 6 The year 928. This year Michael [of Zachlunia], king of the Slavs, captured the city of Siponto on the feast of St. Felicity, Monday [10] July, in the fifteenth indiction.
- 7 The year 929. This year Taranto was captured by the Saracen people on the Solemnity of St. Mary in the month of August.
- 8 The year 931. This year Ambrose, bishop of Milan, died.
- 9 The year 949. This year the Hungarians invaded Italy, and went all the way to Otranto. And there was death among the cattle. And Platipodi besieged Conversano.
- 10 The year 979. This year the monastery of St. Benedict in Bari was begun by the venerable abbot, Dom Gerolamo.
- 11 The year 981. This year the inhabitants of Siponto and those of Ascoli fought a battle in the valley of the Somilo.

12 The year 996. This year Matera was besieged for three months running by the wicked race of the Saracens, and in the fourth month -- that is, September -- they took it by force; a certain woman ate her son there.

13 The year 1003. This year the city of Bari was besieged by Saphi [=Luke], the apostate and qā'id. The siege lasted from May until 22 September, and then the city was liberated by Pietro [II Orseolo] the Doge of Venice, of happy memory.

14 The year 1011. This year on 9 May Longobardia rebelled with Melo against [John] Kurkouas, and they fought a battle in Bitetto, where many Baresi fell. And Ismā'īl fought a battle with the Greeks, at Irsina; and Patianos fell there.

15 The year 1013. This year Bari was besieged by the catepan Basil, surnamed Mesardonites, on 20 April, and after sixty-one days he made peace with them, and entered the citadel of Bari, where the chief Greeks now have their headquarters.

16 The year 1021. Here Basil Boioannes fought a battle with the Franks [=Normans] and beat them in the city of Canne.

17 The year 1027. This year Orestes the koitonites came to Italy with a large army -- that is, an army of Russians, Vandals, Turks, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Macedonians and others -- to take Sicily; and Reggio was rebuilt by the catepan Boioannes. But in the following year, burdened by sin, the Emperor Basil [II] died, and all of these men returned with nothing accomplished.

18 The year 1035. Here, on the feast of the Epiphany,

the bishop Bisanzio died. He was a most pious father to the orphans, the founder of the holy church of the diocese of Bari, the guardian and defender of the whole city, terrible and fearless against all Greeks. Romualdo the protospatharius was elected by the whole people in that diocese, but in the month of April the emperor summoned him into exile in Constantinople. And on 9 August Nicola was elected.

19 The year 1040. Here on 9 January the catepan Nicephorus Dokeianos died in the city of Ascoli; and on 5 May, Michael the judge, known also as Khoirosfaktes, was killed under the castle of Mottola by the konteratoi, and on the twenty-fifth they all came into the city of Bari with Argiro, the son of Mel. Then Argiro wounded Musondo, who was first among them, and after binding his hands, threw him into prison with Giovanni of Ostuni; and all the konteratoi were dispersed.

20 The year 1041. Here the protospatharius and catepan Michael, known as Dokeianos the younger, came from Sicily into Longobardia. In the month of November he entered Bari; and he ordered that four men be hanged on a gibbet on the Bilitonto wall.

21 On 17 March, there was a battle between the Normans and the Greeks near the river Olivento, and many Russians and Opsikianoi fell there. But Dokeianos himself took flight to Irsina with the part of the army that survived the battle.

22 Then in the month of May, when all the Greeks had gathered together at Montemaggiore near the river Ofanto, a battle was begun on the fourth; in it perished many Anatolikoi

and Opsikianoi, Russians, Thracians, Calabrians, Longobardi and troops of the catepan; and the priest Angelo, bishop of Troia, and Stefano, bishop of Acerenza, were killed there. For indeed, as is said by all who know these things, there were hardly more than 2000 Normans, but there were 18,000 Greeks, not counting the servants.

23 Then Michael, on his return from the battle, crushed, along with the few men who survived -- and those only half alive, for fear of the savage Normans -- wrote to Sicily, and the wretched Macedonians and Paulicians and Calabrians came <at his summons>. And after they had gathered together with the others in a redoubt at Irsina, then the catepan <Boioannes>, the son of Boioannes, arrived in Apulia; and Michael, at the Emperor's command, returned to Sicily whence he had come.

24 The year 1042. This year, on 3 September, the armies of the Greeks came down from Irsina, and the Normans from the castle on Monteserico. Between the two mountains they engaged in a very great battle, in which all the wretched Macedonians fell; and few were left of the rest of the army. Indeed, Boioannes was taken alive there, and carried through all Apulia to the district of Benevento. For -- as those who took part in that battle say truly -- there were seven hundred Normans, and ten thousand Greeks.

25 Afterwards, when the third battle (just mentioned) was over, the inhabitants of Matera and Bari entered into a pact with the Franks [=Normans] since there was no one who could deliver them out of their power. Then in the month of February, the

Normans and the citizens of Bari elected Argiro, the son of Melo as their Prince and Seigneur.

26 In the month of April, Maniakes the magistros arrived in Taranto, united all the Greek forces, and built a palisade in a place called Tara. Then Argiro wrote to the Normans in Aversa and in Melfi, and all of them, about seven thousand, gathered together in Mottola. Then the evil Maniakes, along with the entire army, terrified with an excessive fear of the enemy, fled by night; and they closed themselves up in Taranto. But the Normans, while they were stationed before the land gate seeking battle, and there was really no one to challenge them, plundered the entire district of Oria; and thus they went home.

27 But in the month of July the wretched inhabitants of Giovinazzo, after a pact had been made with the Greeks who were staying in Trani --- the Prince Argiro surrounded the wretched city of Giovinazzo with the Normans and the Baresi, and -- alas! -- on the third day of the siege, it was taken by force, and stripped of everything movable. Moreover, the Greeks who were there were killed, sixteen if I am not mistaken. As to the people, both men and women, the prince freed them from the hands of the Normans, by urgent entreaty.

28 But afterwards, when the inhabitants of Trani did not agree with the Baresi in carrying on evil, in the last week of the month of July, the prince with the Normans and the Baresi besieged it for thirty-six days; and he hemmed it in closely with battles and calamities, for he had had built there a tower

of timbers -- it was such as has nowhere been seen human eyes in modern times.

29 But Argiro, after receiving imperial letters confederatory and the honors of a patrician-anthipatus and vestes, ordered all the siege engines to be burned. And thus they returned to Bari, and with their fellow citizens they acclaimed the holy Emperor Constantine [IX] Monomachus.

30 But enough of this; now I will return the report to Maniakes' impious behavior. So then, as I said, when the Normans were far from his borders, and the army was gathered together in one body, in the month of June, Maniakes marched off to Matera, in one night; there, impious wretch, he caused to be killed before the eyes of the inhabitants of Matera all those he had captured earlier in the fields or wherever, more than two hundred persons. The impious man did not fear to do the same when he made a second march to Monopoli.

31 The year 1043. In this year in the month of September, Tubakes the protospatharios, Pardos the patrician, and Nicola the archbishop arrived in Otranto with a gold-sealed letter of pardon. Then the iniquitous Maniakes, going out to meet them with a false peace, ordered Pardos killed immediately by the sword, and Tubakes imprisoned; and in the month of October he had Tubakes, too, killed in the same way.

ANNALES LUPI PROTOSPATHARII

32 The year of the Lord 855, the third indiction, two
hundred fifty-two years after the death of Pope St. Gregory.

33 The year 860, the eighth indiction. This year the
city of Bari was captured by the emperor of Constantinople.

34 The year 861, the ninth indiction. This year the Em-
peror Michael [III] died, and his parakoimomenos Basil [I]
ascended the throne, and reigned twenty-one years himself
alone, and nine with his sons.

35 The year 866, the fourteenth indiction. This year
the Emperor Louis [II] entered Benevento.

36 The year 867, the fifteenth indiction. This year Ma-
tera was burned by the Emperor Louis [II]; and the same Emper-
or Louis entered the city of Oria.

37 The year 868, the first indiction. This year the
Agarenes were driven out of the city of Bari by
the Franks, on 3 February; and in the same year the afore-
mentioned Louis was taken prisoner in Benevento.

38 The year 875, the eighth indiction. This year the
Greeks entered Bari in December, on Christmas day, a Tuesday;
Gregory was the strategos, and was also called the Baieulos.

39 The year 880, the thirteenth indiction. This year the
Agarenes evacuated Taranto.

40 The year 884, the second indiction. This year Prince
Aio ascended the throne [of Benevento] in the month of October.

41 The year 885, the third indiction. This year the Em-
peror Basil [I] died, and Leo [VI] and Alexander, his sons,

began to rule; they ruled twenty-six years by themselves, and nine years with him.

42 The year 886, the fourth indiction. This year there was a disaster in Bari in the month of June, when the Prince [Aio] fought a battle with the strategos [Constantine, the epi tēs trapezēs] and the Greeks.

43 The year 890, the eighth indiction. This year Prince Aio died, and his brother Ursus ascended the throne.

44 The year 891, the ninth indiction. This year the Greeks entered Benevento in the month of October, and the strategos Sabbatikhios entered Siponto in the month of June.

45 The year 894, the twelfth indiction. This year the Greeks were driven out of Benevento in the month of August, by the Franks.

46 The year 900, the third indiction. This year the strategos Melisianos arrived in Apulia.

47 The year 901, the fourth indiction. This year Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad, the king of the Saracens, descended on Calabria, went off to the city of Cosenza, and was struck down by a bolt of lightning.

48 The year 912, the fifteenth indiction. This year is the fifth centenary of the death of St. Martin [of Tours].

49 The year 913, the first indiction. This year Constantine [VII Porphyrogenitus], the son of the aforementioned Leo [VI] was crowned emperor, and reigned for forty-seven years.

50 The year 916, the fourth indiction. This year the Agarenes evacuated Garigliano. And three hundred fifty years

have passed since the Longobardi invaded Italy under their King Alboin.

51 The year 919, the seventh indiction. This year, eighty years have passed since the Agarenes invaded Italy.

52 The year 920, the eighth indiction. This year the Hungarians -- that is, the Huns -- invaded Italy in the month of February.

53 The year 921, the ninth indiction. This year the strategos Oursoleon died in battle at Ascoli in the month of April; and Landolfo [I of Benevento] took Apulia.

54 The year 924, the twelfth indiction. This year Oria was taken by the Saracens in the month of July. And they killed all the males, but led the rest away to Africa, and sold them.

55 The year 926, the fourteenth indiction. This year Michael [of Zachlunia], king of the Slavs, took Siponto in the month of July.

56 The year 927, the fifteenth indiction. This year the fall of Taranto was brought about, and all those who fought bravely were cut down; but the rest were carried off to Africa. This happened in the month of August, on [the fifteenth] the festivity of St. Mary.

57 The year 929, the second indiction. This year the Princes Landolfo [I of Benevento] and Guaimario [II of Salerno] invaded Apulia.

58 The year 936, the ninth indiction. This year the Hungarians reached Capua.

59 The year 939, the twelfth indiction. This year, on Tues-
 day [=Friday], 19 July, at the third hour, the sun was eclipsed
 and the stars appeared; the moon was in its twenty-ninth day.

60 The year 940, the thirteenth indiction. This year
 the Hungarians invaded Italy in the month of April. And in
 the same year there was a battle in Matera between the Greeks
 and the Longobardi, with the strategos Limnagalaktos; and he
 executed Pao in the sea.

61 The year 942, the fifteenth indiction. This year
 prince Landolfo [I of Benevento] died on 21 April.

62 The year 945, the third indiction. This year Romanus
 and Hugo died in the month of December. And the Hungarians
 were killed by King Otto [I].

63 The year 946, the fourth indiction. This year a slaughter
 was committed in Bari, in the month of December -- among the
 citizens.

64 The year 947, the fifth indiction. This year the Hun-
 garians invaded Italy and went all the way to Otranto. And
 Platopodes besieged the city of Conversano. And in the same
 year there was the death of cattle throughout all the land.

65 The year 950, the eighth indiction. This year the
 Greeks besieged Ascoli, and took it.

66 The year 951, the ninth indiction. This year Mala-
 kianos fought a battle with the Saracens in Calabria, and
 fell there.

67 The year 955, the thirteenth indiction. The patrician
 Marianos arrived in Apulia.

68 The year 956, the fourteenth indiction. This year

Maranzio, Clemente and Excelsula were burned [to death] in Bari.

69 The year 960, the third indiction. This year the Emperor Constantine [VII Porphyrogenitus] died after a reign of forty-seven years; and his son Romanus [II] ascended the throne. And there was a battle between Adralisto and Ismā^CII.

70 The year 961, the fourth indiction. This year the island of Crete was taken by the Greeks under Romanus in the month of March; and Taormina was captured by the Saracens. And the sun was eclipsed.

71 The year 963, the sixth indiction. This year the Emperor Romanus [II] died, and Nicephorus [II Phocas] was raised to the throne, and reigned seven years. And King Otto [I] entered Rome; and the sun was eclipsed.

72 The year 965, the eighth indiction. This year the patrician Manuel invaded Sicily, and died there.

73 The year 966, the ninth indiction. This year the magistros Nicephorus entered the city of Bari. And four hundred years have passed since the Longobardi entered Italy.

74 The year 967, the tenth indiction. This year old King Otto [I], King Otto [II]'s father, descended [into Italy]; he fought with Abū al-Qāsim, the king of the Saracens, and killed him.

75 The year 969, the twelfth indiction. This year King Otto [II] invaded Apulia in the month of March, and laid siege to the city of Bari, but with no results. And in the following year he invaded Calabria in the month of October. And the sun was eclipsed in the month of December.

along with their king, Abū al-Qāsim by name.

85 The year 982, the tenth indiction. This year the city of Bari was betrayed into the hands of the patrician Kalokyros, called also Delphina, by the two brothers Sergio and Teofilatto, on the eleventh of June. And King Otto [II] died at Rome.

86 The year 983, the eleventh indiction. This year the aforementioned patrician Delphina captured the city of Ascoli in the month of December.

87 The year 985, the thirteenth indiction. This year the patrician Romanus arrived in Apulia with his son.

88 The year 986, the fourteenth indiction. This year the Saracens captured the city of Gerace, and laid waste all of Calabria.

89 The year 987, the fifteenth indiction. This year the protospatharius Sergio was killed by the Baresi in the month of February, on the fifteenth. And in the same year Adralisto was killed by Nicholas the krites in the month of August, the fifteenth day. And the sun was eclipsed.

90 The year 988, the first indiction. This year the Saracens depopulated the suburbs of Bari, and led the men and women off to Sicily as captives.

91 The year 989, the second indiction. This year in the month of February the patrician John Ammiropoulos arrived, and killed Leo of Canne and Nicholas the krites and Porphyrios.

92 The year 990, the third indiction. This year Bubali and Peter the exkoubitos were killed in the month of March.

93 The year 991, the fourth indiction. This year Count
 Atto fought a battle with the Saracens in Taranto, and he
 fell there with many Baresi.

94 The year 992, the fifth indiction. This year there
 was great famine in all of Italy, and grain was very expensive.

95 The year 993, the sixth indiction. This year Arch-
 bishop Pao died, and Chrysostom was raised to the throne.

96 The year 994, the seventh indiction. This year Matera
 was besieged by the Saracen people for three months, and was
 taken by them in the fourth month.

97 The year 997, the tenth indiction. This year the
 merarch Theodore the exkoubitos was killed in the city of
 Oria by the brothers Smaragdo and Pietro.

98 The year 998, the eleventh indiction. This year the
 qā'id Abū as-Sayyid came with the above mentioned Smaragdo to
 Bari in the month of October, and the said Smaragdo, mounted,
 entered Bari by force at the western gate, and then went out
 again. Then Abū as-Sayyid realized the delusion, and went
 away.

99 The year 999, the twelfth indiction. This year the
 catepan Gregory Tarchaneiotes arrived, laid siege to the city
 of Gravina, and made a prisoner of Teofilatto.

100 The thousandth year since the Lord's Incarnation, the
 thirteenth indiction. This year the above mentioned Smaragdo
 was captured by Tarchaneiotes in the month of July, on the
 eleventh. And in the same year King Otto [III] died in Rome.

101 The year 1002, the fifteenth indiction. This year the

qā'id Saphi [=Luke] besieged Bari from 30 May until the feast of St. Luke in the month of October [18 October]; and then the city was liberated by Pietro [II Orseolo], Doge of the Venetians.

102 The year 1003, the first indiction. This year the
~~~~~  
Saracens laid siege to Montescaglioso in the month of March, but gained nothing.

103     The year 1005, the third indiction. This year Durrës  
~~~~~  
was restored to the Emperor's power through Theodore.

104 The year 1006, the fourth indiction. This year the
~~~~~  
catepan Xyphias arrived in the month of July.

105     The year 1007, the fifth indiction. This year the  
~~~~~  
afore-mentioned catepan died in the city of Bari.

106 The year 1008, the sixth indiction. This year the
~~~~~  
patrician [John] Kourkouas arrived in the month of May.

107     The year 1009, the seventh indiction. This year there  
~~~~~  
was an extraordinarily heavy snowfall, and because of it the olive trees withered up, and the birds and fish died. And in the month of May the rebellion was begun. And in the month of August the Saracens took the city of Cosenza after breaking the treaty; the qā'id was called Sati [=Luke].

108 The year 1010, the eighth indiction. This year [John]
~~~~~  
Kourkouas died, and the catepan Basil Mesardonites arrived in the month of March. And Silitto burned the men in the city of Trani.

109     The year 1014, the twelfth indiction. This year the  
~~~~~  
Emperor Henry [II] came to Rome in the month of February, and Cassano was burned down in the month of August.

110 The year 1015, the thirteenth indiction. This year
 a comet appeared in the month of February. And King Samuel
 [Komitopoulos of Bulgaria] died, and his son [Gabriel Romanus]
 began to reign.

111 The year 1016, the fourteenth indiction. This year
 [Gabriel Romanus] the son of the afore-mentioned Samuel was
 killed by his cousin [John Vladislav], the son of Aaron, and
 he began to reign. And the city of Salerno was besieged by
 the Saracens, by land and by sea, but they accomplished nothing.

112 The year 1017, the fifteenth indiction. This year the
 catepan Mesardonites went away to Butrint. And in the month
 of November his brother, Leo Argyros, was killed. And in this
 year the catepan [Kontoleon] Tornikios arrived in the month
 of May. And the exkoubitos Leo Patianos fought a battle with
 Melo and the Normans. Again on 22 June the afore-mentioned
 catepan Tornikios fought a battle with and beat Melo and the
 Normans; and Patianos died there. And in the same year Konto-
 leon [Tornikios] arrived.

113 The year 1018, the first indiction. This year the
 catepan Basil -- he was also called Boioannes -- and the
 patrician Abalantes arrived in the month of December. And
 the topoteretes Ligorios fought a battle in Trani, and the
 protospatharius Joannacius was killed there; and Romoaldo
 was captured and deported to Constantinople.

114 The year 1019, the second indiction. This year the
 above-mentioned Boioannes fought a battle with the Franks
 [=Normans] in the month of October, and won, and Melo fled

koitonites Orestes arrived in the month of April. And then Giovanni, bishop of Bari, died, and Bisanzio was made archbishop.

124 The year 1029, the twelfth indiction. This year Eustace arrived with his sons and an imperial mandaton, and brought the office of catepan to Christopher; and the aforementioned Orestes went to Constantinople with Boioannes.

125 And in this year the Emperor Constantine [VIII] died on the vigil of the feast of St. Martin [11 November]; while he was still alive, he set Romanus [III Argyros] on his throne, and gave him as wife his daughter Zoe.

126 In the meantime, Rayca and Ja'cfar [al-Akhal] laid siege to the town of Uggiano, where the inhabitants made peace with them by handing over the foreigners.

127 And in the month of July the catepan Pothos [Argyros] came and fought a battle with Rayca in Bari.

128 In this year died Guaimario [IV], Prince of Salerno.

129 The year 1031, the fourteenth indiction. This year, in the month of June, the Saracens took the city of Cassano. And on 29 July, Pothos [Argyros] fought a battle with the Saracens, and the Greeks fell.

130 The year 1032, the fifteenth indiction. This year <...> oikeiakōn and koitonites [Michael] arrived, and brought with him the Anatolikoi.

131 The year 1033, the first indiction. This year on 1 May Constantine the protospatharius, also called Opos, the catepan

of Italy, arrived.

132 The year 1034, the second indiction. This year on
 11 April, the Emperor Romanus [III Argyros] died, and the
 Emperor Michael [IV the Paphlagonian] ascended [the throne]. And
 Argiro of Bari departed for Constantinople.

133 The year 1038, the sixth indiction. This year the
 patrician and duke Michael, also called Spondyles, arrived,
 and with the patrician [George] Maniakes he crossed
 over to Sicily.

134 The year 1039, the seventh indiction. This year in
 the month of February the catepan Nicephorus, who was also
 called Dokeianos, arrived.

135 The year 1040, the eighth indiction. This year the
 afore-mentioned Dokeianos gathered the konteratoi from Apulia;
 and the afore-mentioned konteratoi killed Khoirosfactes, the
 imperial kritēs, below Mottola, and Romano of Matera in the
 month of May.

136 And in the same month Argiro the son of Mele laid siege
 to the city of Bari; he wounded Musando and put him in chains,
 and entered Bari with him; and the konteratoi were dispersed.

137 The year 1041, the ninth indiction. This year [Michael]
 Dokeianos arrived from Sicily and went off to Ascoli. And in
 the month of March the Lombard Arduino called together the
 Normans in Apulia, in the city of Melfi; and the afore-mentioned
 Dokeianos fought a battle with the Normans on Tuesday [17 March]
 and the Greeks fell. And in the month of May, on Wednesday
 [4 May], the Normans again fought with the Greeks; and Dokeia-

nos fled to Bari.

138 The year 1042, the tenth indiction. This year <Boio-
 annes> †the distinguished† came and fought a battle with the
 Normans on 3 September, and was taken on the battlefield and
 carried off to Melfi.

139 And in the month of December the Emperor Michael [IV
 the Paphlagonian] died, and his nephew, the Caesar Michael by
 name, was elevated to the throne.

140 And in the month of February Argiro was made Prince
 of Bari and Duke of Italy.

141 And in the month of April the magistros [George] Mania-
 kes arrived in Taranto; and in the month of June he sailed to
 the city of Monopoli, and went off to the city of Matera and
 there committed great slaughter.

142 And in the month of September, William was elected
 count by Matera.

143 And this year the afore-mentioned Caesar Michael [V
 Kalaphates] was deposed from the kingdom and blinded at the
 order of the sisters Zoe and Theodora, and Constantine [IX]
 Monomachus was made emperor.

144 And on 3 July Giovinazzo was captured by the Duke Ar-
 giro. And in the month of August the afore-mentioned Argiro
 went to besiege Trani, and was encamped before it for one month.

145 The year 1043, the eleventh indiction. This year Bari
 returned to the emperor's power. And in the month of Sep-
 tember the patrician Pardos arrived with much gold, but Mania-
 kes had him killed, and had himself proclaimed emperor by all.

And in the month of October he came to Bari, but it refused to receive him. But in the month of February the magistros and catepan Theodorokanos arrived, and the afore-mentioned Maniakes reached Durrës.

146 The year 1044, the twelfth indiction. This year William, Tancred's son, with Prince Guaimario [V of Salerno], descended on Calabria, where they built the castle of Stridula.

147 The year 1046, the fourteenth indiction. This year the patrician Argirowent to Constantinople, and the catepan Eustace Palatianos recalled all the exiles to Bari, and went to Taranto. On 8 May he began a battle with the Normans, and the Greeks fell.

148 And in this year Conrad [II, =Henry III], King of the Germans, came to Rome, because there were three popes there: Sylvester [III] in the church of St. Peter, Gregory [VI] in the Lateran, and Benedict [IX] in Tusculum. When these had been thrown out, a pope by the name of Clement [II] was consecrated by the afore-said Emperor. Then the afore-said Emperor came to Benevento, but the Beneventans, to his injury, cut the stirrups of his horse.

149 And in this year William [Ironarm] died, and his brother Drew became count.

150 The year 1047, the fifteenth indiction. This year the town of Stira was taken by the Varangians in the month of October, and in the month of December they depopulated Lecce.

151 And in the month of June the afore-said Pope Benedict [IX] killed Pope Clement [II] by means of a poisoned drink.

157 The year 1055, the eighth indiction. This year the
 Emperor Constantine [IX] Monomachus died.

158 The year 1056, the ninth indiction. This year the
 Augusta Theodora, the sister of the Empress Zoe, began to
 reign.

159 And Humphrey died, and his brother Robert [Guiscard]
 became duke.

160 And this year died Pietro, archbishop of the church
 of Cosenza.

161 The year 1057, the tenth indiction. This year the
 Augusta Theodora died, and Michael Bringas [VI Stratiotikos]
 became emperor.

162 The year 1058, the eleventh indiction. This year the
 patrician [Leo Thrymbos] had the scribones killed in the city
 of Crotone.

163 The year 1059, the twelfth indiction. This year Mi-
 chael Bringas [VI Stratiotikos] died, and Isaac Comnenus be-
 came emperor.

164 The year 1060, the thirteenth indiction. This year
 Constantine [X] Ducas was raised [to the throne] as emperor.

165 The year 1061, the fourteenth indiction. This year
 Duke Robert [Guiscard] captured the city of Acerenza.

166 The year 1062, the fifteenth indiction. This year
 [the bishop] of Lucca became Pope Alexander [II].

167 And in this year Duke Robert [Guiscard] entered the
 city of Oria. And again, he took the city of Brindisi and
 the merarches.

- 168 The year 1063, the first indiction. This year Taranto
 was taken by the Normans.
- 169 This year Matera was taken by Count Robert [of Monte-
 scaglioso] in the month of April.
- 170 The year 1065, the third indiction. This year Duke
 Robert [Guiscard] invaded Sicily, and killed a multitude of
 Agarenes; and he took a hostage from the city of Palermo.
- 171 The year 1066, the fourth indiction. This year
 Count Geoffrey, son of Pierron, wanted to invade Byzantine ter-
 ritory with many people, but a certain leader of the Greeks,
 called Mabrikas, prevented him.
- 172 And in this year Prince Richard [I of Capua] invaded
 the land of Campania, laid siege to Ceprano and took it,
 and went all the way to Rome, laying waste as he went.
- 173 The year 1067, the fifth indiction. This year in the
 month of May the Emperor Constantine [X] Ducas died, and his
 son Michael [VII Dukas Parapinakes] took up the imperial power.
- 174 And in this year [Halley's] comet appeared, and the
 Norman Count Robert [=William] fought a battle with Harold,
 the King of the English, and Robert [=William] won, and be-
 came King over the English people.
- 175 The year 1068, the sixth indiction. This year, on
 16 February, Duke Robert [Guiscard] besieged the city of Ir-
 sina; and since he was accomplishing nothing there, he went
 off with a few men to Uggiano, and took it. And through the
 treachery of a certain Goffredo, the Duke entered the afore-
 mentioned city of Irsina.

176 The year 1069, the seventh indiction. This year, in
 the month of September, the afore-mentioned Duke Robert [Guis-
 card] laid siege to the city of Bari.

177 And Romanus [IV] Diogenes, who was holding the imperial
 power with his stepson, the afore-mentioned Michael [VII], by
 the treachery of the afore-mentioned Michael his stepson, was
 captured near a certain city of Armenia, and blinded.

178 The year 1070, the ninth indiction. This year in the
 month of January there was great slaughter in the city of
 Brindisi; for while the Normans wanted to capture it, forty
 of them were captured, along with forty-three others, their
 sergeants; and the heads of all these men were sent off to
 the Emperor.

179 The year 1071, the ninth indiction. This year Duke
 Robert [Guiscard] entered Brindisi, after leaving the siege
 of Bari; for the Duke had had a causeway built,
 with which to close the port of the afore-mentioned city of
 Bari.

180 And in this year, Bisanzio Guirdeliku was assassinated
 in Bari through the treachery of a certain Argirizzo, the son
 of Giannazzo.

181 And on 15 April Duke Robert took the city of Bari.

182 And in the month of July the afore-mentioned Duke
 crossed the Adriatic sea, and arrived in Sicily with
 fifty-eight ships.

183 The year 1072, the tenth indiction. This year on
 10 January Duke Robert [Guiscard] entered Palermo, a city

in Sicily.

184 The year 1073, the eleventh indiction. This year
 ~~~~  
 very many Normans entered Trani with the Count Pierron on  
 the octave of the Epiphany. But Duke Robert [Guiscard] en-  
 tered the city on the Purification of St. Mary [2 February],  
 after Pierron had been thrown out.

185      The year 1076, the fourteenth indiction. This year  
 ~~~~  
 a certain nephew [grandson?] of the King of Africa was cap-
 tured by Roger, Duke Robert's brother, who was in charge of
 Sicily, with a hundred and fifty ships in the city of Mazara.

186 And in this year the afore-mentioned Duke gave his
 ~~~~  
 daughter as daughter-in-law to the Emperor of Constantinople.

187      The year 1077, the fifteenth indiction. This year the  
 ~~~~  
 city of Salerno was besieged by Robert [Guiscard], the Duke
 of the Normans, and taken by him.

188 The year 1078, the first indiction. This year Naples
 ~~~~  
 was besieged by Prince Richard [I of Capua], but in no way  
 was it taken.

189      And Duke Robert [Guiscard] laid siege to Benevento,  
 ~~~~  
 but his siege was lifted by Radulfo <and?> Count Pepino.

190 And in this year the afore-mentioned Prince Richard
 ~~~~  
 died.

191      The year 1079, the second indiction. This year Pierron  
 ~~~~  
 entered Trani; and Bari rose in rebellion and threw out the
 Duke's garrison; and Humphrey's son Abelard took Ascoli.

192 And in this year the afore-mentioned Emperor Michael
 ~~~~  
 [VII] was deposed, and a certain [Nicephorus III] Botaneiates

became emperor; he took the wife of the afore-mentioned Michael and abused her.

193 And this year many men died in Matera.

194 The year 1080, the third indiction. This year the body of blessed Canio was discovered in Acerenza by Archbishop Arnaldo. And the same Archbishop began to build the new cathedral, that is, the Church of Mary the holy Mother of God.

195 This year the city of Bari returned to the dominion of Duke Robert [Guiscard], and the said Duke besieged the city of Taranto, and captured it in the month of April. And again, he besieged Castellaneto, and took it.

196 And in this year the Emperor Michael [VII] arrived in Apulia, seeking help from Duke Robert against [Nicephorus III] Botaneiates.

197 And on 27 July the excellent Count Robert [of Montescaglioso] died, and the Normans were elected a second time by Matera; and his son Count Geoffrey began to reign in his place in Matera on the vigil of St. Mary in the month of August [14 August].

198 The year 1081, the fourth indiction. This year Duke Robert [Guiscard] entered Tricarico in the month of October.

199 And in the month of April, Argirizzo went to Michael [of Serbia] the King of the Slavs, and gave his daughter as wife to the king's son.

200 And Duke Robert reached Otranto with the afore-mentioned Emperor Michael. He sent ahead ships to the island of Corfu, and they captured it; and he went there himself after

a short time, along with the Emperor. And in the month of July they laid siege to Durrës, both by land and by sea; but the Venetian fleet came and broke the blockade, and opened the sea to the inhabitants of Durrës.

201 This year [Nicephorus III] Botaneiates was made a monk, and Alexius [I Comnenus] was made emperor.

202 And Henry [IV], King of the Germans, came to Rome to expel Pope Gregory [VII].

203 The year 1082, the fifth indiction. This year 6281 years have passed since the beginning of the world, and 1824 since the founding of the City

204 And this year the Emperor Alexius [I Comnenus] gathered a large army and began a battle with Duke Robert not far from Durrës, and he was forced to turn and flee. More than 6000 his men fell in that battle; there had been more than 70,000 men in his army. And in the month of January Duke Robert took the city of Durrës through the treachery of a few of the Venetians.

205 And at this time the afore-mentioned King Henry [IV] laid siege to Rome, in order to enter it by force and to make the Archbishop of Ravenna Pope, but he was unable to do it. But Duke Robert returned from Durrës, leaving his son Bohemund in charge there, and brought help to Pope Gregory, when the King was already tarrying in the region of Liburia [=Tuscan coast] to make war on the province of Matilda, who was of Pope Gregory's party.

206 And this year Abelard went to Alexius, Emperor of Constantinople, looking for help.

207 And in the same year, on 16 May, the new temple in  
 ~~~~ honor of St. Eustace in Matera was dedicated by the Archbishop  
 Arnaldo, under Dom Stefano the Abbot, who had built the church.

208 The year 1083, the sixth indiction. This year, 517
 ~~~~ years have passed since the Longobardi invaded Italy. This  
 is the twenty-eighth year of the solar cycle, the seventeenth  
 of the lunar cycle, the first of the nineteen-year cycle; and  
 there are no epacts of the moon.

209 And at this time the people of Rome, deserting their  
 ~~~~ allegiance to Pope Gregory [VII], sent ambassadors to the afore-  
 mentioned king, to get him to come to Rome. But the duke antici-
 pated this, and sent more than thirty thousand gold pieces to
 the Romans, to reconcile them to himself and to the Pope; and
 that is what happened.

210 The King came, nonetheless, and took all the region
 ~~~~ of Trastevere, in which rises the temple of the Prince of the  
 Apostles. And in the month of June, he left his garrison and  
 his son in a castle which he built there to fight against  
 Pope Gregory, who was confining himself to the Lateran and the  
 Celian hill; he took forty hostages from Rome, and withdrew to  
 the region of Tuscany.

211 And in the month of May the Duke laid siege to Canne,  
 ~~~~ a city in Apulia, and took it in the month of June.

212 The year 1084, the seventh indiction. This year Duke
 ~~~~ Robert gathered a multitude of Normans and Longobardi and  
 other peoples, and went to Rome to liberate Pope Gregory, who  
 was being kept under close siege; and this was accomplished.



For the Duke captured most of the city on coming to Rome, manfully rescued the Pope from it, and escorted him to Salerno.

**213**     The year 1085, the eighth indiction. This year the  
 ~~~~  
 afore-mentioned Duke came to Brindisi with a huge naval detachment and an innumerable army of men. And after arranging there his naval strategy, he entered the Adriatic sea, and came to an island called Cassiope, where the Venetian fleet -- and the son of the Doge -- with many ships was hostile to Duke Robert.

214 But when a sea battle took place between them, the
 ~~~~  
 Normans had the victory. In the battle, more than five thousand men were killed; and besides that, five ships were captured, and two were sunk with all hands, so that those who were able to avoid the sword of the warrior were swallowed up in the depths of the sea.

**215**     In this year in the month of May, the afore-mentioned  
 ~~~~  
 Pope Gregory finished his last day while he was staying at Salerno. At his death there was so violent a thunderstorm, with hail, that everyone there expected to die from this terrible tempest.

216 In the month of July, while the said Duke was staying
 ~~~~  
 in the place which is called <Vonitsa>, after the Venetians had been defeated, and while his army was stationed in Cephalonia in order to take a certain city, while he himself was residing in the said place with a part of the army, preparing to go by sea with a large naval force and an innumerable multitude of soldiers to the Royal City, by the command of God, almighty and most merciful, who reproves and brings to naught the

thoughts and plans of princes which do not proceed from his own, the Duke died of a flux.

217        The year 1086, the ninth indiction. This year Roger  
~~~~ [Borsa], the son of the afore-mentioned Duke Robert, became duke.

218 The year 1087, the tenth indiction. This year in the
~~~~ month of May, the body of the most blessed Saint Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra, was taken from the afore-said Myra by a few Baresi, and brought to Bari, the head of all the cities of Apulia.

219        This year Desiderius, abbot of St. Benedict's Monte  
~~~~ Cassino, was made Pope of Rome through the consensus of a few of the Roman nobles, while Pope Clement [III], who had been Archbishop of Ravenna, was still alive.

220 The year 1088, the eleventh indiction. This year in
~~~~ the month of September there was a great earthquake throughout all Apulia, so that in some places, it is reported that towers and houses collapsed. Then was begun the war between Duke Roger and his brother Bohemund.

221        This year Syracuse, the former capital of Sicily, was  
~~~~ taken by Count Roger; it is reported that men and children were eaten there because of the length of the siege.

222 The year 1089, the twelfth indiction. This year there
~~~~ was a synod of all the bishops of Apulia, Calabria and the Abruzzi, in the city of Melfi; even Duke Roger attended with all the counts of Apulia and Calabria and the other provinces. It was decreed in this synod that the holy Truce of God would

be kept by all their subjects.

223 This year died Ursus, Archbishop of Bari; and Pope  
Urban [II] came into the city of Bari and consecrated there  
the shrine of St. Nicholas, and the Archbishop Elia, even  
though Pope Clement [III] was still living. And the afore-  
mentioned Pope Urban consecrated the church of Brindisi.

224 The year 1090, the thirteenth indiction. This year  
in the month of August, Acerenza was burned down spontaneously,  
in a prodigious way.

225 And in this year Prince Jordan [I of Capua] died.

226 The year 1091, the fourteenth indiction. This year  
the Truce of God was sworn by the Normans, and since the begin-  
ning of the world, 6291 years have passed; the twenty-ninth  
epact of the moon.

227 The year 1092, the fifteenth indiction. This year,  
while the city of Oria was being besieged by Bohemond, with  
the help of a few men, the inhabitants broke his siege; and  
when Bohemund himself took flight, they captured all his bag-  
gage and standards.

228 The year 1093, the first indiction. This year Eugenia,  
the abbess of the monastery of St. Benedict in Matera, died in  
the month of December.

229 And in the same month of the same year, Pope Urban [II]  
came to Matera and stayed at the cenobium of Saint  
Eustace, along with a great crowd of his retainers.

230 The year 1095, the third indiction. This year, in the  
month of April, in the night of Wednesday the fourth, suddenly  
many little fires were seen falling from the heavens like stars

throughout all Apulia, and they filled all the surface of the earth. And from that moment, the peoples of Gaul -- indeed, of all Italy, too -- began to go to the Lord's Sepulcher with arms, bearing the sign of the cross on their right shoulders.

231     The year 1096, the fourth indiction. This year Roger, Count of Sicily, with twenty thousand Saracens, and with an innumerable multitude of other peoples, and all the counts of Apulia besieged Amalfi. And while they were persevering there, suddenly, by God's inspiration, Bohemund abandoned the siege with other counts and with more than five hundred knights; they all put the sign of the cross on their cloaks on their right shoulders. Then they crossed over the sea and arrived at the Royal City, with the intention of reaching Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, with the help of the Emperor Alexius [I Comnenus], by fighting the pagans.

232     The year 1097, the fifth indiction. This year Bohemund, with Count [Raymond] of Saint-Gilles and Count [=Duke Robert] of Normandy, and the other counts of the West, left the Royal City in the month of April with an innumerable multitude. Then they crossed over and took back the lands which the Turks had taken away from the Emperor. And when battle had been joined with the Turks, Christ gave the victory to his Christians. It is reported that there were 140,000 pagans. This happened near the city of Nicaea.

233     The year 1098, the sixth indiction. This year in the

month of October a comet appeared, and the Christians, fighting, went all the way to Antioch and laid siege to it. And when they took it in the month of April, they killed more than sixty thousand people there. And when they joined battle again, the Christians won and took many spoils from the Turks.

234 And in this year Capua was taken by Count Roger [of Sicily].

235 The year 1099, the seventh indiction. This year in the month of October Pope Urban [II] convened a general synod in the city of Bari, which was attended by one hundred eighty-five bishops.

236 And in this year in the month of June, on the feast of St. Peter the Apostle [29 June], the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Christians; and they killed all whom they found there. It is reported that 200,000 persons were killed there. And then the Christians raised up for themselves a king, Godfrey [of Bouillon], who had been Duke of the Swabians.

237 Then in the month of July the afore-mentioned Pope Urban [II] died, and Paschal [II] was elected pope.

238 The year 1100, the eighth indiction. This year the afore-said Godfrey was killed by a bear -- he was coming out of a wood -- which he himself had hunted earlier, wounding it grievously.

239 The year 1101, the ninth indiction. This year Caesarea was taken by the Christians, and razed to the ground.

240 And in this year in the month of September Count Geoffrey died, and his son Alexander entered Matera, and the higher places began to be inhabited by the mountaineers.

241 This year Arnaldo, the Archbishop of Acerenza, died;  
and Roger, the Count of Sicily, died in the month of June.

242 The year 1102, the tenth indiction. This year, in the  
month of November, Stefano, the abbot of Matera, died, and  
Simeone succeeded him as abbot. And in the month of May,  
Pietro was elected Archbishop of Acerenza.

## V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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This bibliography includes the abbreviations used in citing the various items throughout the work; there are too few of these to justify a separate register, and they are found here in alphabetical order among the works listed. Many of the works were themselves cited by short title, usually the author's surname and a key word from the title. Such short titles are not listed here, since the works can be found easily enough in the general listing. In a few cases, however, a different practice was followed in determining the short title, and these 'different' short titles are given a separate entry.

## A. Sources and Collections of Sources

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\* \* \* \*

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VI. INDEX NOMINUM ET RERUM

VI. INDEX NOMINUM ET RERUM

This index nominum et rerum is keyed to the paragraph numbers of the Latin text. Since the translation and commentary are also keyed to these numbers, the index may be used as a guide to them as well.

Names appear in their correct, standard orthography, where this can be established. Arabic names appear in transcription. When common Latin forms of Greek names are available, they are used here; otherwise these names appear in transcription; thus 'Basilius', not 'Basileios', but 'Khoirosphaktēs'. The form of the name actually found in the texts is given in brackets after the standard spelling, when the two are not identical, and the non-standard form is also listed separately, with the direction to see the other form; e.g.:

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Battles and sieges are not indexed, although they may be found by pursuing the references to a particular place. Adjectives derived from place names are usually included under the place name. Thus 'Bari' is understood to include as well 'barensis', 'barinus'; 'Rome' includes 'romanus'; and so forth.

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

PROGRAM OF THE FINAL ORAL EXAMINATION  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

OF

WILLIAM JOSEPH CHURCHILL JR.

2:00 p.m., Wednesday, August 1, 1979

Room 309, 63 St. George Street

THE ANNALES BARENSES AND THE ANNALES LUPI  
PROTOSPATHARII: CRITICAL EDITION & COMMENTARY

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## ABSTRACT

W. J. Churchill

The Annales barenses and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii:  
Critical Edition and Commentary

The Annales barenses [AnBa] and the Annales Lupi Protospatharii [Lupus] are two chronicles put together in the city of Bari while it was capital of the Byzantine territories in Italy, and during the first few decades of the Norman domination (ca. 850 - ca. 1100). They have long been recognized as among the most important historical sources for the place and period.

Both chronicles have been edited twice before (Lupus in 1626, the AnBa in 1738, and both in 1844), but none of the editions satisfies the standards of modern scholarship. Since the edition of 1844, new mss have been found, some by the present editor, who has also shown that one of the more important mss upon which the previous edition was supposedly based was not in fact utilized.

The present work takes advantage of all the available witnesses to make a thorough analysis of the textual tradition of the chronicles. The critical text with its apparatus, based on that analysis, yields new readings in many passages (45 detailed in the introduction).

The commentary, the first written for these chronicles, not only clarifies and explains the text through the use both of original sources in Latin, Greek and Arabic and of modern secondary works, but also revises previously accepted dates

and details of various historical events.

An appendix contains an English translation of the chronicles, and this renders them accessible to a wider readership.

The bibliography lists primary and secondary, manuscript and printed sources cited in the work.

The index nominum et rerum serves as a key to the text, translation and commentary.



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As acting director of Mr William Churchill's doctoral dissertation (in the absence of A. M. Watson), I hereby certify that all the minor corrections requested by the Examining Board on 1 August have been made by Mr Churchill. I have informed the Director of the Medieval Centre, Professor Zacout, of this. Presumably when he returns he will provide a formal certification, should that be necessary.

Leonard E. Boyle