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Saints, pilgrimage and southern Italy

The day after the chest carrying the most holy Nicholas was transported by Abbot Elias [...] into the church of San Benedetto [of Bari], the rumour of an event so great and glorious spread with extraordinary speed beyond the walls of Bari. First it reached the settlements and villages in the territory of Bari, scattering this most happy news through the ears of everyone. And immediately, as if they were in a race, from all parts men and women of all ages rushed [to Bari]. What more can I say? Because of the dense ranks of men and women, of old and young, of the sick of all types, the widest streets and paths were extremely crowded; from here and there echoed hymns of praises sung with the highest voice. And in truth everyone together competed to praise, bless, and glorify Almighty God, who had deigned to enrich this region with so great a treasure, to have rendered it famous with such a great brilliance, to have visited upon it such great consolation and blessing.¹

Thus John the Archdeacon of Bari described the ecstatic reception of the relics of St Nicholas at Bari in 1087, and the foundation in southern Italy of one of medieval Europe's most celebrated cults. Over recent decades scholars have significantly deepened our understanding of the sentiments, interrelationships, and cultural, religious and political exchanges which intersect in events such as those described by John.² As a result, we are able more than ever to appreciate how saints' cults, the practice of pilgrimage and the accompanying hagiographical texts, open new perspectives on all manner of fundamental features of medieval society. The region of southern Italy and Sicily, boasting an extensive body of hagiographical works, is no exception. It experienced profound transitions in the period

¹ P. Corsi, *La traslazione di San Nicola: le fonti* (Bari, 1988), 67.

² General studies include: P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); A. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge: d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, revised edn (Rome, 1988); P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978); V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978); specialist studies include: P. Golinelli, *Città e culto dei santi nel Medioevo Italiano*, new edn (Bologna, 1996); T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints. The Diocese of Orleans 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990).

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running from 1000 to 1200, moving from a politically, ethnically and religiously diverse entity, with Muslim, Greek and Latin communities, to a unified monarchy (from 1130) ruled by descendants of Norman infiltrators, which was increasingly Latinized and subject to papal influence. During the same time span, southern Italy also experienced a renewed flourishing of saints' cults and pilgrimage, which functioned on a number of levels: the devotional, the psychological, the individual, the communal, the economic and the political. An investigation of saints' cults and pilgrimage in southern Italy offers new contributions towards a holistic understanding of both the diversity and uniformity present in a fragmented and complex region as it moved through deep changes. Fundamentally, it can focus our understanding of how the region functioned at the frontier of the Muslim, Greek and Latin worlds, and how sanctity itself developed in a liminal zone.

Saints' cults thrived and pilgrimage remained ever popular because of their multi-faceted value. Saints were divine intercessors; having walked on earth they thereafter mediated between the terrestrial and celestial. Their relics were deemed to have supernatural qualities, which increased in potency the nearer one was to them. The Central Middle Ages were a golden era of pilgrimage as more and more people of all backgrounds sought cures and spiritual assistance at the tombs of saints. In all manner of ways, saints and their shrines offered protection, legitimacy and support in an unstable and rapidly transforming world. Holy relics would especially reappear at times of insecurity and political turmoil. In the political landscape of southern Italy in which parvenu powers were a recurrent feature, whether they were Norman dukes, kings or emergent urban communities, sources of legitimacy were highly prized and carried great weight. Many power-holders and communities sought associations with a saint; their choice revealed much about their self-identity and conception of authority. Saints' acceptance could often signify important socio-political transitions, as when members of the Norman elite began to be treated favourably by South Italian saints in hagiographical works and historical narratives.³ Conversely, a saint's disapproval of a ruler or a community served as a powerful rebuke generated by an opposing party. So significant was the role of saints, and the need to obtain their favour and their relics, that violence and crime often occurred and were justified in their name, as Patrick Geary has demonstrated so clearly.⁴ Consequently, as well as being home to one of the most celebrated of *furta sacra*

³ A. Galdi, *Santi, territori, potere e uomini nella Campania medievale (secc. XI–XII)* (Salerno, 2004), 61–6.

⁴ Geary, *Furta Sacra*.

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(St Nicholas at Bari) southern Italy and Sicily witnessed a series of other translations and relic thefts during the Central Middle Ages. Because of the qualities attached to them saints were often able to fuse fractious communities together and saints rapidly became symbols of cross-cultural interaction and unity for many, especially in Europe's expanding cities, and even (as we shall see in southern Italy) between Latin and Greek Christians. But these very virtues in turn created tension and, paradoxically, violent rivalries within and between communities. This assortment of qualities ensured that shrine centres remained at the core of communities, and that innumerable individuals opted to visit them, thus rendering the act of pilgrimage a conspicuous feature of the medieval landscape.

More widely still, in southern Italy in the Central Middle Ages sanctity and pilgrimage operated within, and reflected the collision of, diverse worlds: the meeting of different faiths, and ancient and contemporary forms of worship; the simultaneous flourishing of eremitism and urbanization; and the continued centrality of the local, while horizons were broadening and cross-cultural communication increasing. The fact that southern Italy could also boast possession of the relics of a series of 'A-list' universal saints meant that their shrines became important pilgrimage centres. The symbiosis between sanctity and pilgrimage was accentuated in southern Italy through its strategic position at the crossroads of the Mediterranean. It operated as a constant transit point for pilgrims and other commercial traffic, much of it moving to Rome and the eastern Mediterranean, and the evolution of international pilgrimage and the crusading movement would have a profound effect on South Italian sanctity.

In exploring sanctity and pilgrimage one must acknowledge and identify the limitations inherent in using hagiographical works. Myth, embellishment and plagiarism abound within the hagiographical text. Awareness of the hagiographer's aims is vital; his task was to place his saintly subject on a par with other, usually ancient, holy men and to do so required the use of a common set of exemplary motifs. John Howe called this 'hagiographic light' which reduced 'earthly events to silhouettes against a golden backdrop'.⁵ Indeed, simply put, the hagiographical text was not designed to assist historical enquiry. But literary patterns contained within the texts carry important messages as does the seemingly incidental material included within these works. The historiography of relic cults has also long attempted to identify the varying influences upon

⁵ J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy. Dominic of Sora and his Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997), 66.

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their construction.⁶ Recent studies by scholars such as Simon Yarrow and Samantha Herrick have shown that both clerical and secular inputs into cults and their associated representations were crucial and often convergent. It would be misleading, for instance, to suggest that churchmen manipulated a submissive lay community. Recurrent evidence in miracle collections and other sources for lay dissent and unbelief indicates that churchmen could not simply ignore secular opinion and needed to structure its responses and messages in a manner which would resonate with the laity.⁷ Certainly, the hagiographer often wrote for an audience that was not solely ecclesiastical or elite, for many of these texts formed the basis of sermons for feast celebrations, were thus read out publicly, often shaped to engage and entertain, and could be transmitted and transformed in oral exchanges within the wider lay community.⁸ As saints' cults often functioned in a shared space and culture, the approval of both laity and clergy was integral. Thus hagiographical works can reasonably be viewed as constructions of a variety of communities, creating different traditions, and thus reflecting a mosaic of interests and beliefs.

As is the case for most regions of medieval Europe, hagiographical works are among the most abundant sources available to the historian of medieval southern Italy. *Vitae* (accounts of saints' lives), *miracula* (collections of, usually, posthumous saintly miracle-working) and records of translations of relics survive for many of southern Italy's saints, some produced almost contemporaneously, others decades or centuries after the saint's death. In many instances a number of overlapping local hagiographical traditions developed, some of which were wholly spurious. Those produced much later, and even the suspiciously inauthentic, still retain their value but in different ways – they elucidate how memory and truth functioned, how the past was understood and could be manipulated, and they show the splicing of contemporary concerns onto older subject matter. For example, wandering/eremetical saints were often founders of religious houses which subsequently developed into monastic orders, which then retrospectively composed *vitae* within a predominantly monastic framework.⁹ Southern Italy in the period 1000 to 1200 could

⁶ Most famously in the work of Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.

⁷ Chapter 6 explores some of the challenges of using miracle collections to discern pilgrimage patterns.

⁸ S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities. Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006), 16–120. See also B. De Gaiffier, 'L'Hagiographie et son public au XI siècle', in his *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels, 1967), 475–507; S. K. Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past. Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 6–10.

⁹ Galdi, *Santi*, 35–6, 80–1.

boast a prodigious production of hagiographical material, both textual and visual.¹⁰ With its rich library, the renowned abbey of Montecassino led the way, especially in the eleventh century.¹¹ In the early to mid-twelfth century, the abbey's librarian Peter the Deacon also proved to be a prolific hagiographer, historian and forger.¹² Elsewhere, bishops and abbots composed or sponsored hagiographical works. Alfanus of Montecassino (d. 1085) continued to produce hagiographical material as archbishop of Salerno. Amandus, bishop of Bisceglie, compiled a hagiographical dossier on the discovery in 1168 of saints at Bisceglie, and earlier as a deacon of Trani wrote an account of the translation of St Nicholas the Pilgrim. The *vita* of St Gerard, bishop of Potenza, was composed by his successor Manfred, and *The History of the Translation of the Body of St Agatha from Constantinople to Catania* was the work of Maurice, bishop of Catania. In the late twelfth century the *bios* of the Greek-Italian saint, Vitalis of Castronuovo, was translated into Latin at the instigation of the bishop of Tricarico. Other hagiographers of medieval southern Italy tended to be part of the lower echelons of the Church, or were often simply anonymous: Nicephorus and John, who wrote competing accounts of the translation of St Nicholas to Bari, were a Benedictine monk and archdeacon respectively; John of Nusco, author of at least some sections of the *vita* of St William of Vercelli, was apparently a monk of Monte Goletto. However, as these works almost exclusively related to saints connected to their particular sees or monasteries, it remains difficult to identify any of these hagiographies as emerging from *scriptoria* which could be defined as centres of broader hagiographic production akin to Montecassino. Significantly, the important monasteries of Cava and Montevergine, both boasting saintly founders, as well as the city of Benevento where so many saints were translated in the Early Middle Ages, never developed into established centres for hagiographic output.¹³ Likewise, in the Early Middle Ages Naples arguably created the most significant body of

¹⁰ O. Limone, 'Italia meridionale (950–1220)', *Hagiographies II*, ed. G. Philippart, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout, 1996), 11–60.

¹¹ See F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge, 1999).

¹² See *Petri Diaconi Ortus et Vita Iustorum Genobii Castrensis*, ed. R. H. Rodgers (Berkeley, 1972); H. Bloch, *The Atina Dossier of Peter the Deacon of Montecassino. A Hagiographical Romance of the Twelfth Century* (Vatican City, 1998).

¹³ 'The Lives of the First Four Abbots of Cava' appears not even to have been produced within Cava but at the abbey of SS Trinità di Venosa, probably by abbot Peter II (1141–56): H. Houben, 'L'autore delle "Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium"', *SM* 26 (1985), 871–9; a Beneventan exception could be the abbey of S. Sophia, which was reasonably productive in the hagiographic field: Galdi, *Santi*, 56, 271; A. Vuolo, 'Agiografia beneventana', *Longobardia e longobardi nell'Italia meridionale. Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, eds. G. Andenna and G. Picasso (Milan, 1996), 199–237.

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hagiographical works anywhere in Europe, and yet after 1000 production diminished dramatically.

Nevertheless, collectively a huge body of hagiographical works was still produced in southern Italy between 1000 and 1200. In addition, the historian of South Italian sanctity and pilgrimage can also utilize a much wider base of material: calendars, martyrologies, necrologies, exultet rolls, charters (particularly those on urban privileges), narrative chronicles (Falco of Benevento's chronicle represents a valuable lay perspective on sanctity), pilgrim travel guides and onomastic patterns.¹⁴ To these can be added evidence from coin dies, church dedications and, as art historians have long acknowledged, iconographic decoration in religious buildings, most famously from the royally sponsored Cappella Palatina and the Cathedral of Monreale.¹⁵

Despite, or perhaps because of, the existence of such a diverse range of source material pertaining to an equally diverse and fragmented region, a comprehensive analysis of the salient features of sanctity and pilgrimage in southern Italy in the Central Middle Ages has, to my mind, yet to be achieved. This is the principal aim of the present study. Of course, several superb works have been produced on particular elements of South Italian sanctity and pilgrimage by, among others, Thomas Head, Amalia Galdi, Oronzo Limone, Jean-Marie Martin and Antonio Vuolo. Yet, these tend to fall into three main categories: (1) works on sanctity and pilgrimage within particular regions;¹⁶ (2) works on particular saints' typologies, or on individual saints;¹⁷ (3) broader works on religion, belief and interfaith

¹⁴ For excellent examples of South Italian necrologies and martyrologies see C. Hilken, *Memory and Community in Medieval Southern Italy. The History, Chapter Book, and Necrology of Santa Maria del Gualdo Mazzocca* (Toronto, 2008); for exultet rolls see T. F. Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford, 1996); for naming evidence see M. Villani, 'Il contributo dell'onomastica e della toponomastica alla storia delle devozioni', *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari*, ed. G. Vitolo (Naples, 1999), 249–66.

¹⁵ For coinage see L. Travaini, *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna* (Rome, 1995); for church decoration see S. Brodbeck, *Les Saints de la cathédrale de Monreale en Sicile* (Rome, 2010); O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950); W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997); E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187)* (Oxford, 1990).

¹⁶ For example: T. Head, 'Discontinuity and discovery in the cult of saints: Apulia from late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages', *Hagiographica* 6 (1999), 171–211; Galdi, *Santi*; Vuolo, 'Agiografia beneventana', 199–237; J.-M. Martin, 'Les Modèles paléochrétiens dans l'hagiographie apulienne', *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1990), 67–86.

¹⁷ For example: A. Vuolo, 'Monachesimo riformato e predicazione: la "vita" di San Giovanni da Matera (sec. XII)', *SM* 27 (1986), 69–121; O. Limone, *Santi monaci e santi eremeti; alla ricerca di un modello di perfezione nella letteratura agiografica dell'Apulia normanna* (Galatina, 1988); Howe, *Church Reform*.

relations in medieval southern Italy.¹⁸ The present study thus aims to combine all these separate strands into one work, in a blended approach which spans two centuries, which does not exclude any region of southern Italy, which engages with an array of diverse source material, and which integrates an analysis of sanctity with that of pilgrimage in order to deepen our knowledge of society, cross-cultural interaction and faith in the region.

It is important here to establish some points of qualification and classification. First, unless specified, the label ‘southern Italy’ is used to cover the entire southern zone of modern-day Italy, stretching from the Abruzzi and the Campanian zones just south of Lazio to, and including, the island of Sicily. Second, the definition of ‘saint’ is of course a contested issue, and I opt for a more holistic interpretation. In other words, formal canonization, a surprisingly rare phenomenon in the Middle Ages, or the existence of contemporary forms of ‘official’ hagiographical and other evidence to affirm a cult are not here deemed the sole measures. A number of South Italian saints were either not officially approved by Rome, or their associated *vitae* or *miracula* were produced much later than their alleged lifetimes. Nevertheless, it is clear that contemporaries still deemed these figures to have saintly qualities, and that many of the later *vitae* or *miracula* were likely based on more contemporary accounts. Indeed, Aviad Kleinberg has shown that medieval perceptions of sanctity were extremely fluid and should be understood on a case-by-case basis. Beyond this, the attributions of ‘supernatural spiritual power’ and ‘moral excellence’ were the only loose criteria within which various hazy typologies of sainthood could function.¹⁹ In short, if attempts were made in the period 1000 to 1200 to promote devotion for an individual as a saint, whether they were contemporary or ancient, or if a cult arose only after 1200 for an individual living between 1000 and 1200, these will all be considered. I have similarly aimed at a more inclusive interpretation of how to identify pilgrimage, as revealed in Chapters 5 and 6, which I hope brings new evidence into play. In both cases I am convinced that considering the widest spectrum offers the richest outcome. Of course, it must be understood that a work of this scope can make no claims to cover all aspects of all saints’ cults and

¹⁸ G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007); V. Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape. Medieval Southern Italy 850–1150* (Ithaca, 2006); A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Italy. Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London, 2003). The collected essays found in *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, ed. G. Vitolo (Naples, 1999) and *Tra Roma e Gerusalemme nel Medioevo. Paesaggi umani ed ambientali del pellegrinaggio meridionale*, ed. M. Oldoni, 3 vols (Salerno, 2005) cover elements across the three categories.

¹⁹ A. M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country. Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1997), 4–8.

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patterns of pilgrimage which functioned in the years 1000 to 1200. Inevitably, I have not been able to explore certain themes and sources as deeply as they deserve – much more could be said, for example, on theological discourses on sanctity, on toponymic sources, or on the typology of miracles performed by specific saints. In most cases, cults enjoyed brief surges of activity before settling down to longer periods of seeming dormancy. I have mostly aimed to identify these surges and explore them thematically in order to highlight the main patterns in the evolution of sanctity and pilgrimage in southern Italy.

Thus, the present study is divided into the following sections. The second part of this introductory chapter offers a brief overview of the socio-political history of southern Italy from the Early Middle Ages until 1200 in order to assist readers in contextualizing what then follows. Chapter 1 provides an examination of South Italian sanctity in early medieval Italy in order to understand the legacies and models, and the continuities and disruptions, which shaped the evolution of sanctity after 1000. Geographically it covers the whole of southern Italy, exploring how sanctity in Campania functioned under the Lombards, created conflicts and aided the creation of embryonic civic identities; how saints' cults in Apulia were marked by instability; and how Siculo-Calabrian sanctity was forged within a triangular relationship between Rome, Byzantium and Islam. Thereafter, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 examine sanctity between 1000 and 1200, doing so along both geographic and thematic lines. Chapter 2 focuses primarily on saints and their cults in the Latin zones of mainland southern Italy and assesses the impact on them of some key forces – the Normans, Church reform and urbanization. Chapter 3 addresses evidence for cross-cultural interaction between Latins and Greeks by analysing Greek-Italian saints and cults, and locates its findings within the wider relationships that evolved between eastern and western Christianity. Chapter 4 examines the role of sanctity in the island of Sicily as it was re-Christianized under Norman rule, tracing the extent to which old cults were revived and new saints found to augment Sicily's sacred map. As Palermo also became the centre of the new Kingdom of Sicily after 1130, the chapter also considers the role of saints in the 'capital', and the promotion of cults by the monarchy. The second part of the book, composed of Chapters 5 and 6, focuses directly on pilgrimage. Chapter 5 examines southern Italy's fundamental role in the topography of international pilgrimage. Its strategic location, its emerging infrastructures and its own renowned shrines attracted streams of pilgrims on their path to salvation. At the same time, southern Italy's classical and folkloric traditions, and its challenging landscapes, conferred upon it a sinister and dangerous quality which many pilgrims could not have avoided.

Chapter 6 considers more directly pilgrimage activity at South Italian shrines, and tracks the origins, identities and destinations of the pilgrims found there. In addition the chapter addresses the extent to which these patterns might have eroded internal frontiers within southern Italy, and also examines the presence of southern Italians at shrines beyond the region.

Throughout this study South Italian sanctity and pilgrimage will be consistently located within their wider context, and contrasts and comparisons made where appropriate. Indeed, Chapters 3 and 5 are implicitly based on the region's connectivity with other territories. To be able to identify any defining patterns within sanctity and pilgrimage in medieval southern Italy would allow fruitful comparison with other regions of Europe, and further pursuit of the age-old question of southern Italy's perceived marginality. Indeed, it seems in fact that southern Italy should be placed more to the centre rather than on the periphery of many core medieval developments, as a result of its location in the Mediterranean, and of its simultaneous and intimate interfaces with the Latin, Greek and Islamic worlds. In the context of sanctity and pilgrimage, these factors undoubtedly made the region a holy crossroads, one which played a pivotal role in the growing internationalism of sanctity. At the same time, its unique location at a crossroads heavily shaped South Italian forms of sanctity and pilgrimage, opening them to a myriad of external influences.

Religion, society and politics: the South Italian background

(i) Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

The development of saints' cults in southern Italy before 1000 was set against the backdrop of some of the great socio-religious and political transitions which took place in the Mediterranean: the metamorphosis of structures inherited from the Roman world, cycles of invasion and changes in rulership, and the increased interaction of different religious faiths.²⁰ Unified control of southern Italy and Sicily, achieved in the Roman period, and briefly reasserted by the Byzantines during the Gothic War (536–54), proved thereafter to be a chimera which would not rematerialize in any substantive form until the twelfth century.²¹ The region suffered recurrent invasions and the establishment of various, competing

²⁰ For a masterful account of these transitions see C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009).

²¹ Excellent overviews of the pre-Norman period can be found in G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard. Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), 12–59; Loud,

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regimes. The Ostrogothic invasion was followed by the Gothic War, and Justinian's efforts to reintegrate southern Italy and Sicily into the 'Roman Empire'. However, the arrival of the Lombards in 568 set the pattern for centuries of fluctuating zones of influence. The establishment of a Lombard duchy at Benevento, elevated to a principality in 774, increasingly confined Byzantine control to Sicily and to restricted parts of Apulia, Lucania and Calabria by the mid-eighth century. By this point, the settlement patterns of parts of southern Italy had been fundamentally altered through warfare and plague. In Apulia, for example, a number of urban centres had collapsed, and episcopal sees had been rendered defunct; by the ninth century there were only six bishoprics whereas there had been fifteen three centuries earlier.²² The political landscape of southern Italy was dramatically transformed further in the ninth century with the beginning of the Muslim conquest of Sicily in 827, an extended process which was not complete until the fall of the last Byzantine stronghold at Taormina in 902. The repercussions of the rise of Muslim power and naval dominance in the Mediterranean also impacted on the South Italian mainland.²³ In Apulia intervention took on a semi-permanent manifestation when the major cities of Taranto (846–80) and Bari (847–71) fell under Muslim rule and were established as emirates.²⁴ Elsewhere, the Muslim presence was characterized by raiding and the establishment of short-term bases. Muslim raids on Calabria and coastal Campania were frequent and devastating. In the 880s the great Northern Campanian monasteries of S. Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino were destroyed and their monks forced into exile, while a Muslim base was established at the mouth of the Garigliano River (c.880–915). Muslim bands on the mainland forged ad hoc alliances with local Christian powers, most notably with the Neapolitans in the mid-ninth century. Some were hired as mercenaries by Lombard rulers and played an influential role in the civil war that engulfed the Beneventan principality in the mid-ninth century.

This civil war splintered South Italian Lombard power into separate principalities based on Benevento, Capua and Salerno; the three would never again simultaneously fall under the rule of one dynasty. The rivalries of the cities on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea – Naples, Gaeta and

Latin Church, 10–59; A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), 4–87; B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991).

²² J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI au XII siècle* (Rome, 1993), 146–60, 248–50; Loud, *Latin Church*, 17–19.

²³ Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, 4–32; C. D. Stanton, *Norman Naval Operations in the Mediterranean* (Woodbridge, 2011), 9–24.

²⁴ G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari, 847–71* (Bari, 1964); Metcalfe, *Muslims of Medieval Italy*, 16–22.