This is the first significant study of the incorporation of the Church in southern Italy into the mainstream of Latin Christianity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Professor G. A. Loud examines the relationship between Norman rulers, south Italian churchmen and the external influence of the new ‘papal monarchy’. He discusses the impact of the creation of the new kingdom of Sicily in 1130; the tensions that arose from the papal schism of that era; and the religious policy and patronage of the new monarchs. He also explores the internal structures of the Church, both secular and monastic, and the extent and process of Latinisation within the Graecophone areas of the mainland and on the island of Sicily, where at the time of the Norman conquest the majority of the population was Muslim. This is a major contribution to the political, religious and cultural history of the Central Middle Ages.

G. A. Loud is Professor of Medieval Italian History at the University of Leeds. His previous books include Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua, 1058–1197 (1985), The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by ‘Hugo Falcandus’, 1154–69 (with Thomas Wiedemann; 1998) and The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest (2000).
THE LATIN CHURCH IN NORMAN ITALY

G. A. LOUD

University of Leeds
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Preface

This book has been in preparation for more years than I care to remember. My first duty is to thank successive editors at Cambridge University Press, Bill Davies and Simon Whitmore, for their almost superhuman restraint with an author who must have sorely tried their patience. I hope that they think the wait has been worthwhile. Secondly, I must thank the Leverhulme Trust, which paid for replacement teaching to allow me an entire year’s study leave in 2005–6, during which almost all of this book was finally written. This is the second book of mine whose writing the Trust has facilitated: I am genuinely and deeply grateful for their generosity. I must also thank my colleagues, and especially Alan Murray, who ensured that my second-year pupils were in good hands during my absence, and Wendy Childs and Emilia Jamrosiak, who shouldered extra teaching and administration with exemplary grace.

The intellectual debts incurred have been many, only a few of which I can mention here. I am lucky to have access to the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, with its outstanding resources in medieval history. I am grateful to the former History librarian Neil Plummer, and the current incumbent Jane Saunders, for their stewardship, and for ordering so many recondite volumes for me and for my pupils. I have also benefited from the kindness of numerous colleagues in Italy, and also France and Germany, especially in sending me copies of books and articles that I might otherwise have missed, or which might have been unobtainable in Britain, and from which I have profited greatly. Foremost among these generous friends have been Edoardo D’Angelo, Vera von Falkenhausen, Hubert Houben and Jean-Marie Martin. I am grateful to Edoardo too for his hospitality in Naples on several occasions, and for taking me on a memorable visit to Montevergine (my first) on a cold and misty day in October 2005. The founder’s biographer was not exaggerating about the bleakness of the site, but the conditions made it even more atmospheric. I have profited from a number of libraries and archives in Italy, but especially
Preface

from those of the abbey of S. Trinità at Cava dei Tirreni and the Museo del Sannio at Benevento. At the former I was greatly assisted first by the late Don Simeone Leone and then by Sign. Enzo Cioffe, at the latter especially by the (now retired) director Prof. Elio Galasso. My pupil Paul Oldfield, now of Manchester Metropolitan University, has been of tremendous help, both in finding copies of obscure primary sources and for many stimulating conversations about Norman Italy over the last four years. Bernard Hamilton has read this book in manuscript, as he did also its predecessor The Age of Robert Guiscard, and made many helpful suggestions, which I have done my best to follow. I have also benefited from the assistance of Horst Enzensberger, who advised me about the diplomas of King William II (his edition of which is eagerly awaited), Lindy Grant, who improved my jejune observations on Norman architectural influence, and Alex Metcalfe and Vera von Falkenhausen, both of whom read the last chapter, shared their expert knowledge of respectively Islamic Sicily and Byzantine Italy, and saved me from a number of egregious faux pas. Needless to say, none of them has any responsibility for any errors or misconceptions that remain.

John Cowdrey taught me more about being a historian than anyone else, and I have always benefited not just from his help (which has always been generous) but also from his example of careful scholarship, which I have tried to emulate. In addition, it would have been impossible to write this book without the work of three German historians of previous generations. Two of these, Paul Kehr (1860–1944) and his pupil Walter Holtzmann (1891–1963) died long ago. The third, Norbert Kamp (1927–99), I was fortunate enough to know – he was a nice man as well as a great scholar. Without their monumental labours, Kehr and Holtzmann in Italia Pontificia and Kamp on his mighty prosopography of the Staufen-era episcopate, I could not even have contemplated this study. All those who work on Norman Italy should cherish their memory.

The other incalculable debt is to my wife Kate; for her love and support over the last six years, for looking after me so well, for patiently tolerating the thousands of hours when I have been closeted in my study, deaf to the world outside, for helping me with the maps and index, and for responding so promptly with her superior computing skills to the cries of anguish when my laptop malfunctioned. This book is dedicated to her.

Wellington Hill, Leeds  Trafalgar Day, 2006
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Abbreviations

Al. Tel. Alexandri Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Siciliae atque Calabriae atque Apulieae, ed. L. de Nava (commentary by D. R. Clementi (FSI, Rome 1991))

Amatus Storia de’ Normanni di Amato di Montecassino, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomeis (FSI, Rome 1935)

BISIME Bulletino dell’istituto storico italiano per il medio evo

Carte di Trani Le carte che si conservano nell’archivio dello capitolo metropolitano di Trani, ed. A. Prologo (Barletta 1877)

Catalogus Baronum Catalogus Baronum, ed. E. M. Jamison (FSI, Rome 1972)

Chron. Carpineto Chronic Liber Monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto, ed. B. Pio (FSI, Rome 2001)

Chron. Cas. Chronic Monasterii Casinensis, ed. H. Hoffmann (MGH SS xxxiv, Hanover 1980)

Chron. Casauriense Chronicas Casauriensis, ed. L. A. Muratori (RIS ii(2), Milan 1726), 775–916


Clementi, ‘Calendar of Henry VI’ D. R. Clementi, ‘Calendar of the diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the kingdom of Sicily’, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 35 (1955), 86–225

Cod. Dipl. Aversa Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa, ed. A. Gallo (Naples 1927)


Cod. Dipl. Brindisiano Codice diplomatico brindisiano, i. (492–1299), ed. Gennaro Maria Monti (Trani 1940)


Cod. Dipl. Cavensis Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis, ed. M. Morcaldi et al. (8 vols., Milan 1876–93); vols. ix–x, ed. S. Leone and G. Vitolo (Cava dei Tirreni 1984–90)
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Constance Diplomata</td>
<td>Constantiae Imperatricis et Regnae Siciliae Diplomata (1195–1198), ed. T. Kölzer (Codex Diplomaticus Regni siciliae, Ser. II.1(2), Cologne 1983)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cusa, Diplomi</td>
<td>I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia, ed. S. Cusa (Palermo 1868–81)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Documenti inediti</td>
<td>I Documenti inediti dell’epoca normanna in Sicilia, ed. C. A. Garufi (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.18, Palermo 1899)</td>
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<td>Falcanz</td>
<td>La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium di Ugo Falcando, ed. G. B. Siragusa (FSI, Rome 1897)</td>
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<td>Falco</td>
<td>Falco of Benevento, Chronicon Beneventanum, ed. Edoardo d’Angelo (Florence 1998)</td>
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<td>FSI</td>
<td>Fonti per la storia d’Italia</td>
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<td>Gattula, Accessiones</td>
<td>E. Gattula, Accessiones ad Historiam Abbatiae Casinensis (Venice 1734)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gattula, Historia</td>
<td>E. Gattula, Historia Abbatiae Casinensis (Venice 1733)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory, Reg.</td>
<td>Das Register Gregors VII., ed. E. Caspar (MGH Epistolae Selectae, ii, Berlin 1920–3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaterra</td>
<td>De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis, auctore Gaufredo Malaterra, ed. E. Pontieri (RIS, 2nd edn, Bologna 1927–8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Abbreviations

Ménager, Recueil

MGH
Monumenta Germaniae Historica, following the usual conventions, e.g. SS = Scriptores; SRG = Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, etc.

MPL

Necrologio del Cod. Cas. 47
I Necrologi Cassinesi, i. Il Necrologio del Cod. Casinese 47, ed. M. Inguanez (FSI, Rome 1941)

Necrologio di S. Matteo
Necrologio del Liber Confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno, ed. C. A. Garufi (FSI, Rome 1922)

Orderic

Papsturkunden

Pflugk-Hartung, Acta

Pirro, Sicilia Sacra

QFIAB
Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

Regii Neapolitani Archivii Monumenta (6 vols., Naples 1854–61)

RIS
Rerum Italicarum Scriptores

Roger II Diplomata

Romuald
Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon, ed. C. A. Garufi (RIS, 2nd edn, Città di Castello 1935)

Tancred Diplomata

Trinchera, Syllabus
Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum, ed Francesco Trinchera (Naples 1865)

Tyrants

Ughelli, Italia Sacra
Italia Sacra, ed. F. Ughelli (2nd edn, by N. Colletti, 10 vols., Venice 1717–21)

W. Apulia
Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo 1961)

William I Diplomata
Map 1 Southern Italy: archbishoprics and principal bishoprics
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Map III The dioceses of Sicily in the late twelfth century
Map IV The dioceses of the Terra di Bari
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Names of dioceses in capitals