

# **Aristocratic society in Abruzzo, c.950-1140**

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## **Declaration**

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## Summary

This thesis is an examination of aristocratic society in the Italian province of Abruzzo from the mid-tenth century to the incorporation of the region into the kingdom of Sicily in 1140. To rectify the historiographical deficit that exists concerning this topic, this thesis analyses the aristocracy of Abruzzo from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. It elucidates the political fragmentation apparent in the region before the Norman invasion, the establishment and administration of the Abruzzese Norman lordships and their network of political connections and the divergent political strategies employed by the local aristocracy in response to the Norman conquest. As the traditional narrative sources for the history of medieval southern Italy provide little information concerning Abruzzo, critical analysis of the idiosyncratic Abruzzese narrative and documentary sources is fundamental to the understanding this subject and this thesis provides a detailed examination of the intent, ideological context and utility of these sources to facilitate this investigation.

Chapter 1 of this thesis examines the historical and ideological context of the most important medieval Abruzzese source – the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria. By examining the wider European and contemporary Italian tradition of chronicle-cartulary production and the careers of the author, John Berard, and his abbot, Leonas, this chapter elucidates the ideological climate of San Clemente, which was founded on a belief in the authority of the papacy and royalty and a stringent belief in the iniquity of the local secular aristocracy. Chapter 2 exposes this ideology in the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente, investigates instances of forgery in the cartulary, argues that John Berard formulated his chronicle-cartulary primarily as a work of history and examines how his prejudices modulated his historical accounts, particularly concerning the aristocracy of Abruzzo. Chapter 3 analyses the context, content and ideology of two other important Abruzzese sources – the chronicle-

cartulary of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis*.

Building upon this foundation of critical source analysis, chapter 4 analyses the development of aristocratic society and institutions in Abruzzo in the century before the Norman arrival. The extent of German imperial authority in the region, the increasing influence of the papacy in *Aprutium*, the nature and decline of Attonid comital authority and the increase in political autonomy amongst the lesser aristocracy – in particular, the Tebaldi, Teutoneschi, Bernardi and Sansoneschi families – is examined. Chapter 5 is an investigation into the genesis, progress, extent and nature of the Norman invasion of Abruzzo in the late-eleventh century. Focusing on the new Abruzzese Norman lordships – the county of Loritello, the county of Loreto and the lordships of Nebulo of Penne and Hugh Malmouzet – this chapter explains the territorial extent of each lordship, the associations of these lords with the church and local aristocracy and the network of political connections amongst the Norman lords. Chapter 6 investigates the nature and modification of the Norman lordships of Abruzzo in the early-twelfth century and assesses the evolution of the extent, administration and political relationships of these lordships. Finally, chapter 7 examines the impact of the Norman annexations upon the local aristocrats of Abruzzo and the varied strategies they employed to ensure their political survival.

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### Abbreviations

- Additamenta* *Additamenta ad chronicon Casauriense*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 2 (Milan, 1726), cols. 917-1018
- Amatus* *Storia de Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 76 (Rome, 1935)
- Cart. Teramana* *Il cartulario della chiesa Teramana*, ed. Francesco Savini (Rome, 1910)
- Chron. Carp, Pio* *Chronicorum liber monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto*, ed. Berardo Pio, *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale* 5 (Rome, 2001)
- Chron. mon. Cas.* *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 34 (Hanover, 1980)
- Chronicon Casauriense* *Chronicon Casauriense*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 2 (Milan, 1726), cols. 775-916
- Cod. dip. Tremiti* *Codice diplomatico del monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti, 1005-1237*, ed. Armando Petrucci, *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale* 98 (3 vols., Rome, 1960)
- Collectionis bullarum* *Collectionis bullarum sacrosanctae basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1747)
- Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales* Laurent Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales: Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Rome, 1998)
- Gattula, *Accessiones* Erasmo Gattula, *Ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis accessiones*

- (Venice, 1734)
- Gattula, *Historiae* Erasmio Gattula, *Historiae abbatiae Cassinensis* (Venice, 1733)
- Geoffrey Malaterra *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 5 (Bologna, 1927-8), pp. 3-108
- I placiti* *I placiti del Regnum Italiae*, ed. Cesare Manaresi, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 92, 96-7 (3 vols., Rome, 1955-60)
- Italia pontificia* *Italia pontificia*, ed. Paul Kehr (10 vols., Berlin, 1906-74)
- Italia sacra* *Italia sacra*, eds Ferdinando Ughelli and Nicolò Colletti (10 vols., Venice, 1717-22)
- Le carte di San Liberatore* Mariano Dell'Omo, *Le carte di S. Liberatore alla Maiella conservate nell'archivio di Montecassino* (Montecassino, 2003)
- Libellus querulus* *Libellus querulus di miseris ecclesie Pennensis*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 30 (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 1461-7
- Liber instrumentorum Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum Casauriensis, MS Lat. 5411, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- Liber. Sancti Salvatoris Liber instrumentorum monasterii Sancti Salvatoris de Maiella, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, Caps. 72, fasc. 53, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- Reg. arc. Chieti* *Regesto delle pergamene della curia arcivescovile di Chieti, vol. 1, 1006-1400*, ed. Antonio Balducci (Casalbordino, 1926)

William of Apulia

*La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo,  
1961)

**Note on translation**

All translations are the author's own. Where the possibility of confusion occurs between synonymous ecclesiastical institutions and their patron saints, Italian has been used for the institutions (e.g. San Clemente) and English for the saint (e.g. Saint Clement).



## Introduction

In the north–south dichotomy of Italian history and historiography the Abruzzo region is often ignored.<sup>1</sup> Yet Abruzzo was the only Italian region to traverse this conceptual division. Between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Abruzzo changed from a southern march of the imperial duchy of Spoleto to the northern frontier of the Norman kingdom of Sicily. The catalyst for this transition was the Norman invasion of the mid-eleventh century which culminated in the incorporation of the region into the kingdom of Sicily in 1140. The historiography of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, however, orientated by the dominant primary sources, has relegated Abruzzo to a sideshow, overshadowed by the exploits of Robert Guiscard, Richard of Capua and Roger of Sicily. Superficially, Abruzzo presents an image of political and cultural homogeneity and the institutions of Abruzzo are often overlooked in favour of analysis of the multiculturalism of Sicily, political diversity in Apulia or the administrative development of the *Regno*. This perspective, however, implicitly denies the dynamic nature of aristocratic society of Abruzzo from the tenth to twelfth centuries and the region's distinct character compared to the other provinces of the *Mezzogiorno*. Moreover, Abruzzo represents an important case study as a region which witnessed markedly low levels of Norman immigration and widespread survival of the native aristocracy. This study, therefore, aims to analyse the nature and development of the Abruzzese aristocracy and institutions before the Norman invasion, to investigate the extent of the Norman conquests and the strategies and networks used by the first and second generation of Abruzzese Norman lords and to examine the strategies utilised by the native aristocracy in response to the Norman incursions.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern revisionist historians have continued this trend. See, for example, *The new history of the Italian south: the Mezzogiorno revisited*, eds, Robert Lumley and Jonathan Morris (Exeter, 1997).

## 1. Historical trends in southern Italy from the tenth to twelfth century

### 1.1. Pre-Norman divisions

The general history of southern Italy from the tenth to the twelfth centuries has been elucidated by numerous excellent works.<sup>2</sup> More pertinent to this study, modern research on the political, cultural and social history of southern Italy has highlighted a series of important historical trends that merit comparison with developments in Abruzzo during this period. The most apparent of these historical trends was the political fragmentation, cultural contrasts and religious diversity that permeated southern Italy before the Norman arrival. The region lacked a unifying political authority. The western emperors laid claim to the entire peninsula of Italy but their campaigns south of Rome were limited and their impact temporary.<sup>3</sup> Though interventions were undertaken, such as Pandulf IV of Capua's depositions by both Henry II and Conrad II, the region's various polities were effectively autonomous from German authority. The principalities of Benevento, Capua and Salerno had previously been united in the duchy of Benevento, created after the Lombard invasion of the sixth century, but were divided since the mid-ninth century.<sup>4</sup> The principalities were Lombard in character yet, although briefly united under the control of Pandulf Ironhead in 977-81, politically distinct. Attempts by Pandulf IV of Capua and Guaimar IV of Salerno to unify the principalities led to persistent conflict in the 1030s and 1040s.<sup>5</sup> On the Tyrrhenian coastline lay a number of independent duchies – Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta – which had resisted the Lombard invasion, retained nominal allegiance to the Byzantine empire yet adopted many Lombard customs. Their

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<sup>2</sup> For a general overview of the period, see Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), Graham A. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the eleventh century', in David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, eds, *The new Cambridge medieval history IV, c.1024-c.1198, part II* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 94-119, Graham A. Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard. Southern Italy and the Norman conquest* (Harlow, 2000) and Jean-Marie Martin, *Italies Normandes, XIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Imperial campaigns to southern Italy were undertaken by Otto II in 982, Otto III in 999, Henry II in 1022, Conrad II in 1037-8 and Henry III in 1047.

<sup>4</sup> See Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, pp. 66-74.

<sup>5</sup> On Lombard Capua, see Nicola Cilento, *Le origini della signoria capuana nella Longobardia minore* (Rome, 1966). On pre-Norman Salerno, see Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe-XIe siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale* (Rome, 1991).



political power was modest yet they maintained buoyant economies through maritime trading.

Further south, the island of Sicily was under Muslim domination since the ninth century, though the island maintained a significant Christian Greek population, and Muslim campaigns on the mainland were common, and included that which defeated the army of Emperor Otto II at Stilo in Calabria in 982.<sup>6</sup> On the mainland, the Byzantine Empire, following a resurgence in the ninth and tenth centuries, maintained authority over much of Apulia and Calabria.<sup>7</sup> By the eleventh century the Byzantine dominions were united under the governance of an imperially appointed official, the *catepan*, usually resident in Bari. Calabria contained a large Greek population yet Apulia's populace was principally Lombard, including many state officials, and following Byzantine custom local Lombard law and the Latin church operated alongside Byzantine institutions. Superficially, Abruzzo in the tenth and eleventh centuries was free of ethnic, cultural and ecclesiastical divisions. The Latin church was universal, Lombard law was dominant, the aristocracy was largely Germanic and a single comital dynasty, the Attonids, retained political authority. Beneath this facade, however, as will be discussed in chapter 4, Abruzzo experienced a process of political fragmentation and conflict akin to that which affected the other regions of the *Mezzogiorno* in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

## 1.2. The disintegration of centralised authority

A further historical trend that developed during the tenth and in particular during the eleventh century was a clear degeneration of centralised authority in many of the polities of southern Italy. This process had its clearest manifestation in the Byzantine territories. As a frontier of the Byzantine empire, this region was heavily influenced by the fortunes of the

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<sup>6</sup> See Dirk Alvermann, 'La battaglia di Ottone II contro i Saraceni nel 982', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* (1995), pp. 115-30. On Muslim Sicily, see Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009) and Hiroshi Takayama, 'The Fatimid and Kalbite governors in Sicily, 909-1044', *Mediterranean world* 13 (1992), pp. 21-30.

<sup>7</sup> On Byzantine Italy, see Vera von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978).

empire as a whole. Thus in the early-eleventh century, during the successful reign of Emperor Basil II, the Byzantine *catepans* Basil Mesardonites (1010-16/7) and Basil Boiannes (1017-27) were able to secure and expand Byzantine authority in the region.<sup>8</sup> Fractures in the Byzantine administration, however, were exposed during the century. In 1002, Bari was besieged for almost six months by a Muslim force and ultimately relieved by a mercenary Venetian fleet. In 1009 a revolt in Bari, led by a disaffected aristocrat, Melus, effectively removed the city and much of the surrounding region from Byzantine control until its suppression in 1011. A further rebellion led by Melus in 1017-8 resulted in the defeat of three Byzantine armies and the deaths of numerous officials. Melus's passion for dissent was inherited by his son, Argyros, who organised a revolt in the 1040s and adopted the title of *dux Italiae*. Argyros was ultimately satisfied with the office of *catepan* yet a movement towards autonomy had blossomed within many of the Apulian cities and among the aristocracy, concomitant with the rising Norman power.<sup>9</sup> Fundamentally, the death of Emperor Constantine IX, last of the Macedonian dynasty, in 1055 and the disastrous defeat of Byzantine forces at the battle of Manzikert in 1071 terminated Byzantine authority in southern Italy.

This process of the dissolution of centralised power, established before the Normans but exacerbated by their incursions, was repeated to varying degrees in the other regions of southern Italy. In Sicily, revolts in 1019 and 1038, both resulting in a coup, were emblematic of political fragmentation and by the middle of the century the island had separated into numerous contending emirates. Though the duchies of Amalfi and Naples maintained internal order, Gaeta witnessed a series of regime changes and was briefly subjugated by Pandulf IV of Capua.<sup>10</sup> In the Lombard principalities, political machinations and internecine strife became

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<sup>8</sup> See Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Between two empires: Byzantine Italy in the reign of Basil II', in *Byzantium in the year 1000*, ed., Paul Magdolino (Leiden, 2003), pp. 135-159.

<sup>9</sup> See Vera von Falkenhausen, 'Bari Bizantina: Profilo di un capoluogo di provincia (secoli IX-XI)' in *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei comuni*, ed., Gabriella Gossetti (Naples, 1986), pp. 195-227.

<sup>10</sup> See Patricia Skinner, *Family power in southern Italy: the duchy of Gaeta and its neighbours, 850-1139* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 149-209.

the norm after the death of the unifying figure of Pandulf Ironhead in 981. Capua experienced civil war in the 990s and Prince Pandulf IV was deposed by German forces in 1022 and 1038. In Benevento, after a revolt in 1014, the city became increasingly autonomous and the princes also lost authority to the rising power of the bishops. Salerno maintained the most stable society during this period and Prince Guaimar IV was influential in the wider region during the second quarter of the eleventh century. Guaimar, however, was assassinated in a familial quarrel in 1052 and replaced by his politically weak son, Gisulf, allowing for the autonomy of the local aristocracy and increasing Norman infiltration. Again, this process was seemingly absent from Abruzzo, where the Attonid counts claimed supreme authority. As will be discussed in chapter 4 and 5, however, the encroaching influence of the papacy and the emergent power of the lesser aristocracy severely destabilized comital authority, facilitating the Norman annexations.

### **1.3. Strategies, networks and conflicts during the Norman invasion**

The Norman involvement in southern Italy began auspiciously with opportunist mercenaries entering the employ of Guaimar IV of Salerno and aiding the second rebellion of Melus of Bari.<sup>11</sup> The foundation of a Norman settlement in Aversa in the 1030s, however, prefigured a shift in Norman strategy and, as the century progressed, the majority of southern Italy came under Norman dominion. The counts of Aversa concentrated their campaigns in the Campania, adopting the title of prince of Capua in 1058 and subjugating the majority of the territories associated with the Lombard principalities.<sup>12</sup> To the south and west, Robert Guiscard dedicated much of his career to dismantling Byzantine authority in the region and came to control much of Apulia, Basilicata and Calabria. Finally, the invasion of Sicily in the

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<sup>11</sup> Contending theories on the Norman arrival in Italy are discussed in Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Anfänge der Normannen in Unteritalien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 49 (1969), pp. 95-144, John France, 'The occasion of the coming of the Normans to southern Italy', *Journal of medieval history* 17 (1991), pp. 185-205, Einar Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans in Italy', *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp. 353-96 and Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 60-6.

<sup>12</sup> See Graham A. Loud, 'Continuity and change in Norman Italy: the Campania during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Journal of medieval history* 22 (1996), pp. 313-343.

1060s and 1070s established Guiscard's brother, Roger, as the dominant force in Sicily and southern Calabria. These annexations, however, did not progress without conflicts amongst the invading Normans. Roger of Sicily and Robert Guiscard quarrelled over the division of territorial interests in Calabria in the 1060s and Richard of Capua supported the rebellion of Guiscard's nephews, Abelard and Herman, against their uncle in 1072. Guiscard also had to contend with the Norman counts of Lesina, while Richard faced a rebellion in Capua in 1063 led by William of Montreuil. The distribution of Norman lordships and the nature of the political alliances created by the Normans lords in Abruzzo will be analysed in chapters 5 and 6.

The Normans of southern Italy also developed strategies to overwhelm, placate or assimilate the region's established authorities. For the most part, relations with the church were amiable. Both Richard of Capua and Robert Guiscard developed firm ties to the abbey of Montecassino and, in particular, Abbot Desiderius.<sup>13</sup> Initial hostility from the papacy, exemplified by Pope Leo IX's campaign against Robert and Richard, which ended in defeat at Civitate in 1053, developed into an uneasy alliance.<sup>14</sup> Pope Nicholas II recognised Guiscard as duke of Apulia and Calabria, and presumably Richard as prince of Capua, and sanctioned operations into Sicily, in exchange for oaths of fidelity and tribute.<sup>15</sup> Although Roger of Sicily unilaterally established bishoprics and installed churchmen in Sicily, Norman interference in church affairs was limited and the ecclesiastical hierarchy remained primarily ethnically Lombard.<sup>16</sup> Ecclesiastical deprivations, however, did occur. While the Greek church was tolerated and sometimes patronised, the introduction of papal influence over the whole

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<sup>13</sup> See H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> See Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, 'Léon IX et les Normands d'Italie du sud', in Georges Bischoff and Benoît-Michel Tock, eds, *Léon IX et son temps* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 299-329.

<sup>15</sup> On further Norman-papal relations, see Ian S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 367-97 and Graham A. Loud, 'The Papacy and the rulers of southern Italy, 1058-1198' in *The society of Norman Italy*, eds, Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 151-84.

<sup>16</sup> See Norbert Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi dell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione Bizantina all stato Normanno', in *Forma di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed., Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), pp. 379-97 and Valerie Ramsayer, *The transformation of a religious landscape. Medieval southern Italy, 850-1150* (Ithaca, 2006).

peninsula and the foundation of numerous Latin bishoprics undermined its authority. Furthermore wealthy and powerful monasteries, such as San Vincenzo al Volturno, suffered territorial usurpations.<sup>17</sup> Relations with the secular aristocracy were also malleable. Alliances with important powers, such as Argyros of Bari and Guaimar IV of Salerno, who sponsored Norman settlement at Aversa, were maintained expediently. Locals were also adopted into Norman retinues, such as Pandulf, son of Guala, who served Richard of Capua in the 1060s and 1070s.<sup>18</sup> Yet integration was not guaranteed and indigenous rebellions arose in Capua in 1063 and the 1090s. The nature of Norman relations with the established Abruzzese authorities and the varying strategies employed will also be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

#### **1.4. Local reactions to the Norman invasion**

The aristocracy of southern Italy employed disparate strategies to adapt to the new political situation created by the Norman conquest. Guaimar IV of Salerno forged a lasting alliance with the Normans of Aversa but his successor, Gisulf, became increasingly belligerent towards the Normans and Guiscard captured Salerno in 1076.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the Lombard princes of Capua attempted to resist the Norman incursions and lost control of Capua in 1058.<sup>20</sup> Many Lombard aristocrats from these regions entrusted their lands to great ecclesiastical institutions, such as the abbey of Montecassino, rather than see them annexed by the Normans.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the citizens of Benevento ensured a degree of autonomy by accepting

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<sup>17</sup> See Chris Wickham, 'The *terra* of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the 8th to 12th centuries: the historical framework', in *San Vincenzo al Volturno. The archaeology, art and territory of an early medieval monastery*, eds. R. Hodges and J. Mitchell (Oxford, 1998), pp. 227-258. On the first Normans and monasticism, see Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, 'La prima generazione normanna e le istituzioni monastiche dell'Italia meridionale', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Bari, 1975), pp. 135-146 and Loud, *Latin church in Norman Italy*, pp. 60-134.

<sup>18</sup> Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 281.

<sup>19</sup> On Norman Salerno, see Valerie Ramsayer, 'Territorial lordships in the principality of Salerno, 1050-1150', *Haskins society journal* 9 (2001), pp. 79-94.

<sup>20</sup> On Norman Capua, see Graham A. Loud, *Church and society in the Norman principality of Capua, 1058-1197* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>21</sup> Graham A. Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 114.

the suzerainty of the papacy.<sup>22</sup> Amalfi surrendered conditionally to Guiscard in 1073 and maintained many of its liberties. Gaeta also negotiated its surrender but rose in revolt in the 1090s.<sup>23</sup> Naples, however, vehemently resisted Norman incursions and retained its independence into the twelfth century. In Sicily, the native Greek population aided the Norman annexation and, though the Muslim emirs capitulated, a Muslim aristocracy remained and both Greek and Arab officials played a significant role in the Norman administration in Palermo.<sup>24</sup> In Apulia, the majority of the local Lombard aristocracy was displaced but Bari, the first city of Byzantine Italy, accepted a conditional surrender in 1071 after a three-year siege and, although a bishop was installed through Norman authority, Barese society was unaffected and an autonomous government developed under the leadership of a local notable, Argirizzos. This movement toward autonomy culminated in the reign of Grimoald *Alferanites*, 'prince of Bari', in the 1120s.<sup>25</sup> A similar variety of political and military strategies was employed by the local aristocracy in Abruzzo, as will be examined in chapter 7.

## 2. Research questions

This study will investigate these historical trends in Abruzzo region. Fundamental to this investigation is a detailed understanding of the idiosyncratic primary sources available for Abruzzese history during this period. This study, therefore, will begin with an investigation of the context, content and problems associated with these sources, focusing primarily on the chronicle-cartularies of San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the late-eleventh-century tract known as the *Libellus querulus de miseriis Pennensis*. Who commissioned these texts and why were they composed? What are the prejudices and

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<sup>22</sup> See Graham A. Loud, 'Politics, piety and ecclesiastical patronage in twelfth-century Benevento' in *Cavalieri alla conquista sel Sud*, eds, Errico Cuozzo and Jean-Marie Martin (Rome, 1998), pp. 283-312.

<sup>23</sup> See Patricia Skinner, 'Politics and piracy: The duchy of Gaeta in the twelfth century', *Journal of medieval history* (1995), pp. 307-19.

<sup>24</sup> See Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic-speakers and the end of Islam* (New York, 2002) and Jeremy Johns, *Arabic administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> On urban autonomy in Apulia, see Paul Oldfield, *City and community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2009).

ideologies inherent in their narratives, what are the issues intrinsic to the cartularies and how best can these sources be employed to investigate aristocratic society in Abruzzo during this period? Developing upon this examination, this study will subsequently analyse the development of Abruzzese aristocratic society from the tenth to mid-twelfth centuries. Initially, this analysis will focus on the pre-Norman period. What was the extent of imperial and comital authority in Abruzzo and was this power diminishing? To what degree was the lesser aristocracy rejecting the traditional institutions of aristocratic society? Proceeding to the Norman period, this study will analyse the nature and extent of the new Norman lordships of Abruzzo and the strategies and political networks established and utilised by the Normans. What were the geographical limits of the Norman annexations, how were these lordships established and what was the new Norman lords' relationship with the indigenous powers of Abruzzo? Further analysis of the second generation of Norman lords, following the deaths of Hugh Malmouzet and Robert of Loritello, will aim to identify variations in these lordships, relationships and strategies. Finally, this study will analyse the impact of the Norman invasion on the local aristocrats of Abruzzo and the varying strategies they employed to preserve their political power into the twelfth century.

### **3. Clarification of terms**

#### **3.1. Normans**

Throughout this study the term 'Norman' will be used broadly to denote the immigrants who arrived in Italy from northern France, their descendants and the men who identified as Normans or were identified by contemporaries as Normans. The identification of the immigrants with Normandy has been supported by Léon-Robert Ménager's identification of the majority of immigrants with the duchy.<sup>26</sup> Modern research has undermined the

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<sup>26</sup> Leon-Robert Ménager, 'Appendice: Inventaire des familles normandes et flanqués émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XIe-XIIe siècles)', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Bari, 1975), pp. 260-390.

homogeneous picture of Norman character presented by David Douglas and Charles Haskins.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, research into *Normanitas* has highlighted the complexities of Norman identity in the various regions which experienced Norman immigration.<sup>28</sup> In southern Italy, much of this analysis has focused on the late-eleventh-century narrative sources for the Norman invasion – the work of Geoffrey Malaterra, William of Apulia and Amatus of Montecassino – who presented the Normans as a distinct, identifiable *gens* with particular traits and customs.<sup>29</sup> The most important Abruzzese narrative sources, composed in the late-twelfth century continued this tradition. Alexander of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto described the ‘coming of the Normans’ and John Berard of San Clemente a Casauria denounced the Normans as a ‘most power-hungry race’.<sup>30</sup> These views on ethnic distinction, however, were clearly influenced by the models of classical history. The Norman propensity for adaptation and assimilation, numerous generations of intermarriage and the foundation of the kingdom of Sicily is likely to have dissolved ethnic distinctions by the mid-twelfth century.<sup>31</sup> In the period covered by this study, however, it is clear that the Normans in southern Italy were viewed by the local population as a separate group. A charter of 1071 from Bari denounced the ‘evil Normans’ who robbed them. A 1076 charter from Penne described two men who had been captured by

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<sup>27</sup> See Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European history* (Boston, 1915) and David C. Douglas, *The Norman achievement* (London, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> For Normandy, see Cassandra Potts, ‘*Atque unum ex diversis gentibus populum effecit*: Historical tradition and the Norman identity’, *Anglo-Norman studies* 18 (1995), pp. 139-52. For England, see Hugh Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic hostility, assimilation, and identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003). For the Latin East, see Alan V. Murray, ‘How Norman was the principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to a study of the origins of the nobility of a crusader state’, in *Family trees and the roots of politics*, ed., K.S.B Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 349-59 and Lean Ni Chleirigh, ‘*Gesta Normannorum?* Normans in the Latin chronicles of the First Crusade’, in *Norman expansion: Contrasts, connections and continuities*, eds, Andrew Jotischky and Keith Stringer (Farnham, 2013), pp. 207-18.

<sup>29</sup> See Graham A. Loud, ‘The *gens Normannorum* – myth or reality?’, *Anglo-Norman studies* 1 (1982), pp. 104-116, Ewan Johnson, ‘Normandy and Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles’, *Anglo-Norman studies* 27 (2005), pp. 85-100 and Ewan Johnson, ‘Origin myths and the construction of medieval identities: Norman chronicles 1000–1200’, in R. Corradini, *et al.*, eds, *Texts and identities in the early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2005), pp. 153-164.

<sup>30</sup> *Chron. Carpineto*, Pio, p. 41, ‘adventum normannorum’; *Chronicon casauriense*, col. 863, ‘Normannos, dominandi gentem avidissimam’.

<sup>31</sup> Graham A. Loud, ‘How “Norman” was the Norman conquest of southern Italy?’, *Nottingham medieval studies* 25 (1981), pp. 13-34. See also Joanna H. Drell, ‘Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: the Norman “conquest” of southern Italy and Sicily’, *Journal of medieval history* 25 (1999), pp. 187-202.



'evil Normans' and a defendant in an 1108 *placitum* held in *Aprutium* complained of the 'most evil power of the Normans'.<sup>32</sup> As will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the Norman lords of Abruzzo developed connections with sections of the local aristocracy but were viewed, and operated as, a distinct political force.

### 3.2. Abruzzo

The modern region of Abruzzo incorporates the provinces of Chieti, L'Aquila, Pescara and Teramo. This region has been variously administratively divided in previous centuries – comprising Abruzzo Ultra I, II and Citra in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Abruzzo Ulteriore and Citeriore in late-medieval kingdom of Sicily.<sup>33</sup> In the tenth century, this region was divided into the five counties of Marsia, Valva, Chieti, Penne and *Aprutium*.<sup>34</sup> The rough delineations of these counties were clearly understood by contemporary notaries and narrative sources. The counties, however, constituted two distinct political entities. In the mid-tenth century, Pandulf Ironhead, duke of Spoleto, established Atto I, the progenitor of the line of the Attonids, as count over Chieti, Penne and *Aprutium*. Concurrently, the counties of Valva and Marsia were entrusted to Berard 'the Frank' and his descendants.<sup>35</sup> With the exception of northern Valva, this region was outside Attonid authority and was latterly subject to Norman pressure not from Robert of Loritello and his Apulian allies but from the Norman

<sup>32</sup> *Codice diplomatico Barese, 4: Le Pergamene di San Nicola di Bari. Periodo Greco (903-1071)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900), n.44; *Libellus querulus*, p. 1466; *Cart. Teramana*, n.9.

<sup>33</sup> Thus giving rise to the denomination 'the Abruzzi'.

<sup>34</sup> Discussion of the geographical delineations can be found in Laurent Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 87-110 and Vincenzo Floridi, 'La formazione della regione abruzzese e il suo assetto territoriale fra il tardo periodo imperiale e il XII secolo', in *L'Abruzzo nel medioevo*, eds, Umberto Russo and Edoardo Tiboni (Pescara, 2003), pp. 13-24.

<sup>35</sup> On the Marsian counts, see Cesare Rivera, *I conti dei Marsi e la loro discendenza fino alla fondazione dell'Aquila (843-1250)* (Teramo, 1913-15), Antonio Sennis, 'Potere centrale e forze locali in un territorio di frontiera: la Marsica tra i secoli VIII e XII', *Bulletino dell'istituto italiano per il medio evo e archivio Muratoriano* 99 (1994), pp. 1-77 and John Howe, 'Fatal discord in an eleventh-century noble family from central Italy', *Medieval prosopography* 16 (1995), pp. 15-29. This lineage also produced the important Borelli clan, see Cesare Rivera, 'Per la storia delle origini dei Borelli conti di Sangro', *Archivio storico per le provincia Napoletane* 5 (1919), pp. 48-92, Evelyn Mary Jamison, 'The significance of the early medieval documents from S.Maria della Noce and S.Salvatore di Castiglione', *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples, 1959), pp. 51-80 and Laurent Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', in *The society of Norman Italy*, eds, Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 47-74, p. 55-9.

princes of Capua.<sup>36</sup> The Attonid lordship was often referred to by contemporaries as that of the ‘counts of Chieti’ and they referred to themselves in charter using this nomenclature.<sup>37</sup> Practically, however, as will be discussed in chapter 4, the authority of the Attonids during the late-tenth and eleventh centuries extended over Chieti, Penne and *Aprutium*. After the Norman victory at Ortona in 1076 and the widespread annexations of the late-eleventh century, the Attonid lordship was superseded by the counties of Loreto, Loritello, Manoppello and the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet, while the Attonids retained some power in *Aprutium*. This study will be primarily concerned with the areas which constituted the Attonid lordship and its Norman successors.

#### 4. Historiography

The genesis of modern historical research on southern Italy from the tenth to twelfth centuries can be traced to the complementary studies of Jules Gay on Byzantine Italy and Ferdinand Chalandon on the Norman invasion.<sup>38</sup> These works, rooted in comprehensive primary source research and scholarly analysis, established the model for academic research for the twentieth century. Unfortunately, Chalandon’s extensive study almost completely ignored events in Abruzzo, dedicating fewer than five pages to the establishment of the Abruzzese Norman lordships.<sup>39</sup> This void was filled by a number of local Abruzzese historians who, in the new political and intellectual climate created by the *Risorgimento*, sought to establish a distinctive history of Abruzzo.<sup>40</sup> Chief amongst this group was Cesare Rivera, whose publications on the Norman incursions into Abruzzo in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

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<sup>36</sup> On the Normans princes of Capua and the Marsia, see *Amatus*, pp. 331-2.

<sup>37</sup> For example, *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.46, p. 488; *I placiti*, n.222, 403.

<sup>38</sup> Jules Gay, *L’Italie méridionale et l’empire Byzantin: depuis l’avènement de Basile 1er jusqu’à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904); Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907).

<sup>39</sup> Chalandon, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p.248-51.

<sup>40</sup> For example Francesco Savini, *La contea di Apruzio e i suoi conti: storia Teramana dell’alto medioevo* (Rome, 1905) and Giuseppe Celidonio, *La diocesi di Valva e Sulmona* (Casalbordino, 1909). This period also produced the first scholarly primary source editions, for example *Cart. Teramana* and *Reg. arc. Chieti*.

attempted to provide a narrative synthesis of the period.<sup>41</sup> Rivera's research, however, displayed clear signs of ideological prejudice – he described Count Trasmund III as a 'great champion of liberty' and decried the 'Norman scourge' – possibly influenced by contemporary tensions concerning the alleged French betrayal of the unification movement.<sup>42</sup> Further south, and continuing from the work of Chalandon and Gay, historians of the mid-twentieth century began to extend the frontiers of historical research, in particular concerning the Norman aristocracy and the administration of the kingdom of Sicily, such as Evelyn Jamison's pioneering research on Apulia, Capua and Molise.<sup>43</sup> Similar analysis of Abruzzo, however, was slow to develop and often flawed, such as Angelo De Francesco's overly-schematic investigation of feudal development which discounted the nuances of the political network of the Abruzzese Norman lords and, adopting the prejudices of Amatus of Montecassino, labelled Trasmund III as a 'detestable tyrant'.<sup>44</sup> A healthy movement of primary source analysis, however, developed contemporaneously, led by Cesare Manaresi.<sup>45</sup>

Progressive primary source analysis continued to evolve during the second half of the twentieth century, most importantly the work of Alessandro Pratesi on the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria and Francesco Magistrale on the chronicle-cartulary of San

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<sup>41</sup> Cesare Rivera, 'Le conquiste dei primi Normanni in Teate, Penne, Apruzzo e Valva', *Bulletino della deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 16 (1925), pp. 7-94 and Cesare Rivera, 'L'Annessione delle terre d'Abruzzo al regno di Sicilia', *Archivio storico italiano* 84 (1926), pp. 199-309.

<sup>42</sup> Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 11; Cesare Rivera, 'Valva e i suoi conti', *Bulletino della deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 17 (1926), pp. 69-159, p. 119. Rivera also labelled Count Richard of Manoppello a 'tyrant', 'Valva e i suoi conti', p. 132.

<sup>43</sup> See Evelyn Mary Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua, more especially under Roger II and William I', *Papers of the British school at Rome* 6 (1913), pp. 211-481 and Evelyn Mary Jamison, 'The administration of the county of Molise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *English historical review* 44 (1929), pp. 529-59. Many of Jamison's articles were collected in *Studies on the history of medieval Sicily and south Italy*, ed., Dione Clementi (Aalen, 1992).

<sup>44</sup> Angelo De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalismo nel Molise fino alla caduta della dominazione Normanna', *Archivio storico per le provincia Napoletane* 34-5 (1909-10), pp. 432-460, 640-671, 70-98, 273-307, p. 276.

<sup>45</sup> Cesare Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum monasteri Casauriensis della Nazionale di Parigi', *Rendiconti dell'istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* 80 (1947), pp. 29-62.

Bartholomeo di Carpineto.<sup>46</sup> Dedicated political investigations and aristocratic studies, however, remained limited and unsatisfactory. In particular, the work of Ludovico Gatto, whose attempt to emphasise the exceptionality of Abruzzo in a series of studies on the Abruzzese Norman lords, was undermined by a distinct lack of academic methodology.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, the study of aristocratic society in southern Italy, alongside other important fields of study, advanced significantly during the final decades of the century. The illuminating research conducted by Vera von Falkenhausen on pre-Norman Apulia, Léon-Robert Ménager on the first Norman immigrants, Errico Cuozzo on the Norman aristocracy and military organisation and Graham Loud on the Latin church and its relationship with the new aristocracy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was founded on meticulous primary research and detailed analysis.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the research on aristocratic power and strategies by Patricia Skinner

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<sup>46</sup> See Alessandro Pratesi, 'Una questione di metodo: l'edizione delle fonti documentarie', *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 17 (1957), pp. 312-33, Alessandro Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', *Fonti medioevali e problematica storiografica* (Rome, 1976), pp. 337-350 and Alessandro Pratesi, 'In margine al lavoro preparatorio per l'edizione del Chronicon Casauriense', *Abruzzo* 15 (1977), pp. 95-114, though Pratesi did not produce an edition of the San Clemente chronicle-cartularly, as promised. Francesco Magistrale, 'Per una nuova edizione della cronaca del monastero di San Bartolomeo da Carpineto', *Studi storici in onore di Gabriele Pepe* (Bari, 1969), pp. 289-300, built on the work of Alessandro Chiappini, 'Il chronicon del monastero di San Bartolomeo a Carpineto secondo un nuovo codice', *Rivista Abruzzese* 4 (1951), pp. 93-4.

<sup>47</sup> Gatto's most egregious error was made obvious in the title of his 1974 article, 'Ugo Maumouzet, conte di Manoppello, Normanno d'Abruzzo', *Studi sul medioevo cristiano offerti a Raffaello Morghen* (Rome, 1974), pp. 355-373. No primary source identifies Hugh as count of Manoppello and, as will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5, Hugh's lordship was wholly separate from the county of Manoppello. See also Ludovico Gatto, 'Problemi e momenti dell'Abruzzo Normanno', *Abruzzo* 7 (1970), pp. 81-106, Ludovico Gatto, 'Roberti I, conte di Loritello, Normanno d'Abruzzo', *Quaderni Catenesi di studi classici e medievali* 1 (1979), pp. 435-65 and Ludovico Gatto, 'L'Abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria attraverso il suo chronicon', *Quaderni catenesi di studi classici e medievali* 2 (1980), pp. 591-640.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* and Vera von Falkenhausen, 'A provincial aristocracy: The Byzantine provinces in southern Italy (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century)' in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries*, ed., M. Angold (Oxford 1984), pp. 211-35; Leon-Robert Ménager, 'Pesanteur et étologie de la colonisation normande de l'Italie', in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Bari, 1975), pp. 203-229; Errico Cuozzo, '"Milites" e "testes" nella contea normanna di Principato', *Bullettino dell'istituto italiano per il medio evo e archivio Muratoriano* 88 (1981), pp. 121-63; Errico Cuozzo, 'La nobiltà normanna nel Mezzogiorno all'epoca di Roberto il Guiscardo', *Rivista storica italiana* 98 (1986), pp. 544-54; Errico Cuozzo, *"Quei maledetti Normanni". Cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel Mezzogiorno normanno* (Naples, 1989); Loud, *Church and society in the Norman principality of Capua*; Graham A. Loud, 'The Norman counts of Caiazzo and the abbey of Montecassino', *Miscellanea Cassinese* 44 (1981), pp. 199-217; Loud, *Latin church in Norman Italy*.

in Gaeta and Joanna Drell in Salerno has demonstrated the worth of prosopographical studies in southern Italy.<sup>49</sup>

In Abruzzo, recent historical research has been dominated by Laurent Feller, who has extended the *Annales* methodology of comprehensive regional studies – implemented elsewhere by Jean-Marie Martin in Apulia and Pierre Toubert in Lazio – to Abruzzo.<sup>50</sup> Feller's copious articles have dealt with wide-ranging issues including the process of *incastellamento* in Abruzzo, conditions of servitude and the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente.<sup>51</sup> The culmination of much of this research was Feller's magisterial monograph – *Les Abruzzes médiévales* – an attempt to provide a synthesised analysis of the climate, demography, settlement patterns, economy, society and political institutions of Abruzzo from the ninth to twelfth centuries.<sup>52</sup> Feller's analysis of aristocratic society during this period is detailed and comprehensive. When discussing this topic, however, Feller's methodology produced a marked tendency to focus on the evolution of judicial institutions, to accentuate the integration of the Abruzzese Norman lords into local society and discount the impact of the invasion upon aristocratic society.<sup>53</sup> This study, therefore, building upon the methodologies developed by modern historians of southern Italy, mentioned above, will aim to produce a detailed and nuanced examination of Abruzzese aristocratic society according to the stated research questions, in an attempt to assess the context, events and impact of the Norman

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<sup>49</sup> Skinner, *Family power in southern Italy*; Joanna H. Drell, *Kinship and conquest. Family strategies in the principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077-1194* (Ithaca, 2002).

<sup>50</sup> Jean-Marie Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1993); Pierre Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval* (Rome, 1973).

<sup>51</sup> Laurent Feller, 'L'Incastellamento inachevé des Abruzzes', in *Lo scavo archeologico di Montarrenti e i problemi dell'incastellamento medievale*, eds, R. Francovich and M. Milanese (Florence, 1990), pp. 121-36, Laurent Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes: San Salvatore a Maiella et San Clemente a Casuarìa (XIe-XIIIe siècle)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 97 (1985), pp. 145-182, Laurent Feller, 'Le Cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casuarìa', in *Les cartulaires*, eds, O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 261-277, Laurent Feller, 'La population Abruzzaise durant le haut Moyen-Âge', in *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale, secoli IX-XIV*, eds, R. Comba and I. Naso, (Cuneo, 1994), pp. 327-349 and Laurent Feller, 'Liberté et servitude en Italie centrale (VIIIe-Xe siècles)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 112 (2000), pp. 511-33.

<sup>52</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*.

<sup>53</sup> Specific disagreements with the interpretations of Feller are discussed below, for example, pp. 61, 178, 198, 219, 217, 297.

invasion and the varying strategies employed by the aristocracy of the region in response to the changing dynamics of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

## Chapter 1

### The historical and ideological context of the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria

#### Introduction

Building upon the body of research available concerning the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary – particularly the excellent research of Cesare Manaresi, Alessandro Pratesi and Laurent Feller – this chapter will aim to analyse the historical and ideological context within which John Berard of San Clemente a Casauria composed his chronicle-cartulary.<sup>1</sup> To fully understand this complex source it is important to understand the wider European and contemporary Italian tradition of chronicle-cartulary production that preceded the work of John Berard. This chapter will establish whether a consistent pattern of motivations, intentions and methods can be identified in this tradition and whether these features can be ascribed to, or informed, the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary. Shifting focus to issues concerning the abbey of San Clemente, the nature, extent and veracity of the sources available to John Berard for the composition of his chronicle and cartulary will be examined. Furthermore, this chapter will aim to examine the climate of ideas that existed within the abbey contemporary with the creation of the chronicle-cartulary. Thus the life of John Berard and his relationship with his abbot and patron, Leonas will be analysed. Also, the significant events of the history of the abbey of San Clemente in the second half of the twelfth century and, in particular, the important phases of the abbacy of Abbot Leonas will be analysed to help ascertain the ideological climate in the abbey during the life of John Berard. Finally, an explicit illustration of these beliefs – the facade of the tympanum of the abbey-chapel, created under the tutelage of Abbot Leonas – will be examined to further explore the abbey's

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', Pratesi, 'In margine' and Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria'.

ideology. Collectively, this series of examinations will contextualise the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente, a process essential to its proper understanding and utilisation as a historical source.

The chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente – attributed the Latin title *Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum Casauriensis* – was composed in the abbey of San Clemente in western Chieti and completed sometime after 1182. The author, who identified himself as *Johannes Berardus*, was assisted by a scribe, identified as *magister Rusticus*.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript was at some point transferred to Naples, where it was kept by Antonello Petrucci, secretary of King Ferdinand I of Aragon.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, it was captured by French forces during the 1494-5 Italian expedition of King Charles VIII and brought to Paris where it was ultimately deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>4</sup> Partial editions of the chronicle were published by Francois Duchesne in 1641 and Ferdinand Ughelli in *Italia Sacra*, volume 6, in 1659.<sup>5</sup> Other partial editions followed but the most complete edition was published by Ludovico Muratori in 1726 in the *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* series. Muratori's edition of the chronicle was not comprehensive and he published only a selection of the San Clemente charters, distributed throughout his edition of the chronicle and in an addendum. The original manuscript comprises 272 folios and contains, according to Cesare Manaresi, 2,153 documents.<sup>6</sup> The first seventy-two folios of the manuscript include a prologue, an incomplete index and 1,154 documents, organised geographically, comprising the muniments of the abbey. The final 200

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<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 914. Yolanta Zaluska, 'Chronique et cartulaire de l'abbaye San Clemente a Casauria', in *Dix siècles d'eluminare italienne (VIe-XVIIe siècles)*, ed., Francois Avril (Paris, 1984), pp. 31-2, p. 31, has suggested that *Rusticus* was a layman.

<sup>3</sup> The signature of Petrucci, on fol. 1v, and the an Aragonese symbol, on fol. 272v, have been exposed under UV light: see Francois Avril and Yolanta Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne 1: VIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1980), n. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Though these editions were based on a copy, now lost, Alessandro Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', in *Storiografia e ricerca* (Rome, 1981), pp. 207-220, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 38. This calculation has been questioned by Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 208 n.6, though supported by Davide Adacher, *Le formule ceterate nei documenti del Chronicon Casauriense* (Padova, 1994), p. 11 n. 2. See also Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 74



folios contain 999 documents, mostly charters, organised chronologically, which date from 852 to 1182.<sup>7</sup> Beginning on folio 6r, the chronicle is primarily located in the margins of each page and is divided into four books which related the history of the abbey from the mid-ninth century to the death of Abbot Leonas in 1182. The breadth and detail of both the narrative and documentary aspects of this source thus identify it as the most important primary source for the study of medieval Abruzzo.

## 1. Cartularies in medieval Europe

Numerous studies have located the first notable movement of cartulary production to early-ninth-century eastern Francia, the most famous being the episcopal cartulary of Freising and the cartulary of the abbey of Fulda.<sup>8</sup> With some exceptions, cartulary production only began in western Francia in the tenth century, possibly encouraged by the ecclesiastical reform movement, but it reached its apogee in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>9</sup> The French abbeys of Saint-Denis and Cluny produced cartularies during the eleventh century, while similar works were produced at Saint Marcel-les-Chalon and Montier-en-Der in the early-twelfth century.<sup>10</sup> As will be discussed below, cartulary production in central and southern Italy also appears to have occurred in phases, with a burst of production in the later tenth and early-eleventh century and another during the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries, during which time cartularies were produced at Farfa, San Vincenzo al Volturno, Montecassino, San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto.

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<sup>7</sup> Fol. 272v contains a letter of Emperor Frederick II of 1209 but is clearly a later addition, Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> See Georges Declercq, 'Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh centuries)', in *Charters and the use of the written word in medieval society*, ed., Karl Heidecker (Utrecht, 2000), pp. 147-70.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> Hartmut Atsma and Jean Vezin, 'Originaux et copies: la reproduction des éléments graphiques des actes des Xe et XIe siècles dans le cartulaire de Cluny', in *Charters, cartularies, and archives: The preservation and transmission of documents in the medieval west*, eds, Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winrith (Toronto, 2002), pp. 113-126, p. 114; Constance B. Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity', in *Charters, cartularies, and archives: The preservation and transmission of documents in the medieval west*, eds, Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winrith (Toronto, 2002), pp. 22-32, p. 23. Despite this trend, Citeaux and Clairvaux did not produce cartularies until the thirteenth century.

Patrick Geary has argued that cartularies fulfilled three interconnected goals: to provide an organisational framework for demesne management; to ensure that documentary evidence was protected for use in judicial proceedings; and to commemorate important benefactors and members of the particular ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>11</sup> The relationship between these three aspects of cartulary production is complex and many works have emphasised one characteristic over the others. For example, Heinrich Fichtenau has downgraded the importance of the memorial aspect of early cartularies, pointing to the significant attention paid by Cozroh, author of the cartulary of Freising, to the practical and administrative elements of his work.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, Pascale Bourgain and Marie-Cotilde Hubert have argued that prior to the twelfth-century movement of cartulary production, most cartularies were polemical constructions.<sup>13</sup> Michel Parisse has similarly identified the impractical nature of copying charters for preservation or later presentation at judicial proceedings but has accepted that some cartularies could have been created to fulfil these goals.<sup>14</sup> This line of argument is also posited by Constance Bouchard, who has identified the anomaly of copying charters, and thus diminishing their claims to authenticity, for reasons of judicial protection, particularly in cases where copied charters omitted or abbreviated dates

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<sup>11</sup> Patrick J. Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', in *Les cartulaires*, eds, O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 13-26, p. 16. Specifically, Geary highlighted the stated goals of Cozroh of Freising: to commemorate the benefactors of his church; the safeguard the church's documents to ensure their rights; to provide a history of the bishops.

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1971), p. 83, as cited in Declercq, 'Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh centuries)', p. 155 n. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Pascale Bourgain and Marie-Cotilde Hubert, 'Latin et rhétorique dans les préfaces de cartulaire', in *Les cartulaires*, eds, O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 115-136, cited in Patrick J. Geary, 'Auctor et auctoritas dans les cartulaires du haut Moyen-Âge', in *Auctor et auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, ed., Michel Zimmermann (Paris, 2001), pp. 61-71, p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Michel Parisse, 'Les cartulaires: Copies ou sources originales?', in *Les cartulaires*, eds, O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 503-511, p. 504.

and witness lists.<sup>15</sup> Thus Bouchard has concluded that cartularies were ‘more commemorative than combative’ and ‘less a legal brief than another form of *liber memorialis*’.<sup>16</sup>

The context of the creation of these ninth-century cartularies can suggest that they were created in response to tangible political circumstances. Wolfgang Metz has argued that the motivation for ninth- and tenth-century cartulary production arose from the contemporaneous increase in royal and imperial inventories.<sup>17</sup> Walter Goffart has suggested the creation of cartularies, and the similar *Traditionsbücher*, resulted from a change in royal policy which threatened ecclesiastics’ rights towards church lands that they did not directly maintain.<sup>18</sup> The cartularies compiled in the eleventh century in western Francia, however, were more likely to include abbot’s *gesta* and hagiographical texts, suggesting a shift away from practical dossiers of documents towards a more integrated historical and commemorative works.<sup>19</sup>

The organisation and presentation of these cartularies can also hint towards the intent and goals behind their compilation. The majority of ninth-century cartularies from eastern Francia were organised geographically, suggesting that they were intended to be consulted in relation to practical issues relating to estate management and judicial conflicts.<sup>20</sup> Conversely, a chronological ordering would seem to suggest a work compiled for historical and commemorative reasons. Although, as Georges Declercq has emphasised, a chronological ordering highlights commemoration over practicality, it does not preclude the cartularies’ use

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<sup>15</sup> Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity', p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Wolfgang Metz, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik der frühmittelalterlichen Güterverzeichnisse Deutschlands*, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958) pp. 183-206 as cited in Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', p. 15

<sup>18</sup> Walter Goffart, *The Le Man forgeries: a chapter from the history of church property in the ninth century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) pp. 10-13, as cited in Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Declercq, 'Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh centuries)', p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. The most significant exception was Cozroh’s cartulary of the church of Freising, which was organised chronologically.

as a reference point for administrative and judicial issues.<sup>21</sup> Many cartulary authors, such as Cozroh of Freising, provided indices to assist consultation. The considerably varying organisation and presentation of the cartularies of north of the Alps – which could be organised chronologically or geographically, contain or omit extensive prologues or associated texts and present extensive lists of muniments or simply abbreviated important charters – ensure that few solid conclusions can be drawn as to the general impulse and intent behind cartulary production. Each example contained elements of practical organisation for administrative or judicial purposes and commemorative functions in varying degrees dependent on the context of production.

## 2. Cartularies in medieval central and southern Italy

This trend for disparate intent and presentation was mirrored in the wave of cartulary production in central and southern Italy during the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries which provides the context for the work of John Berard of San Clemente a Casauria. The most important works arose from the abbeys of Farfa, Montecassino, Santa Sophia in Benevento and San Vincenzo al Volturno. As will be discussed below, the motivations for cartulary production differed significantly in these abbeys. It is likely that all these authors desired to provide more accessible copies of the charters in their archives. Many of these charters may have been significantly damaged or written in scripts or styles that were difficult for monks of the twelfth century to understand.<sup>22</sup> Alexander of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, a contemporary of John Berard, alluded directly to this problem in his prologue: ‘Great age has virtually consumed certain documents of this church – indeed unsightly pen blots made [them] sufficiently difficult to read – and the neglect of [our] predecessors for their diverse

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155. As Declercq asserts, this arguments contradicts the view of Geary, who concluded that the cartulary was not ‘a collection organized with an eye primarily for practical consultation for administrative or legal purposes’, Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance: memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton, 1994), p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, pp. 76-88. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 48.

contracts and various events, left little or nothing noted in writing. Therefore many of us in the work of this monastery of great wisdom were confined for a long while with anguish'.<sup>23</sup> Such protestations were probably exaggerations that conformed to common tropes but nonetheless highlight the complex relationship that these monastic communities had with their archives. Furthermore, the perceived need to provide a history of their institutions and to further the aggrandisement of their abbeys was also a universal motivation. These authors, however, were also responding to specific motivations arising from their abbey's particular political and economic fortunes.

### 2.1. Gregory of Catino and cartularies of Farfa

The two cartularies of the abbey of Farfa, compiled by the abbey's archivist, Gregory of Catino, were supported by a chronicle written in 1107-19.<sup>24</sup> The first cartulary, the *Liber gemniographus sive cleronomialis*, begun c.1092, listed the muniments of the abbey.<sup>25</sup> The second, the *Liber largitorius vel notarius*, begun c.1103, compiled the concessions made to the abbey.<sup>26</sup> Gregory of Catino also produced numerous propaganda tracts in support of the abbey's interests and participated in the abbey's diplomatic efforts. Gregory's two cartularies were organised chronologically and in the 1130s, well into his old age, he produced a final work, the *Liber foriger*, as an attempt to provide a topographical index to his cartularies.<sup>27</sup> The political situation in Farfa differed from that of many other abbeys in the region as it had long-

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<sup>23</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 3, 'cum quaedam instrumenta huius ecclesiae vetustas magna pene consumpserit, quaedam vero informis litura calami fecerit ad legendum satis horrenda et decessorum neglectus diversorum eorum contractuum et variorum eventuum scriptis nulla vel pauca notaverit'. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 48 n.2.

<sup>24</sup> Published as *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Ugo Balzani, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 33-4 (2 vols., Rome, 1903).

<sup>25</sup> Also known as the *Regestum Farfense*. Published as *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Ugo Balzani (Rome, 1879-1914).

<sup>26</sup> Published as *Liber largitorius vel notarius monasterii Pharphensis*, ed. Giuseppe Zucchetti (Rome, 1913). See Jean-Marie Martin, 'Occasions et modalités du remploi dans les cartulaires-chroniques de l'Italie méridionale', in Toubert Pierre and Moret Pierre, eds, *Remploi, citation, plagiat* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 141-160, p. 141.

<sup>27</sup> Declerq, 'Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh centuries)', p. 169.

standing imperial connections and had supported Emperor Henry IV during the conflict between the empire and the reform papacy in the late-eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> Gregory's attempt to provide an organised and clear account of the archives of Farfa was probably motivated by the problems caused by the abbey's support of imperial interests and the increasing land usurpations of local secular lords during the problematic abbacy of Berard II (1090-99).

## 2.2. Leo of Ostia, Peter the Deacon and the cartularies of Montecassino

At roughly the same time, Leo *Marsicanus* began a programme of writing at the abbey of Montecassino that resulted in the completion of the *Chronica monasterii Cassinensis* by Peter the Deacon in the 1130s.<sup>29</sup> Leo was a monk of Montecassino but also had a close association with the papacy – entering the service of Urban II as a notary in the later 1080s, rising to the position of cardinal-deacon of San Vito e San Modesto by 1100 and finally being appointed cardinal-bishop of Ostia sometime before his death in 1115.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, Peter the Deacon, who spent almost his entire life within the abbey, did not engage in outside political machinations and remained dedicated to his archive and library throughout his life.<sup>31</sup> Peter also completed a cartulary, mostly compiled by Leo and another Montecassino monk, Wido, containing 717 documents, called the *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, in the early-1130s.<sup>32</sup> This cartulary was ordered thematically, including sections for papal documents, imperial and royal charters and letters. Within these sections the documents were ordered chronologically. The cartulary also included a prologue but no list of muniments.<sup>33</sup> The preponderance of forgeries in the cartulary, however, suggests that while its organisation implied an emphasis on history and memory, his work could be used to justify his abbey's claims to rights or territories. These

<sup>28</sup> See Mary Stroll, *The medieval abbey of Farfa: Target of papal and imperial ambitions* (Leiden, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> See *Chron. mon. Cas.*, pp. vii-xi.

<sup>30</sup> Cowdrey, *The age of Abbot Desiderius*, pp. xvii, 69.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xviii

<sup>32</sup> See Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Chronik und Urkunde in Montecassino', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51 (1971), pp. 93-260 and Mariano Dell'Omo, *Il registrum di Pietro Diacono. Commentario codicologico, paelograpico, diplomatico* (Montecassino, 2000).

<sup>33</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 151.

works, particularly the writings of Peter, were composed when the abbey of Montecassino was losing its traditional position of power within central and southern Italy. Increasingly alienated from the reform Papacy following the pontificate of Victor III, the abbey lost its traditional privilege of providing many of the abbots and bishops of southern Italy. Concurrently, the abbey's political blunders – gaining the enmity of Honorius II in the 1120s, supporting Anacletus II against Innocent II in the papal schism and Emperor Lothar III against King Roger II – led to a decrease in its political power and the loss of some lands.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.3. The *Chronicon Sanctae Sphaie* of Santa Sophia in Benevento

At Benevento, the *Liber preceptorum*, also known as the *Chronicon Sanctae Sphaie*, was produced at the abbey of Santa Sophia.<sup>35</sup> This chronicle, which began with the birth of Christ and not the foundation of the abbey, ended in 1119, suggesting that the work was composed during the 1110s. Though the work is anonymous, Jean-Marie Martin, the most recent editor, has suggested the author was John *Grammaticus*, who was elected abbot of Santa Sophia in 1120.<sup>36</sup> The work also includes a canonical collection, a list of the dukes and princes of Benevento and a cartulary, containing 231 documents divided thematically into six sections, covering imperial, princely, papal, episcopal, ducal and comital documents.<sup>37</sup> Within these sections, the documents were ordered chronologically. No list of muniments or prologue was included with the cartulary. Here the context of the creation of this work was the abbey's bid to legitimate its independence from the abbey of Montecassino. Santa Sophia had a long history of conflict with Montecassino over its claims and had twice been granted independence by abbots of Montecassino, in the mid-tenth and early-eleventh centuries.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Robinson, *The Papacy*, p. 230 and Cowdrey, *The age of Abbot Desiderius*, pp. 214-30.

<sup>35</sup> *Chronicon Sanctae Sphaie*, ed. Jean-Marie Martin, *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale* 3 (Rome, 2000). See Graham A. Loud, 'The medieval records of the monastery of St Sophia, Benevento', *Archives* 19 (1991), pp. 364-73, pp. 368-9.

<sup>36</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 142.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>38</sup> See Jean-Marie, 'Quelques réflexions en vue de l'édition du *Chronicon Sanctae Sphaie*', *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 99 (1993), pp. 301-17 and Graham A. Loud, 'A Lombard

This may explain the impractical nature of the cartulary's organisation. Individual entries in the cartulary were unlikely to have been utilised for administrative purposes or presented at judicial proceedings. Instead, the work was intended as a self-contained polemical piece supporting the abbey's independent status.

#### **2.4. The chronicle-cartulary of San Vincenzo al Volturno**

At approximately the same time that the chronicle-cartulary of Santa Sophia was completed, an author known only as *Johannes* began a universal chronicle at the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno.<sup>39</sup> Completed in 1124, the chronicle, which John claimed was inspired by Pope Paschal II, included three books on biblical history and 207 documents concerning San Vincenzo's rights and territories. The chronicle includes a prologue, the charters are interspersed between the text of the chronicle, and thus organised chronologically by abbatial reign, and no list of muniments was provided.<sup>40</sup> Yet Laurent Feller has suggested that this work was wholly intended to set out the rights of the abbey, given the new Norman dominion into which it had fallen.<sup>41</sup> San Vincenzo had previously been a dominant political force in the region. The abbey of San Clemente a Casauria was founded in the ninth century in part to counter the influence of San Vincenzo. Yet the abbey fared less well than its counterparts, losing many estates to Norman incursions or local lords, most likely resulting from the abbey's reluctance to organise a militia or become involved in military affairs.<sup>42</sup>

#### **2.5. Inter-relationships in the chronicle-cartularies of central and southern Italy**

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abbey in a Norman world: St Sophia, Benevento', *Anglo-Norman studies* 19 (1997), pp. 273-306, pp. 279-80.

<sup>39</sup> *Il chronicon Vulturense del monaco Giovanni*, ed. Vincenzo Frederici, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 58-60 (3 vols., Rome, 1924-40).

<sup>40</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 142.

<sup>41</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 277.

<sup>42</sup> Wickham, 'The *terra* of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the 8th to 12th centuries: the historical framework', p. 247.



This disparate collection of chronicle-cartularies demonstrates the profusion of the medium during the early-twelfth century but also reveals how each work arose from a varying context and displayed different internal organisation and authorial intent. Yet it is clear that many of these authors had knowledge of the other works created at this time and that they influenced each other and later writers such as John Berard of San Clemente. The Montecassino chronicle, particularly the first version completed by Leo of Ostia, certainly had a wide influence on chronicle writing in the region during the twelfth century. Gregory of Catino probably knew of Leo's work and Hartmut Hoffman has shown that John of San Vincenzo drew on an early version of the Montecassino chronicle when writing his chronicle.<sup>43</sup> Certainly, the design of the San Vincenzo work, with numerous charters interspersed amongst a chronicle, echoes the work of Leo of Ostia. Pierre Toubert has argued that the San Vincenzo chronicle was not influenced by the works of Gregory of Catino, though this conclusion has been questioned by Alessandro Pratesi.<sup>44</sup> It is also probable that by the time Peter the Deacon began the compilation of his cartulary, he knew of the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*.<sup>45</sup> The influence of all these works spread throughout central and southern Italy during the twelfth century and came to influence the chronicle-cartulary of John Berard. Cesare Manaresi has suggested that Berard's work was influenced by the works produced in Farfa and San Vincenzo.<sup>46</sup> Jean-Marie Martin has also pointed to the hyperbolic exaggeration of the prestige of their abbeys which the writings of John of San Vincenzo and John Berard share.<sup>47</sup> Feller has suggested that Berard probably possessed a copy of Peter the Deacon's

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<sup>43</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Das Chronicon Vulturense und die Chronik von Montecassino', *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966), pp. 179-196, p. 190. Feller has suggested that Gregory of Catino was in contact with Leo of Ostia, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 51

<sup>44</sup> Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, p. 79-84. Alessandro Pratesi, 'Il Chronicon Vulturense', in *Una grand'abbazia altomedievale nel Molise: San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ed., Faustino Avagliano (Montecassino, 1981), pp. 221-32. See Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 143.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 143.

<sup>46</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 31, supported by Adacher, *Le formule ceterate nei documenti del Chronicon Casauriense*, p. 12, though questioned by Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 146.

edition of the Montecassino chronicle.<sup>48</sup> Alessandro Pratesi has further suggested that John Berard's use of caroline miniscule, in contrast the Beneventan script used in Teramo, Sulmona and Carpineto, may have been influenced by the productions of Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.<sup>49</sup> Certainly, Berard's account of the translation of the relics of Saint Clement from the east to Rome drew on the *translatio* composed by Leo of Ostia at the turn of the century on the request of the Anastasius, cardinal-priest of San Clemente in Rome.<sup>50</sup> It is also probable that Berard drew on a version of the annals of Benevento, which also had a strong influence on the chronicle-cartulary of Santa Sophia.<sup>51</sup> Laurent Feller has also identified in the San Clemente chronicle links to the *Historia Normannorum* of Amatus of Montecassino and has posited that the *Historia Ecclesiastica* which Berard referenced in his chronicle is that of Hugh of Fleury.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.6. The influence of classical and patristic texts

Berard, in common with all of his contemporaries, drew literary influence from the Bible but many of these works also share common literary influences arising from knowledge of classical or patristic works. In his section of the Montecassino chronicle, Peter the Deacon expressed admiration for classical authors who 'to demonstrate wisdom and genius, did not cease to recount assiduously what by chance occurred, great and prosperously, or otherwise, in the Roman empire'.<sup>53</sup> Hoffmann has also identified the influence of the *Dialogues* of

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<sup>48</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 267.

<sup>49</sup> Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 114.

<sup>50</sup> Graham A. Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', *Anglo-Norman studies* 27 (2004), pp. 101-131, p. 112. For this *translatio*, see P. Meyvaert and P. Devos, 'Trois énigmes Cryillo-Méthodiennes de la 'Légende Italique' résolues grâce á un document inédit', *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 (1955), pp. 375-461, pp. 412-3, 455-61.

<sup>51</sup> Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 101; Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 154.

<sup>52</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 267. Feller further posits that Berard did not have access to the work of William of Apulia or Falco of Benevento. Berard reference to the 'ecclesiastica historia' is *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 776. See also, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 73.

<sup>53</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, IV.Prologus, p. 458, 'Priscorum quondam veterum rerum doctores ob sapientie ingenium demonstrandum assidue retexere non desinebant, que forte, quanta vel qualia prospere ac

Gregory the Great and Desiderius of Montecassino on the earlier Montecassino chronicle of Leo of Ostia.<sup>54</sup> John of San Vincenzo referenced Eusebius of Cesarea, Saint Jerome and Paul the Deacon in this chronicle.<sup>55</sup> Gregory of Catino cited numerous authors, including Isidore of Seville, Paul the Deacon and Liutprand of Cremona.<sup>56</sup> Pratesi has also concluded that the works of Gregory the Great were a prominent influence on the writings of John Berard.<sup>57</sup> Further ancient influences are possible as Berard displayed a good knowledge of Roman mythology and a some grasp of etymology and it is known that the author of the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* has access to works by Jerome, Isidore of Seville and Bede.<sup>58</sup> Specifically, at the beginning of book 2 of his chronicle, Berard referenced a work called the *Liber de mirabilibus mundi* when describing the geography of the region surrounding his abbey.<sup>59</sup> This is possibly a reference to the third-century work of Gaius Julius Solinus, whose *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (also known as the *Polyhistor*) circulated under this title.<sup>60</sup>

### 3. The sources of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary

#### 3.1. Narrative sources

Although it is probable that Berard possessed historical sources from outside his abbey, as discussed above, his primary source of information for his chronicle came from the charters and texts of the San Clemente archive. It is obvious that Berard had access to non-documentary sources covering the eight to twelfth centuries, though he rarely cited the

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secus in Romano imperio evenissent'. See Antonio Sennis, 'Tradizione monastica e racconto delle origini in Italia centrale (secoli XI-XII)', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 115 (2003), pp. 181-211, p. 192.

<sup>54</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, p. xiii. See also William D. McCready, 'Leo of Ostia, the Montecassino chronicle, and the Dialogues of Abbot Desiderius', *Mediaeval studies* 62 (2000), pp. 126-60.

<sup>55</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 53.

<sup>56</sup> Chris Wickham, 'Documents becoming narrative: Gregorio di Catino and the archive of the monastery of Farfa', in *Herméneutique du texte d'histoire: orientation, interprétation et questions nouvelles*, ed., Shoichi Sato (Nagoya, 2009), pp. 25-31, p. 26.

<sup>57</sup> Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 101.

<sup>58</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 268. Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 154.

<sup>59</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 791.

<sup>60</sup> *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. Theodore Mommsen (Berlin, 1958).

sources he utilised.<sup>61</sup> In his prologue, Berard ambiguously related that some of his account of the ninth-century was 'as reported in charter' but also 'as was told', a possible reference to oral tradition.<sup>62</sup> Laurent Feller has posited that the distinct details provided by Berard's chronicle for the period 960-1020 must originate from an earlier narrative source, possibly a chronicle, composed in the abbey.<sup>63</sup> Berard's obvious confusion concerning the abbatial successions in this period and the career of Abbot Giselbert, however, suggest that this source was not comprehensive.<sup>64</sup> Feller has also suggested that Berard utilised a text, written by Otto, a monk of San Clemente, which celebrated the miracles of Saint Clement and his relationship with the abbey.<sup>65</sup> This text, supposedly written shortly after alleged discovery of the relics of Saint Clement under the altar of the abbey-chapel in 1104, may have formed the basis of Berard's account of the foundation of the abbey or the *inventio* of 1104.<sup>66</sup> This supposition, however, seems to be based on a misinterpretation of the Latin of a section of the chronicle, in which a sentence relating how Otto joined the abbey is followed by the sentence: 'so, by the above mentioned, and other means, the Lord made illustrious the splendid Clement to rebuke the people of the present day and to educate those in the future, showing that he was in existence in the monastery of Pescara'.<sup>67</sup> Feller mistakenly identified the subject of this sentence as Otto and not 'Dominus'. The detailed descriptions that Berard provided of the foundation of the abbey, both in prose and verse, and of the discovery of Clement's relics, however, do suggest that he had access to written accounts of these events. Berard also

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<sup>61</sup> As a general survey, Feller concludes that Berard's sources for the eight and ninth centuries are adequate, for the first half of the tenth century are deficient and for the Ottonian era were excellent, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 73.

<sup>62</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 1r, 'sicut in chartis et chronicis reperitur', 'ut fertur'.

<sup>63</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 80. Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 157.

<sup>64</sup> See below, p. 67.

<sup>65</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 71, n.67.

<sup>66</sup> See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 112.

<sup>67</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 877 = Liber instrumentorum, fols. 240r-241v, 'supradictis itaque ac aliis modis clarificavit Dominus merita beati Clementis, ad correptionem praesentium, et eruditionem futurorum, ostendens eum in monasterio Piscariensi esse reconditum'.

related that he had access to a *gesta* of Abbot Wido (1024/6-46), most likely written in the 1050s, that he rather dismissively claimed was written with a 'humilus stylus'.<sup>68</sup>

### 3.2. The archive of San Clemente a Casauria

John Berard had access to many eleventh- and twelfth-century charters which probably survived as single-sheet originals.<sup>69</sup> The sources pertaining to the earlier years of the abbey's history, however, most likely survived only in copies or registers. Feller suggested that Berard had access to some form of a register compiled in the abbey in the late-ninth century and possessed more complete registers for the tenth.<sup>70</sup> These registers may have abbreviated the original texts for brevity, possibly explaining why some charters of the cartulary are notably abbreviated. Furthermore, Feller, Manaresi and Pratesi all agree that Berard utilised a cartulary compiled under the supervision of Abbot Wido in the 1020s.<sup>71</sup> The existence of this cartulary is evidenced by the rubric which appears at the foot of folio 180v, on which also appears the end of book 2 of the chronicle and before the first charter of the reign of Abbot Wido. The section reads:

Here ends first book of the charters and privileges concerning the holdings, properties and possessions of the abbey of San Clemente in the time of the emperors and kings and other powers, as well as the abbots, who succeeded in ruling from the foundation of the abbey to the reign of Abbot Wido [for] 127 years.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 843. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 82.,

<sup>69</sup> In his chronicle, Berard often referenced the charters upon which he based his history, see Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 104.

<sup>70</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 77.

<sup>71</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 273; Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', pp. 51-2; Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 342.

<sup>72</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 180v, 'Expliciunt prima instrumenta cartarum et privilegiorum que residua sunt de tenimentis, rebus et possessionibus abbacie S. Clementis temporibus imperatorum et regum aliarumque potestatum, necnon abbatum, qui a conditione monasterii usque ad domnum Widonem

This cartulary was most likely the basis for the earlier part of Berard's cartulary. It is probable that it was this cartulary to which Berard was referring in the pre-eleventh century sections of his chronicle when he identified an *instrumentalis volumen* as his source of information.<sup>73</sup> The motivation for Wido's cartulary probably arose from the upheaval that had been caused by the process of *incastellamento*, which left many of the abbey's agrarian contracts obsolete and necessitated a reorganisation of the abbey's estates. The period also saw usurpations made by local lords which the abbey undoubtedly wished to recoup. Wido's response to this development was similar to the reaction of his contemporary, Abbot Hugh of Farfa (998-1039), who commissioned a work, the *Destructio monasterii Farfensis*, to highlight the properties that the abbey had lost to usurpations.<sup>74</sup> Gregory of Catino would later incorporate this work into his chronicle. Cartularies were also compiled about this time in the abbeys of Santa Sophia in Benevento and San Vincenzo al Volturno.<sup>75</sup>

When collating and compiling his various sources, it is evident that Berard planned and composed his chronicle and cartulary as one integrated work.<sup>76</sup> He himself, in the rubric of his prologue and later in his chronicle, referred to the work as the *liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum*.<sup>77</sup> In fact, Alessandro Pratesi has suggested that in many instances the chronicle was written on the page before the charters were copied in.<sup>78</sup> Numerous pages of the manuscript contain sections of the chronicle written in the centre of the page, often below charters, and some pages contain only chronicle, mostly divided into three columns.<sup>79</sup> It is clear also that the cartulary was not intended to be updated after its completion as no blank

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abbatem in regimine sibi successerunt et fuerunt per tempora centum septuaginta duorum annorum'. Berard's calculation of 172 years was incorrect. See Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 51.

<sup>73</sup> For example, *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 803, 'Que monasterio porrecta et habita et eius exemplo in instrumentali volumine pro recordatione descripta sic est'. For other examples, see Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 104 n.22 and Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 218.

<sup>74</sup> On the *Destructio*, see Ildephonso Schuster, *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa* (Rome, 1921), pp. 96-100.

<sup>75</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', pp. 156-7.

<sup>76</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 45.

<sup>77</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 1r, 270v. *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 914.

<sup>78</sup> Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 208.

<sup>79</sup> For example Liber instrumentorum, fol. 252v.

folios were inserted into the manuscript.<sup>80</sup> Berard himself made clear his view on his work in his prologue:

In the modern time, we, with great and tiring labour, reconsidered every remaining trace of the same charters and for the honour of blessed Clement, and the profit of his holy house, we compiled from these charters as if ordering into one literary work.<sup>81</sup>

In this prologue, Berard also lamented the relative paucity of surviving original charters:

Concerning the possessions and dignities conferred on the monastery, [the abbey] held many royal privileges, and an abundant documentation in the form of charters but afterwards, through our sins, just as it lost many of its possessions so also it lost very many more of the royal privileges and documents in charter form because of the fault and negligence of certain men.<sup>82</sup>

Berard had some reason to bemoan the loss of charters, particularly considering the abbey had been sacked in the tenth centuries by the *Agarenes*, probably Muslim raiders.<sup>83</sup> Yet the vast number of documents copied into the cartulary – 2,153 according to Manaresi – shows

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<sup>80</sup> Unlike, for example, the contemporary *Liber feudaroum maior* of the counts of Barcelona. See Adam J. Kosto, 'The Liber feudorum maior of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power', *Journal of medieval history* 27 (2001), pp. 1-22, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 1r, 'Nos igitur moderno tempore, licet ingenio et scientia iuniores et imperiti, tamen super hoc divinitus sollicitati, cum ingenti toedio et labore residuum omne chartarum ipsarum revolvimus, et ab honorem Beati Clementis, et minimen, et profectum sanctae suae domus, de eisdem chartis tanquam in unum opus librarum ordinantes composuimus'. Muratori placed this prologue in his edition at the beginning of book 3, *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 797-8. See Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 45.

<sup>82</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8, 'De possessionibus vero et dignitatibus monasterio collatis, habuit multa regalia praecepta, et copiosa chartarum instrumenta. Sed postea, peccatis exigentibus, sicut de possessionibus multa perdidit, sic de regalibus privilegiis, et instrumentalibus chartis multa plura ob culpam et negligentiam quorumdan amisit'.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 822. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 108, though Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 155, believed them to be Magyars. San Vincenzo was similar sacked in 881 and Montecassino in 883, see Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 149. See also Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 270.

that Berard was relatively fortunate position.<sup>84</sup> His lamentations were probably a literary trope, influenced by the similar complaints of Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon.<sup>85</sup>

As Georges Declercq has pointed out, cartularies were rarely a full representation of the contents of a particular archive.<sup>86</sup> The sheer number of documents contained in Berard's cartulary suggests that he omitted few documents. Yet the cartulary contains some unexplained and unexpected documentary lacunae. There are no charters for the period 1086-93, possibly due to the problems caused by the Norman incursions. More unusually, the cartulary contains only a few documents for the reign of Abbot Oldrius (1131-52), Leonas's predecessor and mentor.<sup>87</sup> In contrast to the abbacy of Leonas, which covered eighty-nine documents in the cartulary, Oldrius's section included only nine documents, including copies of three letters and one royal confirmation. This paucity of documentary evidence seems to have disturbed Berard himself as he included five full pages within the section covered by Oldrius's abbacy that contained only chronicle, breaking the format exercised in the rest of the manuscript and organising the chronicle in three columns in the centre of the page.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, on other pages Berard provided two columns of chronicle on the inside margin, thus extending the number of pages which Oldrius's documents covered.<sup>89</sup> This scarcity of documentary evidence for such a recent abbacy is highly unusual and, assuming Berard did not intentionally omit the charters of Oldrius, this suggests that either Oldrius's reign produced few documents or his collection had been lost or destroyed.

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<sup>84</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 38.

<sup>85</sup> For example, *Chron. mon. Cas.*, p. 3, 'Nimis ineptum esse iudicans, loci huius veterum te desidiā imitari, qui de tot abbatum gestis seu temporibus nichil fere litteris tradere studuerunt, et si qua forte super hoc aliqua descriperunt, inepta prorsus, et rusticano stilo digesta fastidium potius quam scientiam aliquam legentibus conferunt'. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 49. Peter the Deacon similarly complained that 'munimina que ex incendio duabus vicibus erepta sunt', Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 149 (Dell'Omo, *Il registrum di Pietro Diacono*, p. 39).

<sup>86</sup> Georges Declercq, 'Originals and cartularies: The organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh centuries)', p. 149.

<sup>87</sup> The documents of Abbot Oldrius cover fols. 246v-252v.

<sup>88</sup> See *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 248v, 249v, 251v, 252r, 252v.

<sup>89</sup> For example, *ibid.*, fol. 249r.



In his chronicle, Berard gave some indications of the nature and organisation of the archive of San Clemente at the time he was writing. He twice refers to the *archiva publica* in which the 'public' – such as imperial diploma, papal letters and royal confirmation – charters were stored.<sup>90</sup> Pratesi associated this phrase with imperial terminology and suggested that this collection was stored in a cabinet in the sacristy of the abbey-chapel.<sup>91</sup> It seems that the 'private' charters of the abbey, which composed the majority of the archive, were stored separately.<sup>92</sup> Berard himself described in detail his methods for copying the charters in his prologue.<sup>93</sup> In particular, Berard took care to copy many of the associated *signum imperatoris*, *recognitio*, monograms, *rotae* and *benevelate* of the charters he reproduced, as many other contemporary compilers did, most likely to attempt to enforce the authenticity of the copies.<sup>94</sup> Unlike some other copyists, however, Berard made few attempts to ape the script of his originals.<sup>95</sup> A simple form of caroline miniscule was used in the majority of the documents copied, presumably replacing the Beneventan script that may have been used in some of the originals.<sup>96</sup> As so few of the originals are extant it is unclear whether Berard made corrections to the Latin of his charters, as the author of the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* quite explicitly did.<sup>97</sup> As Berard explained in his prologue, however, he often summarised or abbreviated charters, particularly in the muniments section.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, he was fastidious in reproducing the

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<sup>90</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 782, 859. Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 209.

<sup>91</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 879. Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', pp. 210, 214.

<sup>92</sup> Referring to an exchange of 979, Berard related that 'que cambitio firmata fuit cartulis et roborata testibus: que cartule infra ecclesiam continentur cum ceteris', *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 151r. Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 214.

<sup>93</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8. See Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 42. For a detailed examination of Berard's method of organisation and abbreviation, see Adacher, *Le formule ceterate nei documenti del Chronicon Casauriense*.

<sup>94</sup> For example, in the eleventh-century cartulary of Saint-Denis, Atsma and Vezin, 'Originaux et copies', p. 114. See also, Lucinia Speciale, 'Immagini dal passato: la tradizione illustrativa dei cartulari illustrati italo-meridionali', in Jean-Marie Sansterre, ed., *L'Autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales* (Brussels, 2004), pp. 93-104, p. 92.

<sup>95</sup> The copyist of Saint-Denis made some attempts to copy the scripts of his charters, Atsma and Vezin, 'Originaux et copies', p. 118.

<sup>96</sup> In contrast, Berard's contemporary, Alexander of San Bartholomeo, used the Beneventan script, *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. lx; Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 58.

<sup>97</sup> Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 152.

<sup>98</sup> Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 42.

original place-names of older charters, even though these names had often become obsolete by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>99</sup>

#### 4. The ideological context of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary

As Patrick Geary has argued, cartularies and chronicles were not passive collections of documents nor are they creations of individual personalities but they are the product of various personal and communal ideologies.<sup>100</sup> It is obvious that the most dominant personalities involved in the creation of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary were its author, John Berard, and his abbot, Leonas.<sup>101</sup> Through analysis of the most important facets of Leonas's and John Berard's careers and influences, their political and ecclesiastical ideology can be deciphered and thus their influence on the chronicle-cartulary of Berard identified. The most regular and important of these principles which arise in the chronicle include: the belief in the spiritual and temporal rights of the papacy; support for the sanctity and righteousness of royalty, in particular the German emperors and Norman royal family; a firm belief in the eminence of the abbey of San Clemente and the need to restore its prominence; a inherent mistrust and condemnation of local secular lords, particularly of Norman extraction, who acted independently of a supreme spiritual or secular ruler. The root of these beliefs can be found, in part, in the events of the lives of Berard and Leonas and the prevailing ideological environment of the abbey of San Clemente in the late-twelfth-century.

##### 4.1. The life of John Berard

Berard did not provide any information on his origins or family in his chronicle. He does, however, relate that he entered the abbey as a child oblate and, apart from undertaking

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<sup>99</sup> This tendency is also found in the works of Gregory of Catino (Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 52).

<sup>100</sup> Geary, 'Auctor et auctoritas dans les cartulaires du haut Moyen-Âge', p. 108.

<sup>101</sup> Feller has likened this relationship to that between Leo of Ostia and Abbot Oderisius of Montecassino (Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 50).

a short journey to Rome, he spent the entirety of his life within the abbey.<sup>102</sup> This would suggest that he came from the surrounding Valva-Chieti region. He does not, however, identify himself during the course of his chronicle with any of the great families of the region, suggesting that he came from relatively humble origins. Berard received his education during a time in which the *scriptorium* of the abbot flourished under Abbots Giso (1112-27) and Oldrius.<sup>103</sup> Berard highlighted the work of one of the members of the *scriptorium*, *dominus Johannes*, leading Herbert Bloch to suggest the John may have been Berard's tutor.<sup>104</sup> Berard is first recorded in a charter of May 1158 as *humilimus monachus* and was identified as a priest in a charter of 1159, suggesting that he had just attained the canonical age of 30.<sup>105</sup> This would place his birth c.1130 and thus during the abbacy of Abbot Oldrius. This suggests that Berard came of age during the turbulence that defined the first years of Abbot Leonas's abbacy in the 1150s. It is not clear how Berard reacted to the various political machinations that overtook his abbey in this decade but his steady advancement through the ranks of the community in the following years would suggest that he had supported Leonas's candidacy. His first post at the abbey seems to have been as a scribe and he is recorded as the author of at least six documents between the autumn of 1159 and 1165.<sup>106</sup> A subsequent charter from the cartulary, however, dated MCLXI (1161), bears Berard's subscription under the name *indignus prepositus*, thus suggesting Berard had been appointed provost of the abbey at a young age.<sup>107</sup> This charter, however, contains numerous problems concerning its dating.<sup>108</sup> The

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<sup>102</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 900. See Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 97.

<sup>103</sup> A brief history of the San Clemente *scriptorium* is available in Laurent Feller, 'Une guerre vicinale dans les Abruzzes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le fonctionnement de la seigneurie', in *Vaticana et medievalia: études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould*, eds, Jean-Marie Martin, Bernadette Martin-Hisard, and Agostino Bagliani (Florence, 2008), pp. 159-72, pp. 160-62 and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 70-3.

<sup>104</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 800. Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1986), p. 575.

<sup>105</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 254r (May 1158), 254v (1159). See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 105.

<sup>106</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 254v (August 1159), 255r (October 1159), 255v-256r (August 1162), 256v (January 1163), 257v (June 1164), 259v (1165). See Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 267.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 271v-272r = *Additamenta*, cols. 1016-18.

<sup>108</sup> See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 105.

indiction given, V, is incorrect for 1161 and the regnal year, the fifth of the reign of King William, is incorrect for William I, who began his reign in 1154. It is more likely that the charter is referring to King William II who began his reign in 1166 and thus the charter should be dated to 1171. The indiction given, V, would match the year 1171 as the charter was dated 23 November. Furthermore, the charter is transcribed in the cartulary much later than those of the 1160s and is in fact amongst the charters from the 1170s. This misdating in the cartulary can easily be attributed to a copying error which failed to transcribe one of the Roman numerals in the date of the incarnation year. Thus it was not in 1161 that Berard was appointed as provost but some years later.

In the 1160s, Berard's relationship with Abbot Leonas evolved. In his chronicle, Berard claimed that Leonas sent 'a certain brother, named John Berard, brought up in this abbey from boyhood and instructed in the disciplines of the Rule [of Benedict]' to Rome to attain a papal privilege for the abbey from Pope Alexander III shortly after his election in 1166.<sup>109</sup> Berard's close relationship with Leonas continued in the years after this and in a charter of 1169 his name is subscribed in the witness list second only to that of Abbot Leonas.<sup>110</sup> This charter also provides the first identification of Berard as provost. Shortly after this, in 1170, Leonas instituted the celebration of the feast of Saint Clement on December 30, an initiative for which Berard claimed credit.<sup>111</sup> There is little surviving evidence concerning Berard's career during the 1170s but he evidently retired from the position of provost during this decade as he was identified as *sacristarius* in a charter of 1179.<sup>112</sup> This position gave him responsibility for the maintenance of the abbey's church but he remained an important figure in the abbey

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<sup>109</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 900, 'quendam fratrem, Johannem Berardi cognomine, in ipso coenobio a pueritia nutritum, et regularibus disciplinis instructum'.

<sup>110</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 259v-260r.

<sup>111</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 908, 'Ipse namque Abbas [Leonas] instituit et sestum Inventionis eiusdem martyris tertio calendas Ianuarii recolendum, suprascripto fratre Ioanne Berardi suggerente atque rogante'.

<sup>112</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 267v.

and his subscription is found third in the charter.<sup>113</sup> This withdrawal probably reflects Berard's advanced years but may have been related to the beginning of the project of compiling the cartulary. In his chronicle, Berard implied that it was around the time of a great papal synod held by Alexander III in Rome, most likely the third Lateran council of 1179, that Leonas commissioned him to begin his work.<sup>114</sup> It is not known how long Berard dedicated to the compilation of this cartulary or when he died but it is certain that he outlived his abbot, as the final paragraph of the chronicle is dedicated to recording the death of Leonas in 1182.<sup>115</sup>

#### 4.2. The career of Abbot Leonas of San Clemente a Casauria

Thus while it is difficult to ascertain a clear picture of the education and influences of John Berard from the events of his life, it is obvious that he was closely connected to Abbot Leonas. Many of the views and biases inherent in Berard's chronicle find parallels in the events of Leonas's career and demonstrate how Leonas's ideology, forged from various influences and through numerous conflicts, influenced Berard's writings. Like John Berard, the exact origins of Leonas are unknown. Throughout the accounts of various events during Leonas's career, however, Berard associated his abbot with the family of the first counts of Manoppello. This family, established by Richard of Manoppello in the late-eleventh century, led by his son Robert in the early-twelfth century but ousted from power by King Roger II in 1140, was identified by Berard as Leonas's *consanguinei*.<sup>116</sup> The ambiguity of this term precludes confidently identifying Leonas as a son or nephew of Robert of Manoppello. Furthermore, Berard's consistent denigration and condemnation of these counts, and Robert of Manoppello in particular, in his chronicle would suggest that although Leonas profited significantly from the assistance he received from his kin, he did not retain any significant

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<sup>113</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 69.

<sup>114</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 914. See below, p. 58.

<sup>115</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 272r-272v. The final charter transcribed into cartulary was a letter of the abbey to Robert of Caserta, justiciar and constable of Apulia, who died in 1182/3.

<sup>116</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 984.

allegiance or sentiment towards them. Thus it can only be inferred that Leonas was born in the Manoppello region and was of aristocratic background.

As Berard related, Leonas entered the monastery as a child oblate during the abbacy of Oldrius but at some point he transferred to the papal curia.<sup>117</sup> According to Berard, Pope Eugenius III, who would later sponsor Leonas as abbot of San Clemente, promoted him to the position of papal subdeacon.<sup>118</sup> Eugenius died in 1153 and Abbot Oldrius began his abbacy in 1127. Given that Leonas must have been of age when he became a papal subdeacon it is probable that he was born in the 1120s. This would make him a contemporary of John Berard, though a few years his senior. Leonas's early education under Abbot Oldrius and Pope Eugenius seems to have greatly influenced his later beliefs and political motivations. Oldrius began a regimen of seigneurial restoration during his abbacy and he developed important ties with the Norman king while aggressively resisting encroachments by secular lords. As will be shown below, these policies were continued with vigour by Leonas. Eugenius III was an active pontiff, with a keen interest in the temporal power of the papacy, who spent almost the entirety of his pontificate as an itinerant because of the opposition of the Roman commune.<sup>119</sup> This belief in the power of the papacy and the malevolence of petty secular lords would be adopted by Leonas and reinforced by numerous events during his career.

#### **4.2.1. The election of Abbot Leonas**

Probably the most influential event of Leonas's career was his election and subsequent battle to secure his tenure as abbot of San Clemente. Berard related the intricacies of this process in his chronicle, consistently maintaining the legitimacy of Leonas's claim and the immorality of his opponents. Specifically, Berard claimed that Leonas was elected by the brothers of San Clemente after the death of Abbot Oldrius in 1152 but that his candidacy was

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 896.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 894.

<sup>119</sup> See Andrew Jotischky and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Pope Eugenius III* (Woodbridge, 2011).

rejected by King Roger II and the new count of Manoppello, Bohemond of Tarsia, due to Leonas's connections with the old house of Manoppello.<sup>120</sup> Berard quite succinctly identified the suspicions of Count Bohemond:

For he feared that Leonas, at some time, using the power of the abbacy, led by love of his own kinsmen of Manoppello, whom the lord King Roger had disinherited and expelled from the whole kingdom, would injure him and perhaps expel him from the county.<sup>121</sup>

To counter the election of Leonas, Bohemond engineered the election of another monk of San Clemente, Constantine.<sup>122</sup> In this move, Bohemond was fully supported by King Roger, who quashed the election of Leonas and endorsed Constantine. The brothers, however, appealed to Pope Eugenius III, who voiced his firm approval of Leonas and a stalemate arose, as a result of which Leonas was unable to control the abbey.<sup>123</sup> The death of Eugenius and the election of Pope Anastasius IV prompted another flurry of politicking but again resulted in stalemate. Soon afterwards King Roger attempted to mediate the issue to his advantage and forced the election of Roger, a monk of the abbey of the Santissima Trinita of Monte Sacro in Apulia, who was duly rejected by the papal curia.<sup>124</sup> The situation was resolved only after a series of events, including the death of King Roger in 1154, the succession of King William I, the rebellion of Count Robert III of Loritello in 1155 and the subsequent invasion of the abbey's lands by the kinsmen of Leonas. The greatest obstacle to Leonas's installation, Bohemond of Tarsia, was

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<sup>120</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 894.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 894, 'timebat enim, ne in aliquo tempore ipse Leonas per abbatiae potentiam ductus amore ipsorum consanguinorum suorum Manuplellensium, quos, ut supra dictum est, domnus Rex Rogerius exheredaverat, et de toto regno eiecerat, se laeederet, et forte de comitatu expelleret'.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 894.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 895.

captured and removed by King William in 1156 for vacillations in resisting Count Robert's rebellion, allowing Leonas to secure his abbacy.<sup>125</sup>

Berard's account of Leonas's election displayed both his abbot's discomfort concerning the events of the 1150s and his willingness to mould historical events to fit prescribed ideals. Berard portrayed the election of Leonas, and his eventual triumph against two rivals for the abbacy, as inevitable. His narrative did not focus on the situation within the monastery following the death of Oldrius and he did not relate news of any debates or discussions within the abbey concerning the various candidates. Instead the narrative concerned the plight of Leonas and how he struggled, justly in Berard's opinion, to install himself as abbot. Within this narrative it is easy to assume that Leonas was the most popular candidate amongst the monks and that the brothers were united in their decisions. Further analysis of the account, however, can suggest that Berard was simplifying the facts to enhance the prestige of his abbot. Berard related little information concerning Leonas's competitors for the abbacy, Constantine and Roger. In the narrative, Constantine is presented as a pawn of Bohemond and his election is portrayed as an unlawful imposition by the count. Yet Berard twice recorded that Constantine was a monk of San Clemente.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, Berard confessed that the election was carried through because of the support of the king but also 'as much from the power that he held in the royal court as through the support of certain brothers, who he enticed to himself fraudulently'.<sup>127</sup> Roger of Monte Sacro was also able to retain control of the abbey for a short period and, as Berard related, the monks 'were obedient to him as long as was permitted'.<sup>128</sup> Even the endorsement of Pope Hadrian IV, who granted Leonas consecration in Benevento,

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<sup>125</sup> *Liber de Regno Siciliae*, ed. Giovanni Battista Siragusa, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1897), p. 22 and *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 895-7

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 894.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 895, 'tam ex potentia quam habebat in regali curia, quam ex applausione quorundam fratrum, quos sibi fraudulenter illexerat'.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 'quamdiu sibi licuit obedientes fuerunt'.



presumably in the summer of 1156, did not quell opposition to Leonas.<sup>129</sup> Berard admitted that when Leonas returned to the abbey, 'he strongly resisted the enemies who wished to subdue the church'.<sup>130</sup> These allusions to an anti-Leonas faction within the abbey suggest that the story of the dual elections was more complex than Berard wished to record and that Leonas was not the unanimously accepted candidate amongst the brothers. Such ideas, of course, would not have been palatable to Leonas or to Berard's audience in the 1180s and, as he was prone to do, Berard created a narrative that fit his wishes rather than the facts. Dissent within the abbey was discounted, the legitimacy of Leonas emphasised, the wickedness of secular lords stressed and the support of the papacy highlighted. This archetype of abbatial elections, in which a dichotomy was established clearly defining one legitimate candidate and discounting the effect of internal factionalism, was repeated in many of the abbatial election described in Berard's chronicle, particularly those which were influenced by secular Norman lords.

#### 4.2.2. Abbot Leonas and the papacy

Another aspect of Berard's writing which can be connected to the ideology of Leonas and the events of his career are his views concerning the temporal and spiritual primacy of the papacy and his declarations concerning papal interest in the affairs and security of the abbey of San Clemente. These views were undoubtedly influenced by the close relationship that Leonas fostered with various popes during his abbacy and the diplomatic and political support that he received from the papacy during times of conflict. Leonas wasted little time after his consecration in securing a bull from Hadrian IV confirming to San Clemente the lands and rights that had apparently been granted by Pope Leo IX in 1056. This papal privilege, issued in 1158 and witnessed by many of the cardinals of the papal *curia*, reaffirmed papal confirmation

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<sup>129</sup> Hadrian was probably using Leonas as a pawn in his negotiations with King William I: Laurent Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente a Casauria et sa représentation iconographique', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 94 (1982), pp. 711-728, pp. 712-3. Hadrian IV had earlier accepted a pro-Leonas party of monks at Viterbo in 1155 and called a congregation of cardinals who professed official support for Leonas (*Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 896).

<sup>130</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 897, 'adversariis, qui volebant ecclesiam suppeditare, fortiter resistebat'.

for Leonas's abbacy and his political aspirations.<sup>131</sup> The privilege, replete with the same confirmations of lands and rights, was reissued by Alexander III in 1166.<sup>132</sup> Judging from these documents and from the others contained in the San Clemente cartulary, it is obvious that Leonas could rely, almost without fail, on the diplomatic, if not the practical, support of the papacy in his disputes. The papacy was also called on to intervene more directly in specific disputes concerning the abbey and neighbouring secular and ecclesiastical powers. Pope Alexander was particularly active in this respect. He intervened in a dispute between the abbey and the churches of the *terra Sansonesca*, an area near Casauria, issuing letters directly to the clergy of the area, the bishop of Valva and the secular lord of the region, Richard *Gentili*.<sup>133</sup> Alexander also issued letters supporting Leonas's claims to lands in the Marsia.<sup>134</sup>

Leonas's close associations with the papacy were cemented when Leonas met with Pope Alexander III at Veroli and the abbot was promoted to the position of cardinal deacon. Berard claimed that this ceremony occurred on 21 March, which was the Saturday before Passion Sunday, in 1170.<sup>135</sup> Leonas was evidently appointed as an external cardinal as there is no evidence to show that he took an active role in the machinations of the papal *curia*.<sup>136</sup> This episode, coupled with Alexander's reissuing of the papal privilege to the abbey in 1166, aptly displayed Leonas's desire to strengthen his ties to the papacy and the pope's willingness to support the abbot by diplomatic means.<sup>137</sup> Alexander continued this support by officially

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<sup>131</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 253r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 898-9.

<sup>132</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 256v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 907.

<sup>133</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 908-9. On the *terra Sansonesca*, see Simona Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* (1993), pp. 123-74.

<sup>134</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 910.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 907. Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 105 n.10 argued that Liber instrumentorum, fol. 267v, which identified Leonas as a cardinal, should be dated June 1169. In the cartulary, however, this charter is dated 1179, in the thirteenth year of King William II, with the correct indiction, XII.

<sup>136</sup> Leonas's status as cardinal is seemingly confirmed by *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 95.

<sup>137</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 908-9. The confirmation also legitimated the abbey's version of the *translatio* of the relics of Saint Clement to the abbey at its foundation by describing the relics 'Clementis papae et martyris, quod, sicut in antiquis scriptis habetur, in eadem ecclesia requiescit'. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 587.

authorising the celebration of the feast of the translation of the relics of Saint Clement on 27 May.<sup>138</sup> One of Leonas's last journeys before his death was to Rome to attend the third Lateran council, convoked by Pope Alexander III, in 1179.<sup>139</sup> Leonas's zealous respect for the papacy and his avowed belief in strong relations with the popes was reflected in the writings of Berard by the exalted representations provided of the popes and their anachronistic inclusion in many of the events concerning the abbey.

#### 4.2.3. Abbot Leonas and the Norman royal family

Similarly, the representation of the Sicilian kings in Berard's chronicle was evidently affected by the experiences and opinions of his abbot. Leonas's relationship with the Sicilian crown began auspiciously. As a member of the papal *curia* during the 1140s Leonas would have been exposed to anti-Sicilian ideology. Furthermore, the royal annexation of Abruzzo in 1140 had benefitted San Clemente little and, in contradiction to the claims of Berard, Roger II had shown little favour to the abbey. Leonas's election was opposed by the king, who first supported the candidate of Bohemond of Tarsia and subsequently engineered the election of his own candidate, Roger of Monte Sacro. The machinations of Roger II were glossed over, however, due to the actions of his successors, who proved themselves much more amenable to the plight of Leonas and the abbey of San Clemente. Initially, King William I may have accepted Leonas only as part of the stipulations of the treaty of Benevento, negotiated by William and Pope Hadrian IV in 1156, but thereafter William did not oppose Leonas's abbacy.<sup>140</sup> In fact, William momentarily provided the abbey with military protection, for which Berard labelled him 'a man of remarkable wisdom and great virtue'.<sup>141</sup> This protection, which Berard ascribed to William's affection for Saint Clement, in fact arose due to the rebellions of Count Robert III of Loritello and the treachery of Bohemond of Tarsia, count of Manoppello.

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<sup>138</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 907.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 914.

<sup>140</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 265.

<sup>141</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 895, 'vir mirae sapientiae et magnae virtutis'.

Soon after Leonas found shelter in Sicily after he had been yet again driven from the abbey by the allies of Bohemond.<sup>142</sup> William intervened to liberate the abbey 'and when [its enemies] had been put to flight, the abbey of San Clemente was freed and Abbot Leonas, returning with the favour and love of the king, strove to rule the abbey committed to him'.<sup>143</sup>

This episode marked the effective end of William I's direct military support for the abbey. His reign and that of his successor, William II, however, saw the consolidation of the centralised royal administration that was introduced by Roger II after the annexation of the 1140.<sup>144</sup> The introduction and activities of royal justiciars became more prevalent during Leonas' abbacy and, when these officials involved themselves in the affairs of the abbey, their efforts were often beneficial to the abbot.<sup>145</sup> This new situation was illustrated succinctly by the events of the trial that resulted from a minor dispute between Leonas and a priest named Senebal, which was referred to royal arbitration and presided over by the royal chamberlain, Samarus of Trani, acting as justiciar.<sup>146</sup> Berard took particular interest in the case and described how the proceedings were conducted in an official and regulated manner, ultimately in the abbey's favour.<sup>147</sup> Shortly after this episode, Leonas travelled to Alife in Capua where he met with Count Godfrey of Lesina, royal justiciar of the Capitanata, who granted the abbot properties in Alife with their associated rights and inhabitants.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 897-8.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 'quibus fugatis liberata est abbatia sancti Clementis quam revertens Abbas Leonas cum gratia et amore regis studebat regere abbatiam sibi commissam'.

<sup>144</sup> San Clemente's admiration of William II can be easily gauged from the bronze image of the king which appears on the abbey's chapel doors, Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 125.

<sup>145</sup> For a survey, see Roberto Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia, istituzioni monastiche e poteri locali nell'Abruzzo adriatico Normanno. Le abbazie benedettine di San Clemente a Casauria e San Bartolomeo di Carpineto', *Benedictina* 42 (1995), pp. 334-374. Paciocco, *contra* Feller, viewed San Clemente as a focal point for the expansion of royal authority in Abruzzo.

<sup>146</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 899-900.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.* The documents of the case are Liber instrumentorum, fols. 256r-256v, 256v-257r = *Additamenta*, cols. 1009-10. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 770.

<sup>148</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 900. For this, Berard described Geoffrey as 'virus famosissimus'.

The crown also supported many of the property claims of Leonas within Abruzzo. A charter of concession was issued by the royal court in support of the abbey's claim to the *castellum* of San Mauro in the 1160s.<sup>149</sup> In the same decade, Count Gilbert of Gravina, the captain of Apulia, convoked an inquiry into supposed land usurpations by the new count of Manoppello, Bohemond of San Felice.<sup>150</sup> Not long after the crown sanctioned the claims of the abbey to certain properties in the city of Sulmona, a city fast becoming the administrative centre of the new royal provincial government, and provided funds for the monks to construct an *oratorium domum* to house the abbey's monks who operated in the city.<sup>151</sup> This support was cemented when, at the height of Leonas's quarrels with the clerics of the *terra Sansonesca* in the late-1160s, the abbot travelled to Apulia to meet King William, who issued a royal privilege supporting Leonas.<sup>152</sup>

By the 1180s, therefore, the abbey of San Clemente had developed a close relationship to the Sicilian royal family and had come to depend upon the support of the crown. As will be discussed in chapter 2, this relationship, coupled with John Berard's beliefs in the righteousness of royalty, ensured that the dominant representation of the Sicilian royal family in the San Clemente chronicle was laudatory and tolerant. Thus Berard was obliged to exalt Roger II for his supposedly magnanimous confirmation of the abbey's lands in 1140 when, in fact, the lands confirmed represented only a small fraction of those claimed by the abbey.<sup>153</sup> Moreover, when recounting the conflict between Bohemond of Tarsia and Abbot Oldrius in 1140s, Berard claimed Roger II intervened in this dispute by issuing royal letters rebuking the count.<sup>154</sup> These claims, and the letters reproduced by Berard in the chronicle, are evidently fabricated retrospectively to enhance the prestige of the abbey and praise the

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<sup>149</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 258r-258v.

<sup>150</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 903-4, Liber instrumentorum, fols. 258r-258v. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 780.

<sup>151</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 904-5.

<sup>152</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 270v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 906-7.

<sup>153</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 248r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 888-9.

<sup>154</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 890-92.

character of the king.<sup>155</sup> In fact, Bohemond's control of the abbey had been exercised with the tacit approval of the royal chancellor, Robert of Selby.

#### 4.2.4. Bohemond of Tarsia, count of Manoppello and the abbey of San Clemente

Indeed the deprivations and resistance that Leonas experienced due to the actions of Bohemond of Tarsia chequered John Berard's view of almost all of Bohemond's predecessors and the character of impiety, arrogance and wanton avarice created by John Berard to describe Bohemond was retroactively applied to almost all of the local lords, especially those of Norman descent, who opposed or persecuted the abbey in any way. Leonas faced many opponents during his abbacy but it was Bohemond who, when Leonas's abbacy was just beginning and when his control over the abbey was at its most tenuous, provided the most serious threat to Leonas's position, influence and political ambitions. Bohemond's threat not only relied on his military power but also his political support from Roger II and his connections to the anti-Leonas faction within the abbey. Yet Berard chose to represent Bohemond's candidate, Constantine, as a puppet of the count and an illegal imposition upon the abbey. To cement a picture of Bohemond's malevolence, Berard invented a speech for Bohemond declaring his explicit opposition to the wishes of the monks:

The monks of San Clemente strive for that which is impossible, and they wish to put two swords in one sheath, but let it be known for certain, as long as I am count, he who they chose will not be able to be abbot.<sup>156</sup>

In reality, as Berard was forced to acknowledge, Bohemond's opposition to Leonas arose not from his lust for power or wealth but from his, somewhat justified, fear that Leonas's election would further empower the ousted comital family. Berard was also forced to recognise that

<sup>155</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 249r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 892.

<sup>156</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 895, 'monachi sancti Clementis nituntur ad illud, quod est impossibile, et volunt duos enses in unum forulum mittere, sed pro certo sciatur, dum fuero comes, ille, quem sibi exoptant, non poterit esse abbas'.

Leonas's support from the papacy was not absolute and that Bohemond had close ties and tacit support from Pope Anastasius IV. Similarly, contrary to Berard's protestations, it was not Leonas's character that secured his abbacy but the military backing of his kin and it was not Bohemond's malevolence that brought about his downfall but his failure effectively to resist the rebellion of Count Robert of Loritello.<sup>157</sup> To Berard, however, Bohemond was the archetype of secular avarice and aristocratic iniquity. As will be discussed in chapter 2, Berard's condemnations similarly distorted his representation of the aristocracy of medieval Abruzzo.

#### 4.3. The tympanum of the abbey-chapel of San Clemente a Casauria

A confirmation of the ideological atmosphere in which the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente was written can be found in the sculptures of the tympanum of the abbey-chapel, which was commissioned by Abbot Leonas. This facade has survived, despite numerous earthquakes, to the present day. It is evident that amongst the renovations and constructions undertaken by Leonas, the facade was his most extravagant and important commission.<sup>158</sup> John Berard described the construction of the facade in detail and praised its *pulcherrimam porticum* and sculptures.<sup>159</sup> There are sculptures on either side of the doorway but the facade is dominated by the tympanum, located above the doors to the chapel, which depicts the symbolic presentation of the chapel by Leonas to Saint Clement and, below this, contains various sculptures, arranged into five separate scenes, ostensibly illustrating the history of the foundation of the abbey. It is important to note that Leonas began the construction of this facade about the same time that he, as Berard claimed, commissioned the compilation of the chronicle-cartulary.<sup>160</sup> While the work of John Berard was unlikely to have been consulted by many and there is little evidence that it was ever copied, the history presented on this

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<sup>157</sup> See above, p. 41.

<sup>158</sup> For an overview of the architecture of the abbey, see Pier Luigi Calore, 'L'Abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria', *Archivio storico dell'arte* 4 (1891), pp. 9-36.

<sup>159</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 914-5. See Elizabeth Bradford-Smith, 'Models for the extraordinary: Abbot Leonate and the façade of S. Clemente a Casauria', *Medioevo: I modelli* (Milan, 2002), pp. 463-79, p. 463.

<sup>160</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 914.

doorway was expected to be viewed by all the monks and visitors to the monastery. As such, it represented the public and official history of the monastery. Understanding the ideological motivations inherent in these sculptures can succinctly elucidate the ideological conditions under which John Berard composed his work and the community's view of history.

The doors were seemingly intended to ensure the celebrity of Leonas and his favour with Saint Clement. Just as John Berard dedicated his work to Saint Clement and pleaded with Clement, 'remember brother John throughout eternity', so the sculpture of Leonas on the tympanum was accompanied by the inscription, 'Saint Clement, receive the royal temple prepared for you [and] repay Leonas with a blessed reign in heaven'.<sup>161</sup> The scenes of the tympanum relate various minor myths or miracle stories that were prevalent in the abbey at the time and are found in Berard's chronicle.<sup>162</sup> The dominant scene depicts Clement, right hand open as a gesture of blessing and left hand clutching a pastoral staff, accompanied by his disciples Cornelius and Ephebus, symbolically receiving the newly constructed abbey chapel from Abbot Leonas.<sup>163</sup> The lower row of scenes, however, presents the abbey's preferred account of its foundation and the mythical translation of the relics of Saint Clement to the abbey.<sup>164</sup> In particular, one scene illustrates the legend of Pope Hadrian II's grant of the relics of Clement to Emperor Louis II in Rome, after which Louis transferred the relics to Casauria. While the translation of Clement's relics to Rome in c.868 from the Crimea by Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius was well established by the middle of the tenth century and was described by

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<sup>161</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 272v, 'perpetuis annis fratris memor esto Iohannis', 'Suscipe sancte Clemens tibi regia templa parata retribuens celo Leonati renga beata'. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 583.

<sup>162</sup> For example, the central scene of the lower row of the tympanum depicts the abbey with the inscription 'insula Piscarie paradisi floridus ortus'. Berard uses this analogy numerous times in his text, for example *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 777, 'insulae omnibus bonis refertum et quasi verum paradisium'. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 717, 728.

<sup>163</sup> Ephebus is mentioned in Clement's first letter to the Corinthians, see Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 715.

<sup>164</sup> The version presented on the tympanum is mirrored by Berard's version but by no other contemporary source. The later *Translatio Piscariam*, ed. A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicarum Latinarum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels, 1910), pp. 522-5, written in the thirteenth century, was similar to Berard's account. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 112.



Leo of Ostia in the eleventh century, no texts concerning the foundation of San Clemente, including Leo of Ostia's chronicle, mention the transferral of the relics to Casauria except, obviously, the work of John Berard.<sup>165</sup> In fact, the abbey was originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity and its associations with Clement began in the later tenth century and only gained firm acceptance within the abbey in the eleventh century.<sup>166</sup> The Montecassino chronicle rather dismissively claimed that the abbey was associated with Saint Clement because 'it pleased' the abbots.<sup>167</sup> The accompanying inscriptions of this scene clearly insinuate that the foundation of the abbey was a joint enterprise between the pope and the emperor and that, in many ways, Louis II was acting as an agent of Hadrian II.<sup>168</sup> This insinuation is not corroborated in any of the texts relating to the foundation from outside the abbey and even Berard is silent regarding the Pope's involvement in the plans for the foundation. Here the tympanum's narrative followed not the historical facts of the foundation or even probably the popular myths that were prevalent in the abbey at this time but instead it recast the account of the foundation within the framework of the ideology of the reform papacy of the twelfth century.<sup>169</sup> This ideology – the ideology acquired by Leonas during his education at the papal curia and militantly espoused by him during his abbacy – dictated that the emperor could not have acted unilaterally regarding the foundation and that the pope, the supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs, must have been involved in such an important endeavour.

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<sup>165</sup> Leo's text is edited in Meyvaert and Devos, 'Trois énigmes Cryillo-Méthodiennes', pp. 412-3, 455-61. Leo's account probably used John the Hymnographer's *vita* of Clement, written before 883, Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 110.

<sup>166</sup> Some tenth-century charters reference Saint Clement, for example Liber instrumentorum, fol. 138r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 959 = *I placiti*, n. 121. Dedications to the Holy Trinity, however, could still be found in twelfth-century charters, for example Liber instrumentorum, fol. 244r.

<sup>167</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, I.37, p. 103, 'Postmodum vero ab eiusdem loci abbatibus ipsa ecclesia ampliata et sancti Clementis vocabulo est, prout placuit, appellata'. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 111

<sup>168</sup> 'Cesaris ad votum clementum confero totum; Ecce pater patrie magnum tibi confero munus clementis corpus tu sacrum suscipe funus'. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 580 and Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 719.

<sup>169</sup> Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', pp. 720-1.

These beliefs also influence the scenes which concern the installation of the first abbot of San Clemente, Romanus, and the territorial endowment of the abbey. One scene depicts the figure of Louis II investing Romanus as abbot by presenting him with a sceptre, accompanied by an inscription reading 'we strengthen your rule with this sceptre; we ask you to take it'.<sup>170</sup> Laurent Feller has questioned whether this investiture actually occurred but certainly the ceremony presented in this frame – an investment with a sceptre – was not a contemporary practice and instead this scene is moulded to accord to the beliefs of the twelfth century reformers and particularly to conform to the regulations laid down by the Concordat of Worms in 1122.<sup>171</sup> The last frame depicts Louis II accompanied by three figures gathered around an abstract representation of the island of Casauria. The figures are identified, from left to right, as *Sisenandus*, *Gribaldus episcopus* and *Heribaldus comes*. Added to this list can be the figure of *Suppo comes*, who is depicted in another scene overseeing the transfer of Clement's relics to the abbey. Together these figures are presented to emphasise the abbey's connection to the great imperial system of the ninth century and to stress the abbey's claims to territorial and spiritual independence.<sup>172</sup> Bishop Grimoald of Penne, in office during the time of the abbey's foundation, was presented with an accompanying inscription which suggests that he granted the abbey liberty from episcopal jurisdiction at its foundation.<sup>173</sup> No contemporary charters or chronicle evidence, however, survive to confirm this claim and the earliest evidence for ecclesiastical independence in San Clemente comes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the issue of various papal bulls in favour of the abbey. This liberty was included in the papal confirmation obtained by Leonas in 1166 from Pope

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<sup>170</sup> 'sceptro firmamus regimen: tibi sume, rogamus'.

<sup>171</sup> Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 727.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 722-6.

<sup>173</sup> 'Damus vobis omne ius nostrum de hac insula'.

Alexander III and it would seem that the myth of Grimoald's grant was created retrospectively in the twelfth century to corroborate the abbey's claims to independence.<sup>174</sup>

Count Suppo can be identified as the contemporary count of Picenum whom Berard claimed was also labelled duke and was 'renowned in the army of the emperor'.<sup>175</sup> Berard also claimed that Suppo donated the *villa* of *Paternum* to the abbey at the time of the translation.<sup>176</sup> These claims were based on a forged charter, reproduced in Berard's cartulary, and it would seem that Suppo's depiction on the tympanum was motivated by his apparent prestige as an imperial official.<sup>177</sup> The figure of Count Heribald, who appears to have been charged with supervising the construction and survival of the monastery after its foundation, also had strong imperial connections. Heribald appeared in various *placita* in the year 873 under the title 'comes in vice comitis sacri palatii'.<sup>178</sup> As Laurent Feller has suggested, however, the choice of these personages for representation on the tympanum could be related to Leonas's wish to emphasise the contrasting nature and actions of the supposedly loyal and pious imperial servants of the ninth century and the rapacious and irreverent temperament of the lords of the twelfth.<sup>179</sup> Within this context the inclusion of the figure of Sisenandus would seem to contain extra meaning. Ostensibly, Sisenandus was represented on the tympanum to illustrate his donation of land to the abbey on its foundation.<sup>180</sup> This allusion is corroborated by charters in the cartulary which show that in 871 Sisenandus sold twelve *modia* of land, which would later form the nucleus of the estate of the abbey, to the emperor for ten pounds

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<sup>174</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 258v-259r. See Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', pp. 723-4.

<sup>175</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 800, 'in imperatoris exercitu fulgidus'. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 581.

<sup>176</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 800.

<sup>177</sup> For the forgery, see *ibid.*, col. 935.

<sup>178</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 88v-89r = *I placiti*, n.74, 76. See Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 722.

<sup>179</sup> Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 725.

<sup>180</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 773. In the sculpture, Sisenandus holds in his hand a charter bearing the inscription, 'Cesar, vestra sit insula Piscarie'.

of silver.<sup>181</sup> This document and others give Sisenandus the title *missus Supponis comitis*, showing that he was involved in the imperial system and was connected with Count Suppo.<sup>182</sup> Although Sisenandus was far from the most generous benefactor to the abbey around the time of its foundation, these details would be enough to warrant Sisenandus's inclusion on the tympanum but, as Feller has suggested, this figure's further history made him well suited to be portrayed as a secular lord worthy of Leonas's approval.<sup>183</sup> During his career, Sisenandus incurred imperial censure by contracting an improper marriage.<sup>184</sup> For this he was eventually brought to trial and a proportion of his lands were confiscated. Some of these lands were granted to the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>185</sup> Leonas's interest in these events would have centred on the fact that despite Sisenandus's censure and prosecution by imperial law he did not react violently or revolt against his sentence. In contrast to the independent, expansionist lords of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Sisenandus represented the ideal of an obedient and just lord who respected imperial justice and conformed to the views of Leonas concerning secular lords. As will be discussed in chapter 2, this opinion was mirrored in the prejudices of John Berard.

## Conclusion

It was possible for cartularies to fulfil various possible functions – as administrative aids, as dossiers to be utilised in judicial proceedings and as commemorative works – yet analysis of the disparate collection of important cartularies created in Italy and throughout

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<sup>181</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 75r-76v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 932-3. See Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 724.

<sup>182</sup> See also Liber instrumentorum, fols. 96v-97r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 816.

<sup>183</sup> Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 725.

<sup>184</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 725. See Christ Wickham, 'Land disputes and their social framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700-900, in Wendy Davies, ed., *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 105-124, p. 121.

<sup>185</sup> Much of the land bestowed on the abbey at its foundation had been confiscated, not donated, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 726.

Europe from the tenth to twelfth centuries provides no consensus concerning the motivations, intentions and intended audiences of these works. Furthermore, in the Italian context the various chronicle-cartularies that were created contemporaneously to that of San Clemente's provide few identifiable similarities and each was created to fill a particular need pertinent to its own institution, whether practical, polemical or commemorative. It is clear, however, that many of the authors of these works had knowledge of the contents and methods of contemporary chronicle-cartularies. At San Clemente, John Berard adapted and expanded these methods to compose his chronicle-cartulary from a limited amount of narrative sources, including the *gesta* of Abbot Wido, but from an abundance of charters, including an existing cartulary from the 1020s.

The motivations and ideology of John Berard will be discussed in chapter 2 yet it is clear that a distinct climate of ideas existed within San Clemente during his lifetime. Analysis of the career of John Berard illustrates his close relationship with his abbot, Leonas, whom he served as an envoy to the papal curia and as the abbey's provost. Examination of the life of Abbot Leonas demonstrates the various important incidents during his abbacy that informed his ideology. The protracted conflict concerning the election of Leonas established his mistrust of the secular aristocracy, represented by his persistent opponent Bohemond of Tarsia, count of Manoppello, and his allegiance to the papacy. This connection to the papacy was cemented by numerous papal confirmations granted to San Clemente and by Leonas's elevation to the position of external cardinal in 1170. Furthermore, the opposition of King Roger II to the election of Leonas does not seem to have soured relations between Leonas and the crown and the support of King William I and King William II and their officials, particularly Samarus of Trani, helped establish a royalist ideology within the abbey. Ultimately, the ideology of Leonas was publically expressed in the tympanum of the abbey-chapel of San Clemente which publicised a – mostly ahistorical – origin myth for the abbey that emphasised the abbey's intimate connection with the papacy and royal authority and lauded a selection of secular

aristocrats who piously patronised and protected the abbey. This ideology would be adopted and expanded by John Berard in his chronicle-cartulary.

## Chapter 2

### The chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria as an historical source

#### Introduction

As concluded in chapter 1, no consensus on the specific motivations and objectives of the authors of chronicle-cartularies can be deduced from examination of the wider European and Italian tradition of cartulary production. Thus this chapter will analyse the specific motivations and intentions of John Berard of San Clemente based on an analysis of Berard's declarations in the prologue to his chronicle-cartulary and an examination of the contents of his work. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 1, many of Berard's contemporaries – most notoriously Peter the Deacon of Montecassino – engaged in extensive documentary forgery.<sup>1</sup> Section 2 of this chapter will provide a detailed examination of the instances of forgery in the cartulary of San Clemente and attempt to ascertain whether these fabrications can be attributed to John Berard. This process can help illustrate Berard's treatment of his documentary sources and establish the limits of veracity in his cartulary. Finally, the continuing themes and biases of Berard's chronicle and their affect on his historical accounts will be discussed, specifically: Berard's judgement on the secular aristocracy from the tenth to the twelfth centuries; his ideas on royalty and exaltation of the German emperors and King Roger II; and his views on the Normans lords of Abruzzo, in particular Hugh Malmouzet, William Tassio, Richard of Manoppello and Robert of Manoppello. Thus this chapter will aim to analyse the intentions, credibility and ideology of John Berard to establish the utility of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary as an historical source.

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<sup>1</sup> On Peter's forgeries, see Herbert Bloch, 'The schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino', *Traditio* 8 (1952), pp. 159-264 and Hoffmann, 'Chronik und Urkunde in Montecassino'.

## 1. The motivations and intentions of John Berard

In the final passages of his chronicle, John Berard related that he ‘devised and composed’ his work with the permission ‘or should I say the command and assistance’ of his abbot, Leonas.<sup>2</sup> Berard linked the commissioning of his chronicle-cartulary with Leonas’s expansion of the library of the abbey and his programme of rebuilding.<sup>3</sup> In this account, Berard did not specify that Leonas had commissioned him to create the chronicle-cartulary, though it is implied, or to what purpose Leonas or Berard believed the work would be utilised. Unlike the majority of European cartularies, but in common with many of his contemporary compilers in central and southern Italy, Berard began his work with a prologue, attempting to outline his methodology and intentions and provide a summary of the history of his abbey.<sup>4</sup> In this prologue, Berard emphasised his desire to record events for the benefit of posterity, his own unworthiness to complete such a work and the difficulties he encountered during the endeavour. Berard claimed that he had only the ‘nature and knowledge of the young and ignorant’, thus forcing him to solicit divine assistance.<sup>5</sup> He stated that he worked for the ‘profit of his house’ and that he composed his cartulary ‘mainly that the abbey of San Clemente of Casauria, which by an excellent and principal right was always royal and sublime, should not be ignored by posterity.’<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Berard stated that he feared the charters of the abbey would be ‘lost either through age or neglect, as they had previously’.<sup>7</sup> Such stated concerns,

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<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 914, ‘Hunc quoque librum instrumentorum, seu chronicorum, quem ego frater Iohannes composui et ordinavi, et magister Rusticus manibus scripsit, ipso permittente, imo iubente ac adminiculante, perfecimus’.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 914.

<sup>4</sup> On prologues in European cartularies, see Bouchard, ‘Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity’, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 797-8, ‘licet ingenio et scientia iuniores et imperiti’. Such claims also arose the Alexander of Carpineto’s prologue, *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 3-4 and *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, vol. 1, p. 111. See Pratesi, ‘Cronache e documenti’, p. 337. For wider European examples of prologue tropes, see Benoît-Michel Tock, ‘Les textes non diplomatiques dans les cartulaires de la province de Reims’, in *Les cartulaires*, eds, Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 45-58, pp. 47-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 797-8, ‘profectum sanctae suae domus... et maxime ut abbatia Sancti Clementis Casauriensis, quod excellenti et principali iure semper fuer(i)t regalis atque sublimis, non ignoretur a posteris’.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 797-8, ‘ne videlicet causa vetustatis, vel per negligentiam, sicut olim, amittantur’.



however, tend heavily towards cliché and are commonplace in contemporary prologues to historical and hagiographical texts throughout Europe.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, among Berard's contemporaries, John *Grammaticus*, author of the prologue of the *Regestrum Farfense* stated that the aim of the work was 'to collect together all of the privileges and precepts and laws and also the volumes and lawful charters now almost consumed by extreme age' so that they might be left 'to the memory of posterity'.<sup>9</sup> Leo of Ostia, in his prologue to book 3 of the Montecassino chronicle, expressed dismay at the idea that the lives of his abbey's abbots might be forgotten.<sup>10</sup> His continuator later stated that he wrote 'for the knowledge of the present and future'.<sup>11</sup> A desire to preserve charters which would otherwise be lost due to neglect also appeared in numerous prologues, including those of Montecassino and San Vincenzo.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, Berard's professions of humility and his explicit anxieties concerning the fate of the abbey's history and archives, while they cannot be fully dismissed, are clearly heavily influenced by clichés and tropes inherent in contemporary historiography.

### 1.1. The prologue

Beyond these tropes, some underlying preoccupations, beliefs and intentions of Berard emerge from his prologue. It opens with a brief history of the abbey's foundation, highlighting the role of Emperor Louis II, the *translatio* of the relics of Saint Clement and the extensive and profitable patrimony that the abbey controlled in the ninth century. Berard contrasts this 'golden age' with the abbey's later declining fortunes: 'but afterwards, through our sins, just as [the abbey] lost many of its possessions, so it lost many more of the royal privileges and

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<sup>8</sup> See Geary, 'Auctor et auctoritas dans les cartulaires du haut Moyen-Âge', p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, vol. 2, p. 20. 'universa privilegia et praecepta nec non et tomos et legales cartas nimia vaetustate iam pene consumpta... colligere', 'ad memoriam posteritatis'.

<sup>10</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.Prologus, p. 363. See Antonio Sennis, "'Omnia tollit aetas et cuncta tollit oblivio". Ricordi smarriti e memorie costruite nei monasteri altomedievali', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 106 (2004), pp. 94-138, p. 115.

<sup>11</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, IV.13, p. 482, 'ad presentium quam ad posterorum notitiam scribere'.

<sup>12</sup> See Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 145.

formal charters because of the fault and negligence of certain men'.<sup>13</sup> From this potted history, two of Berard's obsessions can be easily discerned: his belief that the era surrounding and immediately following the foundation of the abbey represented the apogee of San Clemente's economic fortunes and a firm conviction that the subsequent centuries had only eroded the prestige and wealth of the abbey.<sup>14</sup>

The final section of the prologue highlights another important preoccupation of the author's. Berard claimed that 'it ought to be known' that at the time of the abbey's foundation the area around San Clemente contained no *castella* (fortified rural settlements), only 'crowded towns' and *casalia* (unfortified villages).<sup>15</sup> Berard portrayed this supposed idyll with scriptural reference, claiming that people 'at this time, [were] as if under a fig tree, and a grape vine, or in their own estates'.<sup>16</sup> This era was ended by the raids of the *Agarenes* which, Berard believed, forced the local inhabitants 'out of fear of the Barbarians' to construct 'fortifications out of towns and *castella* out of *casalia*'.<sup>17</sup> These events seem to lie at the crux Berard's ire as he related that:

Indeed, from that time some fortifications were built unlawfully by the invaders of those places on the possessions of the monastery and afterwards they were not

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<sup>13</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8, 'Sed postea, peccatis exigentibus, sicut de possessionibus multa perdidit, sic de regalibus privilegiis, et instrumentalibus chartis multa plura ob culpam et negligentiam quorunda(n) amisit'.

<sup>14</sup> As Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 272, has argued, Berard's anachronistic use of outdated place-names can be connected to this nostalgia. This tendency is also found in the work of John of San Vincenzo al Vulturno, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8, 'Praetera sciendum, quod tempore foundationis monasterii Piscariensis nulla castella... erant adhuc aedificata; sed... circumquaque posita loca frequentibus villis atque casalibus'.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 797-8, 'quasi sub ficu, et vite, vel in propriis praediiserat hominum illius temporis incolatus'. This is a reference to 1 Kings 4:25.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 797-8, 'ob metum ipsorum, ex villis munitiones, et ex casalibus castella fieri coeperunt'. This process, known as *incastellamento*, was also driven by economic reorganisation, see Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval* and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 211-306.

only retained by occupiers of this kind but exempted by the rights of violence from the lordship of the abbey and irrecoverably alienated.<sup>18</sup>

Thus Berard ended his prologue with a seemingly clear exposition of his reason for creating the chronicle-cartulary: 'And so, we are able to write truly for the knowledge of posterity [that] from these towns and *casalia* grew powerful forts and *castella*, as far as we could know the truth of it, from the reports of those who knew and the tradition of charters'.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.2. The purpose of the chronicle-cartulary

This declaration by John Berard would seem to support Laurent Feller's assertion that the primary purpose of the chronicle-cartulary was to aid the reclamation of rights and properties lost by the abbey since its foundation.<sup>20</sup> As discussed in chapter 1, some historians have viewed cartularies as legal dossiers intended to support institutions' legal claims.<sup>21</sup> The use of cartularies as legal evidence, however, is limited as they lack the requisite original seals and signatures to ensure authenticity. This problem has been stressed by Benoît-Michel Tock, who instead suggested that many cartularies were intended as archival catalogues to aid the consultation of institutions' charters.<sup>22</sup> In the case of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary, the ordering of documents in both geographical and chronological sections, with accompanying capitals on each page indicating abbatial and regnal periods, would support this view. The extensive copying of charters, however, many partially abbreviated, would seem wholly superfluous given this interpretation. Furthermore, Berard's work, unlike some contemporary

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<sup>18</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8, 'Nonnulla quidem ab eodem tempore per eorundem locorum invasores, in monasterii possessione fuerunt oppida violenter aedificata: quae postea per huiusmodi occupatores non solum retenta, immo a monasterii dominio, violento iure sunt exempta, et irrecuperabiliter alienata'.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Ad notitiam itaque posterorum, ex quibus villis et casalibus ipsae munitiones, et eadem castella invaluerunt, prout verius scire potuimus, tam relatione scientium, quam traditione chartarum, modoin capitulis huius voluimus, modo in chartarum titulis expressimus'.

<sup>20</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 272.

<sup>21</sup> For example Warren Brown, 'Charters as weapons. On the role played by early medieval dispute records in the disputes they record', *Journal of medieval history* 28 (2002), pp. 227-48, p. 246.

<sup>22</sup> Tock, 'Les textes non diplomatiques dans les cartulaires de la province de Reims', p. 54.

cartularies such as the *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona, lacked any blank spaces or pages for copying charters acquired subsequent to completion of the cartulary, thus limiting its practical uses.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, it would seem that John Berard viewed the chronicle-cartulary primarily as a work of history, intended to be studied wholly, not consulted sporadically for references. This interpretation explains the inclusion of a chronicle, which would seem redundant to a legal dossier or an archival catalogue, as it contextualised and often summarised the documents of the cartulary. As a work of history, it must also be assumed that the chronicle-cartulary had an intended audience. Unlike other more famous cartularies, such as those of Montecassino, there is no evidence to show that the San Clemente text was disseminated outside the abbey and there is only evidence of one copy, possibly made much later.<sup>24</sup> As outlined in chapter 1, the tympanum of the abbey-chapel of San Clemente, which contained numerous sculptures narrating the history of the foundation of the abbey, represented the public and official history of the abbey, decipherable to visitors and patrons, literate or illiterate. Yet the chronicle-cartulary was by nature a more complex work and would seem to have been intended for an audience of educated monks or clergy, probably from within the community of San Clemente itself. In this context, the final page of the manuscript, folio 272v, provides an important insight into John Berard's motivations and intentions. The page contains a large image of Saint Clement, enthroned and clad in the papal mantle, accepting a book from kneeling figure in monastic habit labelled *frater Johannes Berardi*. Clement is portrayed with his right hand extended in an act of blessing and the image is accompanied by a rubricated six-line metrical prayer from Berard to the saint. The prayer addresses Clement directly, beseeching him to accept the *volumen* and 'may you be merciful as befits the name

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<sup>23</sup> See Kosto, 'The Liber feudorum maior of the counts of Barcelona', p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Francois Duchesne and Ferdinand Ughelli's seventh-century editions of the San Clemente text were based on a now lost codex owned by the Colonna aristocratic family of Rome, see Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 207 and Manaresi, 'Il liber instrumentorum', p. 32.

Clement: remember brother John through eternity'.<sup>25</sup> Just as the tympanum of the abbey-chapel depicted Abbot Leonas presenting his great project – the rebuilt chapel – to Saint Clement for appraisal, the miniature of folio 272v firmly identifies the chronicle-cartulary as the work of John Berard. Thus any spiritual rewards arising from its completion belonged to Berard. As described in chapter 1, by the time Berard commenced his project, he was of advanced years and had retired from his important administrative position within the abbey. The chronicle-cartulary represented his concerted effort to attain spiritual redemption, to secure his position in the estimation of both Saint Clement and most likely the monastic community of San Clemente and to ensure that he himself, as well as the events he recorded, were remembered by posterity.

## 2. Forgery and error in the cartulary

The cartulary of San Clemente contains more than 2,150 documents, ranging in date from the mid-ninth century to the late-twelfth century. Such an abundance of diverse documentation raises the question of forgery or significant interpolation. Though Constance Bouchard has argued that most medieval cartularies contained few forgeries, many of John Berard's contemporaries, most infamously Peter the Deacon in the abbey of Montecassino, engaged in widespread and deliberate forgeries to either justify the claims of their institutions or enhance their celebrity.<sup>26</sup> Modern historiography has for the most part exonerated Berard from accusations that he engaged in forgery. Laurent Feller has suggested that the relative profusion of charters in the archive of San Clemente negated the need for extensive forgery.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Alessandro Pratesi, who has probably studied the charters of the San Clemente

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<sup>25</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 272v, 'Cui tu sis clemens proprio de nomine Clemens, perpetuis annis fratris memor esto Johannis'.

<sup>26</sup> Bouchard, 'Monastic cartularies: organizing eternity', p. 28. On Peter, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, pp. 941-1006.

<sup>27</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 82-3.

cartulary most extensively, could not charge Berard with any accusations of forgery.<sup>28</sup> The cartulary, however, does contain numerous instances of forgery and significant interpolation. These problems necessitate the examination of the extent of these forgeries, the attitude of John Berard towards blatant forgeries and whether any blame for these deceptions can be laid on Berard himself.

### 2.1. Forgery and interpolation in the foundations charters of San Clemente

The six imperial diplomas of Emperor Louis II to San Clemente – the foundation charters of the abbey – are only known from the copies contained in the cartulary. The first foundation charter of the abbey, dated at Capua in May 873, outlined Emperor Louis II's foundation of an abbey dedicated to the Holy Trinity.<sup>29</sup> This charter named the monastery's first abbot, Romanus, and recorded the donation of the church of San Quirico on the island of Casauria with associated lands. Two further imperial diplomas from the cartulary, of May 873 and April 874, granted further, limited, properties to the monastery.<sup>30</sup> These three charters display no obvious signs of forgery or interpolations and though, as Pratesi has highlighted, they contain some small anomalies, this is most likely due to inaccurate copying rather than wilful manipulation of the text.<sup>31</sup> A further three charters in the cartulary, purporting to document significant donations by Louis II, however, have been questioned by numerous scholars and raise considerable issues.<sup>32</sup> The first issue arises from the extent of the properties granted to the abbey by the emperor. A charter of September 874 bequeathed to the abbey all the imperial properties in *Tuscia*, an area comprising modern-day Tuscany and much of Umbria

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<sup>28</sup> Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', pp. 342-3. Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 215.

<sup>29</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 85r-85v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 801-3.

<sup>30</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 86r, 82r-82v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 803-4, 807-8.

<sup>31</sup> Alessandro Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', in *Contributi per una storia dell'Abruzzo adriatico nel medioevo*, eds Luigi Pellegrini and Roberto Paciocco (Chieti, 1992), pp. 115-31, p. 120.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 572, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 76 and Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 344-6.

and Lazio, and various lands in *Pistorium* and *Aprutium*.<sup>33</sup> Following this, a charter of October 874, confirmed to the abbey all the imperial properties in Rome, Pentopoli, *Tuscia*, in the duchy of Spoleto, in the counties of Camerino, Fermo and Ascoli, and further lands in the counties of *Aprutium*, Chieti and Penne.<sup>34</sup> Finally, the last charter, dated November 874, was a confirmation issued to both the abbey of San Clemente and the monastery of Molinello in Mantova, also previously founded by Louis II.<sup>35</sup> The extent of these donations, which effectively alienated the majority of the emperor's properties in central Italy, certainly hints at the involvement of forgery. Pratesi has also raised concerns about the formulation of the charter of September 874 and highlighted its similarity to a later imperial charter of December 967, issued by Emperor Otto I to the abbey.<sup>36</sup> Herbert Zielinski, however, has provided a detailed argument favouring the authenticity of this charter, and that of October 874, and he has rightly emphasized that the inclusion of the abbey of Molinello in the confirmation of November 874 suggests that the charter was not a wholesale falsification.<sup>37</sup>

It is apparent, however, that these charters were subjected to some form of interpolation. The original foundation charter of the abbey of May 873 made clear that Louis dedicated the abbey to the Holy Trinity, as did his following donation charter of April 874.<sup>38</sup> This dedication was continued throughout the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The latest occurrence of this dedication in the cartulary dates from 1114.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, John Berard's account of the foundation insisted on the abbey's association with Saint Clement and related,

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<sup>33</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 93v-94v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 809-11. See Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 94v-95r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 811-2. See Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 345.

<sup>35</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 95r-95v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 812-3. Muratori's edition of this charter has been corrected in Herbert Zielinski, 'Zu den Gründungsurkunden Kaiser Ludwigs II. für das Kloster Casauria', *Fälschungen im Mittelalter 4* (1988), pp. 67-96, pp. 92-6.

<sup>36</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 132v-133r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 827-29. Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', pp. 122-3.

<sup>37</sup> Zielinski, 'Zu den Gründungsurkunden Kaiser Ludwigs II. für das Kloster Casauria', p. 86. Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', is a direct response to Zielinski's argument.

<sup>38</sup> Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', p. 121.

<sup>39</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 224r. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 114.

in detail, the translation of Clement's relics by Louis II from Rome to the abbey at its foundation. This version of events is found only in the writings associated with the abbey and has been dismissed by Pratesi.<sup>40</sup> Other accounts of the abbey's foundation ignore the abbey's claims to the relics of Saint Clement and the Montecassino chronicle dismissively related that the abbey designated itself San Clemente because it 'pleased' the abbots.<sup>41</sup> Yet in the fourth and fifth charters of Louis II, dated October and November 874 respectively, Louis named the abbey as 'where we buried with veneration the body of the most blessed Saint Clement, pope and martyr', while in the sixth charter Louis described how he dedicated the abbey 'in honour of the holy and indivisible Trinity' but it was 'also where we placed the body of Saint Clement, martyr and pontiff of Christ'.<sup>42</sup> The next reference to Saint Clement in the cartulary arises from a *placitum* of 910 and subsequent allusions are rare until the later tenth century and the reign of Abbot Adam (967-97) following the destruction of the abbey by the *Agarenes*.<sup>43</sup> Thus it is likely that while these three charters are not complete falsifications, they contain important interpolations, at least concerning the allusions to the relics of Saint Clement and at most encompassing the number of properties donated by the emperor to the abbey. Pratesi, however, has convincingly argued that these interpolations, of whatever extent, were inserted

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<sup>40</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 775-84. Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 344. Both Pratesi and Zielinski suggest that the abbey may have acquired some small relics of Saint Clement at its foundation, Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', p. 129, Zielinski, 'Zu den Gründungsurkunden Kaiser Ludwigs II. für das Kloster Casauria', pp. 85-6.

<sup>41</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, I.37, p. 103. The chronicle of San Vincenzo al Volturno, following the Montecassino chronicle, also claimed the abbots changed the name to San Clemente and does not mention any relics of Saint Clement, *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 1, pp. 225-6. See also Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 714 and Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 267. The *Libellus querulus* also recorded the dedication to the Holy Trinity, not Saint Clement, *Libellus querulus*, p. 1462.

<sup>42</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 809, 811, 812. 'ubi almiscum beatissimi pontificis et martyris Clementis corpus venerabiliter recondi fecimus', 'in honore sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, ubi etiam collcare fecimus corpus beati Clementi martyris et pontificis Christi'.

<sup>43</sup> *Placitum* of 910, *Additamenta*, cols. 951-2 = *I placiti*, n. 121. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 573 n. 4 and Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 112. A 917 privilege of King Berenger I to the abbey alludes to the relics of Saint Clement, suggesting the myth was established by this point, *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 124r-125r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 823-4.



at the turn of the eleventh century, most likely during the reign of Abbot Giselbert.<sup>44</sup> Thus the authenticity of Louis's extensive donations and his associated confirmation of the translation of the relics of Saint Clement would seem to have been well established by the time John Berard came to copy these documents.

## 2.2. The documents of Abbot Giselbert

The versions of the foundation charters present in the cartulary suggest that John Berard was uncritical of the documents that he worked with, in whatever form they were available to him. Berard at times also admitted that he did not have a full mastery of his materials or the skills necessary to analyse them. When commenting on the charters available to him from the turn of the eleventh century, in particular during the reign of Abbot Giselbert, Berard displayed an obvious confusion concerning the abbatial successions: 'in the time of Giselbert, a certain Abbot Grimoald is found... Hereafter that Abbot Grimoald is not found; nevertheless he is written down after Giselbert, and the name of the same Grimoald is placed after the name of Giselbert, and has a place after him in the catalogue. Moreover, Giselbert is again held to be abbot in the government and in the *acta* of the monastery'.<sup>45</sup> This confusion arises from the charters of folios 160v-172v, which are attributed, in succession, to Abbots John (July 987-April 996), Giselbert (June 997-May 998), Grimoald (December 999), Giselbert (December 1000-February 1010), John (May 1010 and 994) and Giselbert (June 1011-August 1011).<sup>46</sup> As Pratesi has shown, however, this disorder is readily explainable as only one charter is attributed to Grimoald, dated December 999, and is most likely a mistaken expansion of an abbreviation of Abbot Giselbert's name, either by Berard or a previous copyist.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>44</sup> Pratesi, 'Ubi corpus beati Clementis papae et martyris requiescit', p. 131. See also, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 76 n. 79.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 836, 'infra tempus Gisleberti quidam Grimoaldus Abbas reperitur... Hinc amplius iste Abbas Grimoaldus non invenitur, tamen post Gislebertum scribitur, et nomen eiusdem Grimoaldi post nomen Gisleberti ponitur, et post eum locum habet in catalogo. Porro in monasterii regimine vel actibus rursus Gislebertus Abbas habetur'.

<sup>46</sup> See Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 110-1.

<sup>47</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 168r. Pratesi, 'In margine', pp. 109-113.

of the three charters of the second John, one is dated 994 and is simply misplaced within the cartulary, while the other two, dated May 1010, share the same indiction – VIII – as the year 995, within the abbacy of the first John and should therefore be attributed to the earlier date.<sup>48</sup> It is unlikely, therefore, that Abbots Grimoald and John II existed and thus Abbot Giselbert was in office from at least June 997 to at least August 1011.

Laurent Feller has suggested that the charters of Giselbert were wilfully displaced and manipulated to discredit the abbot and to suggest a degree of resistance to his abbacy from within the community of San Clemente.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that John Berard was complicit in this scheme. Certainly, Berard held Abbot Giselbert in some contempt. He claimed that Giselbert was installed by his kinsmen and Count Trasmund II.<sup>50</sup> Berard also blamed Giselbert for the annexations carried out by the local aristocracy and for engaging in property exchanges that were *inutilis* to the abbey.<sup>51</sup> In particular, Berard noted that the Sansoneschi capture of the fortifications constructed by Abbot Adam ‘was entirely ascribed to the worthlessness and folly of a lazy shepherd’.<sup>52</sup> It is improbable, however, that Berard wilfully distorted the documentary evidence regarding Abbot Giselbert. Berard was open in his confusion concerning the charters and refrained from explicitly drawing conclusions regarding abbatial or electoral power-struggles in his chronicle. The small scribal problems which caused Berard chronological mistakes were most likely errors of transcription and interpretation, which arose from the cartulary of Abbot Wido, on which Berard presumably based his texts for this period.<sup>53</sup> Berard’s disdain of Abbot Giselbert probably conforms to a well-established tradition within the monastery which dated from the time of Abbot Wido. An undated letter of the

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<sup>48</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 172r.

<sup>49</sup> Feller, ‘Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria’, p. 275.

<sup>50</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 836.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* Filippo Roscini, ‘Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un’abbazia’, *Bullettino della deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 85 (1995), pp. 5-55, p. 37 argues that Giselbert’s abbacy that was economically disastrous for the abbey but that this recession had begun during the abbacy of Adam, p. 26.

<sup>52</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 837, ‘totum deputabatur ignaviae pigri pastoris et insipientiae’.

<sup>53</sup> See above, p. 64.

community of San Clemente to Emperor Henry II, attributed in the cartulary to Abbot Wido but probably a later forgery, denounced Abbot Giselbert: 'Alas, alas for the wretched and miserably rejected island of Aurea, which before was indeed gold but now is truly oppressed by all sorrows and now almost desolate through the misdeeds and faults of a certain ruler. Finally, before those years a certain Giselbert, adorned with the habit of a monk but not the deeds, with one eye but with a blinded mind, nevertheless received the abbey against his will as his relatives, along with Count Trasmund, appointed him'.<sup>54</sup> Giselbert's abbacy was possibly troublesome as a *placitum* of 1028, presided over by Count Atto IV, decided in favour of Abbot Wido in a dispute against some members of the local aristocracy who claimed rights and properties in Bectorrita based on grant they had received from Abbot Giselbert.<sup>55</sup> As Laurent Feller has suggested, however, the policy of denigration of the reputation of Giselbert may have been part of a calculated effort to present Wido's abbacy as a new departure.<sup>56</sup> Berard's continued denunciation of Giselbert and constant praise for Wido, written more than a century later, seems to both validate this program and further display Berard's faith in his sources.

### 2.3. Forgery in papal documents

Berard's respect of the charters at his disposal and his insistence on faithfully reproducing them is similarly exhibited by the various papal documents present in the cartulary. *Benevalete* and *rotae* were replicated, while various forms of curial script and idiosyncratic abbreviation marks were mimicked. Berard's methodology also led him to reproduce interpolations and errors. The confirmation charter of Pope Leo IX, dated 22 July 1051,

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<sup>54</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 181r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 840-3, 'Vae, vae miserae ac miserabiliter repudiatae Aureae insulae, quae antea bene aurea, nunc vero omni amaritudine oppressa, et paene iam desolata suis ex delictis, culpaque cuiusdam regentis. Fuit denique ante hos annos quidam Gislebertus nomine, monachico habitu coloratus, sed non opere, cum uno oculo lusco, sed mente omnino coecatus, tamen non sua sponte accepit abbatiam, sed parentes eius cum Comite Transmundo ordinaverunt eum abbatem'. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 82.

<sup>55</sup> *I placiti*, n. 328 = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 990.

<sup>56</sup> Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 275.

present in the cartulary can be compared to the original held in the Vatican archives.<sup>57</sup> Such comparison exposes some differences of formulae, the insertion of various synonyms and an interpolation: 'We concede to you and your successors all the tithes and burials taxes of all the properties of your church and you are to have licence from bishops who enter to consecrate churches or priests. And also, we forbid any bishop to celebrate a synod there'.<sup>58</sup> Thus a charter confirming the properties of San Clemente was transformed into a confirmation of liberty and exemption from the local bishop. As Pratesi has argued, this interpolation was probably introduced into the document sometime in the twelfth century and certainly before the compilation of Pope Hadrian IV's privilege to the abbey of 14 March 1159, which included the interpolated concessions of San Clemente version of the Leo IX charter.<sup>59</sup> It is unlikely, therefore, that Berard was involved in the genesis of this interpolation.

Furthermore, when describing Urban II's instigation of the First Crusade and his supposed preaching in the Chieti region, Berard evidently resisted the temptation to forge a privilege from Urban to the abbey.<sup>60</sup> In his chronicle, Berard claimed that Urban convened a council of 'bishops and barons', after which Abbot Grimoald of San Clemente remonstrated with the Pope for assistance and 'he was received with the greatest reverence by the aforesaid Pope Urban and he deserved to be placed under the protection of the Roman church, of which the abbey of San Clemente had hitherto known nothing because it was

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<sup>57</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 218v. = *Italia pontificia*, IV p. 303, n. 1 = MSS Chigi E. VI. 182 (6), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City. See Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 106 and Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', pp. 339-42.

<sup>58</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 218v, 'Concedimus etiam tibi vel tuisque successoribus omnem decimationem vel mortuorum de omnibus bonis ecclesie tue et consecrationem ecclesiarum sive presbyterorum licentiam habeatis a catholicis episcopis iuste intransibus consecrandum. Interdicimus etiam ut nullus episcopus ibi synodum celebret'. See Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 340, Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 115 and Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 275.

<sup>59</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 253r-253v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 898 = *Italia pontificia*, IV, p. 303, n. 13. Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 340.

<sup>60</sup> Rivera claimed Urban travelled through the area en route to the council of Bari in 1098, though this is speculative and chronologically dubious, Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 60.

governed by the emperors'.<sup>61</sup> Berard then claimed that Urban consecrated Abbot Grimoald, bestowing upon him a *baculum pastoralem*. This consecration is portrayed in a miniature in the cartulary and yet no accompanying text detailing the Urban's charter is provided.<sup>62</sup> The existence of this charter was presumed by Paul Kehr in the *Italia Pontificia* and subsequently by Herbert Bloch and Cesare Rivera but not by Pratesi.<sup>63</sup> The absence of a text purporting to be Urban II's privilege in the cartulary suggests Berard's reluctance to engage in forgery. Given his seemingly absolute faith in the documents that were available to him and his uncritical methodology, this reluctance further emphasises Berard's belief in the inherent veracity of documentary sources.

John Berard can only be definitively connected to the origin of one manipulated papal document present in his cartulary. The privilege of Pope Alexander III, dated 18 March 1166, presented in the cartulary in curial script and with reproductions of Alexander's *rotae* and *benevalete*, was explained by an associated chronicle section: 'At the same time, the lord Alexander, a man catholic in all respects, returning from France, exercised papal office in Rome. Abbot Leonas sent to him a certain brother, named John Berard... Through him he obtained a privilege of defence and protection against those who offend and molest the monastery of Pescara, in the fashion of his predecessors, who granted privileges to the same monastery (which was brought to the monastery by the aforesaid brother John) and stored diligently with the others'.<sup>64</sup> When compared with the original held in the Vatican archives,

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<sup>61</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 872, 'cum maxima reverentia a praedicto Papa Urbano susceptus est, et sub protectione Romanae ecclesiae, quam hactenus abbatia Sancti Clementis ignoraverat, quia ab Imperatoribus gubernabatur, meruit collocari'.

<sup>62</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 238r.

<sup>63</sup> *Italia pontificia*, IV, p. 301; Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 572; Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 60; Pratesi, 'In margine', p. 109.

<sup>64</sup> The cartulary text of privilege is Liber instrumentorum, fols. 258v-259r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 901-3. The chronicle text is *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 900, though Muratori omitted the concluding reference to John Berard, see Liber instrumentorum, fol. 259r, 'Eodem tempore vir per omnia catholicus Iohnus Alexander de Francia reversus Romae pontificabatur, ad quem domnus Leonas Abbas quendam fratrem, Iohannem Berardi cognomine, ...visitandi gratia direxit; per quem impetravit privilegium defensionis et tutelae contra eos, qui Piscariense monasterium offendunt atque molestant, ad instar praedecessorum suorum, qui eidem monasterio privilegia indulserunt, quod a prefato fratre

however, Berard's copy of Alexander's privilege in the cartulary shown to be truncated.<sup>65</sup> The excised words, however, number only about twenty and are of little importance.<sup>66</sup> The omissions were probably the result of errors in copying or abbreviation and not connected to deceitful manipulation.

#### 2.4. Forgery in royal documents

As discussed above, the various diplomas of Louis II issued to the abbey contain various interpolations.<sup>67</sup> These manipulations, however, most likely date from the turn of the eleventh century and were mostly connected to the increasing cult of Saint Clement within the abbey. The abbey's association with Saint Clement in these documents contrasted distinctly with the other documentation available from the period. Berard faithfully reproduced the charters uncritically. These charters were, of course, amenable to the abbey of San Clemente's ideology in the twelfth century as they supported the abbey's claims to the relics of Saint Clement and described a vast patrimony once apparently controlled by the abbey. Berard, however, also reproduced documents not wholly beneficial to the abbey. The cartulary's copy of the confirmation charter issued by King Roger II to the abbey in August 1140 displayed Berard's unwillingness to manipulate the documentary evidence available to him.<sup>68</sup> In his chronicle, Berard claimed that during the royal invasion of Abruzzo in 1140, Roger II camped for three days near the abbey, 'in the plain below Tocco and next to the Pescara'.<sup>69</sup> From here, according to Berard, Roger received a delegation from the community of San Clemente and issued a privilege granting the abbey liberty and also granted three *castella*,

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Iohanne ad monasterium allatum, cum aliis diligenter habetur reconditum'. See Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> MSS Chigi E. VI. 182 (25), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City = *Italia pontificia*, IV, p. 303, n. 14. See Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 339.

<sup>66</sup> Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', pp. 341-2.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>68</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 248r = *Rogarii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed. Carlrichard Brühl (Cologne, 1987), n. 49. The version in *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 889-90 is not from the manuscript but is a later forgery copied from *Italia sacra*, X, p. 408. See below, p. 74.

<sup>69</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 888, 'in campestri sub Tocco, et iuxta Piscariam'.

apparently 'from his own property'.<sup>70</sup> If this charter is assumed to be a royal confirmation of the abbey's properties, then it represents a distinct reverse to the abbey's territorial aspirations. Laurent Feller, who argued that the charter was a confirmation, contrasted this confirmation with those issued by the papacy during the twelfth century: Pope Calixtus II, in his bull of 1121, confirmed ten properties, while the 1159 confirmation of Pope Hadrian IV and the 1166 confirmation of Pope Alexander III both included the abbey's claims to nineteen properties.<sup>71</sup> From this contrast, Feller has concluded that the patrimony of San Clemente had been severely reduced in the decades before the 1140 invasion and that Roger II did not intend to rehabilitate the abbey's power.<sup>72</sup>

This interpretation has been questioned by Roberto Paciocco, who has stressed that the 1140 charter specified that the properties were granted – the verb used is *tribuo* – not confirmed, and represented the beginning of sustained royal patronage of San Clemente.<sup>73</sup> As demonstrated in chapter 1, however, while William I and William II instituted administrative structures which benefitted the abbey of San Clemente and, through their officials, supported many of abbey's territorial claims, Roger II displayed a limited interest in the prosperity of the abbey. Moreover, the royal charter of August 1140, whether a confirmation or a grant, was distinctly limited in nature. The three *castella* included – Colle Odoni, Castel Plano and Bolognano – were not granted with a specified amount of associated lands but Bolognano was later recorded in the *Catalogus Baronum* as only one knight's fee.<sup>74</sup> This text could have easily

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 'privilegium libertatis', 'de suo proprio'.

<sup>71</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 245r-245v (Calixtus II), 253r-253v (Hadrian IV), 258v-259r (Alexander III) = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 881, 898, 901-3. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 65, 778-9, and Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 124.

<sup>72</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 778-9; Laurent Feller, 'Sur les sources de l'histoire des Abruzzes entre IXe et XIIe siècles', in *Contributi per una storia dell'Abruzzo adriatico nel medioevo*, eds, Luigi Pellegrini and Roberto Paciocco (Chieti, 1992), pp. 47-69, p. 67; Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 147.

<sup>73</sup> Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 341. Paciocco accepted as genuine the letter of San Clemente to Roger II which supposedly predicated the royal invasion of 1140, which is dubious, see below, p. 94.

<sup>74</sup> Evelyn Mary Jamison, *Catalogus baronum* (Rome, 1972), n. 1217. Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 244, argued that the *Catalogus* proved San Clemente was a territorially powerful abbey but as

been interpolated to bolster the abbey's territorial ambitions, yet Berard reproduced its limited concessions.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, a forged version of the charter was created in the abbey of San Clemente which included an extensive list of properties.<sup>76</sup> This charter was based on Pope Celestine III's confirmation to the abbey of San Clemente in August 1191, which is not present in the San Clemente cartulary and was most likely created after John Berard's death.<sup>77</sup> Evidently a successor of John Berard felt the need to greatly expand the concessions of Roger II's 1140 charter, yet Berard did not.

## 2.5. Conclusion

Berard's treatment of Roger II's charter of 1140 epitomises his methodology and opinion of documentary sources. While later monks of San Clemente would engage in obvious forgery in an attempt to enhance the economic and political power of their abbey, Berard resisted such temptation. Of course, many of the forgeries which Berard reproduced in his cartulary suited Berard's ideologies and assumptions. The interpolated diplomas of Emperor Louis II supported the abbey's claims to the relics of Saint Clement, while also sustaining the abbey's representation as an imperial favourite. Similarly, the interpolations present in the cartulary copy of the privilege of Pope Leo IX transformed it into a privilege of exemption and emphasised the abbey's status as an independent institution. Yet documents which Berard believed to have existed, such as the privilege of Pope Urban II, were not forged for inclusion in the cartulary and charters which reflected poorly upon the abbey, such as Roger II's 1140 confirmation, were reproduced faithfully. Laurent Feller has suggested that the relative profusion of documentary sources available to Berard negated the need for forgery and that

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Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', p. 68 n. 63, has highlighted, San Clemente's properties could only raise 14 knights.

<sup>75</sup> Roger's rubricated *rotae* and some distinctive ligatures were also copied, *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 248r.

<sup>76</sup> *Rogarii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed. Brühl, n. 50 = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 889-90 = *Italia sacra*, X, p. 408.

<sup>77</sup> Archivio di Montecassino, Aula III, caps. X, n. 151 = *Italia pontificia*, IV, 297, n. 27. See Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 340 n. 10.



such forgeries, had they been created, would have been unconvincing to Berard's contemporaries.<sup>78</sup> It is perhaps more plausible to conclude that, in the words of Alessandro Pratesi, John Berard had 'unlimited confidence' in the documents available to him.<sup>79</sup> He treated them with a reverence and respect which precluded the insertions of interpolations or engagement in deliberate forgery

### **3. Bias and misrepresentation in the San Clemente chronicle**

While Berard viewed his documentary sources as revered objects, his chronicle presents instances of clear bias and distortion. For the purposes of this study, the most important facet of Berard's prejudices is his opinions of the various royal and aristocratic groups which the abbey of San Clemente came into contact with in the three centuries prior to Berard's writing. As discussed in chapter 1, most of Berard's biases and prejudices can be illuminated by analysis of the conflicts and tensions that affected the abbey of San Clemente during the life of Abbot Leonas and Berard himself and shaped the ideological climate of San Clemente in the late-twelfth century. Berard's interpretation of the relationship between his abbey and the Norman royal family, comital powers, Papacy and local aristocracy of the twelfth century finds clear expression in his representation of the history of his institution. Most significantly, Berard's biases distort and obscure his representation of most important lay groups in his chronicle: the native aristocracy of Abruzzo region; the German and Norman royal lineages; and the Norman invaders and emergent lords of Abruzzo in the late-eleventh and twelfth century.

#### **3.1. The representation of the local aristocracy in the chronicle**

##### **3.1.1. The tenth-century invasion of the *Agarenes* and usurpations of the local aristocracy**

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<sup>78</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>79</sup> Pratesi, 'Cronache e documenti', p. 347, 'fiducia illimitata'. Feller noted that Berard shared this attitude with Gregory of Catino and John of San Vincenzo al Volturno, Feller, 'Le cartulaire-chronique de San Clemente a Casauria', p. 276.

As discussed above, Berard's explicit reason for composing a cartulary, as he explained in the prologue of his work, was to record 'for the knowledge of posterity' how the invasion of the *Agarenes* in the mid-tenth century had prompted the construction of 'forts and *castella*' which resulted in the usurpation of much the abbey's patrimony.<sup>80</sup> Like many of his contemporary chroniclers, Berard felt comfortable condemning these Muslim invaders. He labelled them 'a pagan and cruel people' and 'barbarians', who 'destroyed', 'desolated', and 'ravaged' the area.<sup>81</sup> This denigration was mirrored by Berard's condemnation of the Christian local aristocrats, who supposedly utilised the chaos caused by the Muslim raids to further their territorial ambitions. In his prologue he denounced how they had 'unlawfully made fortifications in the estates of the monastery' and utilised violent methods to 'irreconcilably alienate' these lands from the patrimony of the abbey.<sup>82</sup> In his chronicle, Berard expanded on this theme, claiming the invasion had left the the brothers 'dispersed and their properties, villages and *castella*, destroyed and [the abbey] was unable to assist those in the surrounding regions, which were each overwhelmed by their own calamities'.<sup>83</sup> Berard labelled the local lords who took advantage of this instability as *rebelle*s and claimed that 'nothing was spared from the plunderers'.<sup>84</sup> Berard's further descriptions of these lords denounced them as *pervasores ecclesiae* who were 'stimulated by a spirit of wickedness' and later accused these lords of defending their actions to an imperial inquisition 'with a worn face just like prostitute'.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 1r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8.

<sup>81</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8, 822-3, 'gente videlicet pagana et crudeli', 'barbaris', 'destructum', 'desolata', 'depopulatio'. Such language is similar to that found in *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 1, p. 342 and the *Destructio monasterii Farfensis*, edited in *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Balzani, pp. 28-51.

<sup>82</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 822-3, 'Post mortem vero Ittonis monasterium Sancti Clementis sine pastore fuit, quia fratres erant dispersi, et res anihilatae, villae et castella destructa, et non erat in circumadiacentibus regionibus qui ei subvenire posset, tantum propriis calamitatibus unusquisque opprimebatur'.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 827, 'nulli ex raptoribus parcerent'.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 827, 'stimulati spiritu nequitiae', 'attrita facie sicuti meretrix'.

When these lords renounced their supposed enmity to San Clemente, Berard was relatively magnanimous, labelling one lord who returned previously usurped territory as *nobilissimus*.<sup>86</sup> Yet their deeds were not forgiven or forgotten. When a certain Laurentius relinquished control of properties he had previously held from Abbot Adam, Berard denounced how Laurentius had ‘seized, held and possessed [these lands] by nefarious trickery’.<sup>87</sup> The epitome of this rapacious, tenth-century usurper, is Lupo, son of Hildegerius, who, according to Berard, ‘attacked the monastery’ after it had been ‘oppressed by the ravages of the *Agarenes*... and then ascended into the mountains, and during the ascent of the Urso mountain, Lupo invaded the... possessions of San Clemente, and unlawfully built a fort in them’.<sup>88</sup> This condemnation of Lupo can be contrasted with Berard’s representation of Bernard, son of Liudinus, the founder of the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, who Berard described as ‘a noble and powerful man of Penne’ and *famosus*.<sup>89</sup> Bernard was held in such high regard because while his contemporaries were oppressing San Clemente, Bernard ‘after becoming a monk in this monastery of Casauria, completed the days of his old age and life and died’.<sup>90</sup>

Berard’s accounts of usurpation and persecution probably have some basis in reality. The disorder created by the Muslim raids would have allowed the local aristocracy to occupy monastic lands with little resistance. This period, however, also witnessed the beginnings of the *incastellamento* which was driven by a desire for increased security, in the face of Muslim incursions or local conflicts, but was also influenced by economic and social forces.<sup>91</sup> The nucleation and fortification of settlements allowed local lords more efficiently to control and

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 831, ‘Similiter fuit factum de Lupo quodam nobilissimo, qui sua violentia abitulerat praefato’.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 831, ‘nefaria subreptione abstulit, habuit et possedit’.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 831-2, ‘ab Agarenis vastata opprimebatur... ad montana conscendit, et circa montis ascensus, qui dicitur Ursa... a Sancto Clemente possessis, et ab ipso Lupone pervasis, oppidum violenter aedificavit’.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 836-7, ‘nobili et potenti viro Pinnensi’.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 837, ‘in hoc Casauriensi monasterio monachus factus, senectutis et vitae suae dies moriens explevit’.

<sup>91</sup> Best described, at length, in Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*.

exploit the local populace and means of production. The abbey of San Clemente was reticent in employing this strategy in its patrimony and Berard's chronicle recorded the foundation of numerous *castella* by local lords, providing the abbey with an increasing economic and political challenge. Berard's numerous protestations that fortifications were 'illegally' (*violenter*) constructed by the local aristocracy can be ascribed to the beginnings of *incastellamento* rather than malicious usurpations of monastic lands.

### 3.1.2. The local aristocracy of the eleventh century

Berard's opinion of the operations of the local aristocracy in the aftermath of the Muslim invasions, which featured so prominently in the prologue to his cartulary, was mirrored by his numerous condemnations of the petty nobility of the eleventh century. As mentioned above, Bernard, son of Liudinus, the founder of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the hero of that abbey's chronicle, was singled out for praise by Berard. Specifically, in his narrative, Berard utilised Bernard, the 'most noble and powerful man' who took later the monastic habit, as a direct contrast to the warlike Remigius and Sanso, members of the Sansoneschi clan, who he labelled 'both distinguished in military power'.<sup>92</sup> Berard claimed that these brothers, along with their kinsmen, 'entered secretly and pillaged the *castella* and lands of the church'.<sup>93</sup> This supposed persecution, which Berard blamed on the 'lazy and foolish' Abbot Giselbert, led Berard to describe the situation that the abbey faced at the beginning of the abbacy of Wido as such:

The enemies, surrounded [the abbey] on all sides, ... and [the monks] could not leave the island if they could or wished to do so, because those who held the

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 837. See below, p. 175.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 837, 'subintraverunt, et pervaserunt castella et terris ecclesiae'.

church's stolen *castella* and revealed themselves to be enemies of God, had destroyed the bridge, and in opportune places laid ambushes.<sup>94</sup>

This description was most likely copied from the *vita* of Abbot Wido, which Berard identified as his source for this period.<sup>95</sup> As Berard commented, the *vita* expressed how 'much [Wido] worked for the church that was committed to him, how much he disciplined his body by abstinence, as moderate in encouragement as he was severe in correction'.<sup>96</sup> This *vita* presumably denigrated the local aristocracy, in particular the Sansoneschi clan, to enhance the reputation of Abbot Wido and promote him as a stringent and selfless defender of the abbey against outside enemies. Berard's other main source for this period, the forged letter to Emperor Henry II, upheld this interpretation, accusing Sanso and others of 'numerous oppressions' and 'killing' and 'robbing' various monks.<sup>97</sup> Berard's denunciation of the local aristocracy is clearly influenced by these dubious sources.

Berard also exaggerated the malice and cruelties of the local lords in an attempt to bolster his preferred narrative which described the persecution of the abbey followed by its liberation through the benevolent protection of a sacred secular power. Thus Berard claimed that before the abbacy of Abbot Wido:

Because of the negligence and faults of some abbots, the abbey of Pescara was diminished and with its power weakened, all the land was invaded by the aforesaid barons, who held those properties that belonged to San Clemente by

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 841, 'hostes erant in capite a quibus circumvallabantur undique, nec eis erat facultas si possent aut vellent insulam egredi, quia pontem subverterant, et in locis opportunis insidias posuerant illi, qui castella ecclesiae pervasa tenebant ipsorum et Dei manifesti inimici'.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 843.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 842, 'quantum ipse pro ecclesia sibi commissa laboravit, quanta abstinencia corpus perdomuit, quam modestus in exhortando, severus in corrigendo fuit'.

<sup>97</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 181r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 841-2, 'multas oppressiones', 'alios de nostris monachis caederunt, atque alios expoliaverunt'.

ancient right [but] afterwards because of [Sanso's] improper usurpation, they were called *Sansonicae*, after the name of Sanso himself.<sup>98</sup>

This condemnation of the Sansoneschi was most likely based on a long-standing struggle between the clan and the abbey over control of the strategically and economically important bridges over the River Pescara.<sup>99</sup> Berard's narrative, however, highlighted the pride of the Sansoneschi and contrasted this with their humiliation before the 1028 inquiry led by Margrave Hugh of Tuscany and Count Atto IV: 'Fearing the emperor more than God and knowing the vigour and invincible courage of the abbot, falling at his knees, they surrendered to his mercy all that they had wickedly invaded'.<sup>100</sup> Berard continued this narrative of subjugation by claiming that Abbot Wido retained the majority of the disputed properties and rights for the abbey and only 'ceded to them other things, not by right of lordship but as if they had petitioned to have [those lands] on condition of service'.<sup>101</sup> In Berard's view, these members of the Sansoneschi, chastised by imperial power, transformed from malicious usurpers to servants of the church, thus conforming to his simple binary view of the secular aristocracy. This interpretation of the 1028 settlement, however, was strikingly naive. The stipulations of the 1028 *placita* were never shown to have been enforced and, in February 1035, Abbot Wido granted a precarial tenancy to members of the Sansoneschi which included many of the properties mentioned in the 1028 dispute.<sup>102</sup> It is unlikely that relations between the parties had improved to such an extent that the abbot would grant away these contentious lands to previous enemies. In particular, the 1035 charter granted the

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<sup>98</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 844. 'cum ex negligentia et culpa quorundam abbatum Piscariensis abbatia foret imminuta, et potentia eius attenuata, tota terra a supradictis baronibus fuit pervasa, qui tenebant ipsas possessiones, quae cum ex antiquo iure fuissent Beati Clementis, postea ab ipsis usurpatae abusive, fuerunt appellatae Sansonicae, ex nomine ipsius Sansonis'.

<sup>99</sup> See below, p. 177.

<sup>100</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 846, 'Illi metuentes magis Imperatorem, quam Deum, et cognoscentes abbatis vigorem, et eius invincibilem animum, ad ipsius genua procumbentes, quicquid ipsi male invaserant in eius misericordia dereliquerunt'.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 847, 'Illis dimisit cetera, non sub iure dominationis, sed sicut petierant servili conditione habenda'.

<sup>102</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194v.195r = *I placiti*, n. 328. Also edited in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 918-9. See Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 143.

Sansoneschi control over the *Pons Regalis*, a strategically important bridge which was fundamental to the proclamations of Margrave Hugh in his 1028 *placitum*. The 1035 charter was thus probably a recognition of the Sansoneschi control of these properties and an attempt by the abbot to gain some form of legal, if not practical, rights to the properties, as will be discussed further in chapter 4. The provisions of the charter exposed the abbot's aspirations and the biased nature of Berard's account, for the agreement included an oath of fidelity and a guarantee by the Sansoneschi to refrain from constructing fortifications at various river crossings and, specifically, at the *Pons Regalis*, without the abbot's consent.<sup>103</sup>

### 3.1.3. Representations of submission and service in the twelfth century

Berard's interpretation of the relationship between San Clemente and the local aristocracy in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries, a narrative of voracious usurpers transformed into servants of the church by the resolve of a saintly abbot with the support of imperial officials, was repeated in his account of the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. As will be discussed below, Berard presented the Norman invasion as a cataclysm which, like the Muslim raids of the tenth century, left the abbey destitute and abandoned.<sup>104</sup> The Normans, furthermore, dissolved the supposed bonds of service the abbey had enforced upon the local aristocrats and freed them to return to their malicious usurpations:

Those, who we told of above, had been subdued in the presence of Margrave Hugh, in the time of Emperor Conrad, and had received *castella* from the hand of the lord Wido, the most holy abbot, under condition of service. Forgetting their oaths and promises, they invaded properties, fortified *castella* against the church, and so that they could more fearlessly oppress them, they made other lords for

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<sup>103</sup> See below, p. 179.

<sup>104</sup> See below, p. 98.

themselves, with whose help and power they held what they had evilly invaded, to the diminution of the place and detriment of the entire abbey.<sup>105</sup>

Berard did not provide any details concerning the Sansoneschi's operations in the late-eleventh century, being too preoccupied with recounting the various deprivations that the Normans visited upon San Clemente. When he turned to recounting the context and content of the 1111 agreement between the Sansoneschi and the abbey, the schematic employed to represent the situation in 1028 was recycled. The agreement, described in a document present in the cartulary, regulated the relationship between the Sansoneschi and the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>106</sup> The concord included the formal surrender of certain *castella* by the Sansoneschi, the proffering of an oath of security and the subsequent re-granting of the lands in precarial tenure. Berard's presentation of the 1111 charter and his account of its context and implications again expose many of his biases and preconceptions.

In his chronicle account, Berard introduced the agreement of 1111 by alluding to the Italian expedition of Henry V in the same year. According to Berard, the Sansoneschi heard of Henry's imminent arrival and 'knowing the courage of [Abbot] Alberic', they decided, as a group, to renounce their control of the *castella* that they had usurped from the abbey 'without retaining any'.<sup>107</sup> This interpretation, wedded to Berard's inflated beliefs in imperial interest in the abbey, is implausible. As will be discussed in chapter 7, the motivations of both San Clemente and the Sansoneschi lay in settling territorial disputes created or rejuvenated by

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<sup>105</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 863, 'Illi, quos superius diximus, in praesentia Ugonis Ducis tempore Chuonradi Imperatoris fuisse devictos, et accepisse castella per manus domni Widonis sanctissimi abbatis sub conditione servili, obliti iuramentorum et fidei, invaserunt possessiones, munierunt castella contra ecclesiam, et ut securiores eam possent opprimere, fecerunt sibi alios dominos, quorum auxilio et virtute tenuerunt quod male invaserant, ad diminutionem loci et detrimentum totius abbatiae'.

<sup>106</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 242v-243r = *Additamenta*, cols. 1005-6. Also edited in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 919-20.

<sup>107</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 878, 'ut audierunt adventum Henrici Imperatoris, cognoscentes animum Alberici Abbatis promptum in quantum posset ad sese vendicandum de eis, convocavere finitimos et longe remotos de sua cognatione, et habentes commune colloquium, ex consilio venerunt ad Abbatem Albericum, et illa castella, quae illi de ecclesia tenebant, quieti ei reddiderunt in sua miseratione sine ulla retentione



the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet to generate a working detente in the face of the emergent threat of the Norman counts of Manoppello.<sup>108</sup>

Furthermore, Berard's interpretation of the pledges offered by the Sansoneschi as part of the agreement is questionable. The charters stipulated that the oath-takers would become *fideles* of the abbey and 'they would, without deception or malice, preserve that land that the church holds at present or is able to acquire subsequently, upholding and defending it against all men who try to steal it away'.<sup>109</sup> From this text, Berard extrapolated that the Sansoneschi had accepted a subservient position and would be 'the most loyal counsel' of the abbot.<sup>110</sup> As with the account of the 1028 *placitum*, Berard presented an awed aristocracy debasing itself to the power of the righteous abbot. This interpretation was given pictorial form in the miniatures which accompanied the 1111 charter in the San Clemente cartulary. Abbot Alberic was presented, seated on a throne with a pastoral staff, with arms outstretched and hands opened, accepting the submission of seven kneeling men, labelled *Sansonesci*, with hands closed.<sup>111</sup> Yet this interpretation misrepresented the Sansoneschi's power in these negotiations and their complex but limited undertakings. The generic pledge taken by the Sansoneschi, strictly limited their involvement to the defence of the abbey against other aggressors. Such ambiguous promises were found in numerous eleventh-century charters, most pertinently the 1065 donation by a member of the Sansoneschi to the abbey, which included a pledge to 'protect and defend [the abbey] from all men' and another Sansoneschi charter of 1035 which included the assurance: 'We shall be your helper and defender through

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<sup>108</sup> See below, p. 296.

<sup>109</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 242v = *Addimenta*, col. 1005, 'terram quam iam dicta ecclesia ad presens tenere videretur uel deinceps acquirere potuerit retinendum et defendendum contra omnes homines qui ei tollere conabuntur absque fraude ulla vel mala ingenio conservarent'.

<sup>110</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 878.

<sup>111</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 243r. Further discussion of the miniatures of the San Clemente chronicle-cartulary can be found in Chiara Di Fruscia, 'Storiografia per immagini. Cronache-cartulario illustrate di area centro-meridionale (XII secolo)', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 110 (2008), pp. 105-128 and Speciale, 'Immagini dal passato: la tradizione illustrativa dei cartulari illustrati italomeridionali'.

your proper fidelity, and we shall not break this fidelity to you through evil nature'.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the extensive and illustrious witness list, which was unusual for this period and included the bishops of Valva, Chieti and Penne and various important members of the local aristocracy, betrayed the abbot's trepidation and distrust of the Sansoneschi. Contrary to Berard's presentation of the Sansoneschi as cowed and submissive, the contents of the 1111 charters suggest Abbot Alberic recognised the limited concessions he could hope to attain from the Sansoneschi and the likelihood of them abjuring the terms of the agreement. Berard's chronicle account of the 1111 agreement portrays an act of submission. In reality, as the terms of the charter elucidate, this was a non-aggression pact, intended to limit the likelihood of conflict between the two parties in the face of a common enemy.

Following his account of the 1111 agreement, Berard recorded the capture of Hugh II Malmouzet. This account succinctly presented what Berard believed to be the political hierarchy constructed by the 1111 agreement.<sup>113</sup> Hugh II, who seems to have inherited his father's disintegrating lordship, was, in the view of Berard, 'an imitator of his father's malice' who persecuted the abbey. In response to these provocations, Abbot Giso 'like a prudent man, laid an ambush for him when he was riding through the land of San Clemente with a small escort, captured and bound him and delivered him to a certain baron of his, namely Sanso of Petrainiqua, to be guarded'.<sup>114</sup> This Sanso was one of the members of the Sansoneschi named in the 1111 charter and thus Berard's account presented a succinct example of the terms of the 1111 charter in action. Sanso was presented as a subordinate of the abbot and labelled *suus baro*. As will be discussed in chapter 6, however, the evidence of the San Bartholomeo chronicle suggests that the capture of Hugh II occurred during the first

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 229v. (a. 1065), 194v.195r (a. 1035) = *I placiti*, n. 328 = Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 918-9, 'erimus adiutor et defensor per vestram et rectam fidem, et per malum ingenium hanc vestram fidem non frangimus'.

<sup>113</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 880-1.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Abbas sicut prudens ei cum parvo comitatu per terram Sancti Clementis equitanti occultas tetendit insidias, comprehendit, ligavit, eumque cuidam baroni suo, Sansoni videlicet de Petrainiqua, ad custodiendum tradidit'.

reign of Abbot Giso, c.1110, and thus predated the agreement of 1111.<sup>115</sup> It is likely, therefore, that contrary to Berard's interpretation, Sanso provided the impetus in the operation to capture Hugh II, as he posed as much a threat to the recently re-conquered Sansoneschi lands as to the patrimony of San Clemente. This may explain why Hugh's oath also included a pledge to refrain from pursuing those who provided the Abbot with *consilium et adiutorium* in this matter, a possible reference to Sanso.<sup>116</sup>

### 3.1.4. Conclusion

John Berard's account of the concord of 1111 and the capture of Hugh II Malmouzet represented an apogee in the progression of the local aristocracy from rapacious, irreverent usurpers to a group of dependent warriors cowed by the righteous power of the abbey of San Clemente. In the accounts of Berard, the *pervasores ecclesiae* of the tenth century, who utilised the anarchy caused by the Muslim invasions to usurp the abbey's properties 'by violence' and 'unlawfully made fortifications', laid the foundation for the *inimici Dei* of the early-eleventh century, who exploited a series of profligate abbots to dominate the abbey. This hardship was reversed through the 'vigour' of Abbot Giso and the intervention of imperial power, such as Margrave Hugh of Tuscany's 1028 *placitum*, which destroyed the Sansoneschi's power and left them holding land only 'on the condition of service'. The new scourge of the Normans invasions in the later eleventh century again freed the local aristocracy to persecute the abbey. Once more, however, the renewed vigour of the abbots and an imperial intervention, this time involving only the threat of Henry V's arrival, liberated the abbey. The abbey regained its rightful dominant position and the aristocracy returned to servile status, as exemplified by the portrayal of Sanso of Petrainiqua's involvement in the capture of Hugh II Malmouzet. The repeated simplifications of John Berard belied the political

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<sup>115</sup> See below, p. 240.

<sup>116</sup> See chapter 7, section 2.4.4.

complexities that typified aristocratic society in Abruzzo during this period, as will be discussed further in chapters 4 and 7.

### 3.2. The representation of royalty in the chronicle

#### 3.2.1. Ideals of royalty: The Carolingians, Ottonians and San Clemente

In the chronicle of John Berard, the irreverent evil of the secular lords who displeased the abbey of San Clemente was presented as the antithesis of Christian virtue. The contrast for the ‘enemies of God’ was presented in the character of Emperor Louis II, the founder of San Clemente, whose life was portrayed as an exemplar of piety and righteousness. Berard’s admiration for Louis was profuse and he established Louis’s as the ‘magnificent emperor’ who ‘founded and constructed’ the abbey by the first sentence of his prologue.<sup>117</sup> The various epithets that Berard employed to praise Emperor Louis emphasise his adoration: *serenissimus*; *gloriosissimus*; *sanctissimus*; *felicissimus*; *victoriosissimus*; *venerabilis*. Louis provided Berard with an ideal of Christian leadership and his accounts of the actions and intentions of Louis regarding the abbey of San Clemente succinctly elucidate Berard’s opinions regarding how a divinely-appointed imperial or royal power should act and hence how these beliefs affect his accounts of the imperial and royal interventions in Abruzzo.

Berard’s extended account of the foundation of the abbey of San Clemente, presumably based on an earlier account, emphasised two of his most stringent beliefs: that Louis was a worthy and righteous leader and that the foundation and protection of the abbey of San Clemente was foremost in his mind at all times.<sup>118</sup> Thus Berard identified Louis’s motivations in founding the abbey as purely spiritual and attributed Louis’s various territorial acquisitions and conquests in Italy to his desire to provide the abbey, ‘that most religious place’, with an appropriate patrimony.<sup>119</sup> In this endeavour, Louis was ‘inspired by God’ and

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<sup>117</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 1r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 797-8.

<sup>118</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 775-84.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 775.

later ‘inspired by divine premonitions’.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, the majority of Louis’s actions were attributed to divine inspiration or piety. Berard claimed that after his coronation as emperor, Louis was ‘a holy and incomparable man’ and, as such, his enemies, such as Theobert, who Berard claimed held Benevento against the emperor, were ‘unfaithful’ (*infideles*).<sup>121</sup> After suppressing this rebellion and securing further victories in southern Italy, Louis’s return to Rome to receive the ‘imperial laurel of triumph’ was described by Berard as an paradigm of imperial victory: ‘God conveyed so great a favour on him, that his whole land rejoiced at being subjected to his rule and for the renewal of a new peace to all tribes and nations, he gave thanks to almighty God’.<sup>122</sup> This exaltation illustrated Berard’s respect for Louis and his pious righteousness and hence his beliefs in the general responsibilities of a Christian ruler. In Berard’s account, however, it is apparent that the most important aspect of Louis’s character was his constant preoccupation with the welfare of the abbey of San Clemente. Even during his triumphant procession in Rome, Berard claimed that ‘there was in his mind an assiduous and frequent reflection on the construction that he had ordered to be made on the island of Pescara’.<sup>123</sup>

This supposed obsession with the abbey of San Clemente culminated in Berard’s narrative with Louis’s role in the translation of the relics of Saint Clement from Rome to Casauria. The itinerary of Louis II leaves no room for this operation and, as Alessandro Pratesi has concluded, Berard’s account is a ‘fantasy story’.<sup>124</sup> Berard, however, insisted that ‘as if visited by God’ Louis gathered an ‘assembly of archbishops, bishops and noble counsellors’ and pleaded with Pope Hadrian II to relinquish the relics of Saint Clement to him as

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 777, 778.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* Though the chronicle does not include an account of Louis’ captivity in Benevento, see Pratesi, ‘Cronache e documenti’, p. 344.

<sup>122</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 778, ‘Tantum ei gratiam Deus contulit, ut universa terra eius se subditam imperio congauderet, et de reparatione novae pacis omnis tribus, et lingua omnipotenti Deo gratias redderet’.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 778, ‘Erat ei in animo assidua, et frequens cogitatio circa constructionem quam in insula Piscariae fieri praeceperat’.

<sup>124</sup> Pratesi, ‘Cronache e documenti’, p. 344, ‘racconto fantasioso’.

recompense for defeating the pope's adversaries.<sup>125</sup> The supplications of Louis and the involvement of Hadrian II was a clear attempt in reinterpret the papal-imperial relationship within the parameters of twelfth-century reformist ideology, though the quandary of pre-eminence was circumvented by Hadrian's deferral to the decision of the 'clerics and people' present. Louis's sanctity was confirmed in Berard's narrative by his careful handling of the relics of Saint Clement, his prediction of the miraculous crossing of the River Pescara made by the mule transporting the relics of Saint Clement and his appointment of Abbot Romanus, 'a man of honest will, schooled in letters and a sure mirror of goodness and innocence'.<sup>126</sup>

This image of Louis, as the ideal Christian ruler, and his supposed unwavering concern for the abbey of San Clemente, resonated throughout John Berard's chronicle. Territorial usurpations, usually by the local aristocracy, were often bemoaned with reference to Louis's initial donations. For example, Abbot Giselbert was condemned by Berard as 'lazy and unworthy' in part because he had acquiesced to the sale of lands that were 'continuously acquired by the decrees and wealth of the most happy Louis, and by the acquisitions of the first Abbot Lord Romanus'.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the Norman invasions were often portrayed as an affront to the prestige and legacy of Louis. Berard claimed that at this time 'the brothers began to forget the court of the emperor' and were 'unable to resist the Normans who were pillaging the whole land'.<sup>128</sup> Soon after, the malevolence of Hugh Malmouzet, which supposedly left the abbey desolate and demolished, emptied the abbey of all but four monks, leading Berard to insist that 'we have never withdrawn from the place that the Lord has chosen, and in which our lord Saint Clement wished to repose, for the Emperor Louis built that

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<sup>125</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 779-80.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 781-2. Berard dates this event to 6 Kalends, June 872.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 837, 'continuatim acquisitis ex mandato et pecunia felicissimi Ludovici, et ex acquisitione domni Romani primi abbatis'.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 863.

temple for the Lord here not without the command of God'.<sup>129</sup> Soon after, Berard accused Count Richard of Manoppello of purchasing control of the abbey and bemoaned how 'the abbey, which hitherto was an imperial *camera*, is now given for a price, just like a cheap maidservant sold by merchants'.<sup>130</sup> Louis's representation in the chronicle as a guardian of the abbey was cemented when he appeared, in the 1130s, 'crowned with a royal diadem', in the company of Saint Clement, to two brothers of San Clemente.<sup>131</sup> In this miracle story, Louis himself exclaimed that he 'caused the abbey to be built, and ...gave whatever I had in this land', recounted his participation in the translation of the relics of Saint Clement and rebuked the rapacious counts of Manoppello.<sup>132</sup> In his narrative, Berard utilised this miracle story as a portent of the royal invasion of 1140, which Berard attributed to Roger II's anxieties concerning the persecution of San Clemente, thus establishing a continuum of royal patronage and protection between the imperial guardianship of Louis and the contemporary protection of the Norman kings.

### 3.2.2. Delusions of grandeur I: The Salians and San Clemente

John Berard's portrayal of Emperor Louis II clearly influenced his depictions of the actions and intentions of later emperors. For the tenth century, his exaltations would seem to have had some legitimate basis. Emperor Otto I, who returned the kingdom of Italy to German domination, possibly commanded Prince Pandulf Ironhead of Benevento to convoke a *placitum* in Bari in 968 which adjudicated over a dispute between San Clemente and the bishop of Penne.<sup>133</sup> During the same campaign, according to Berard, Otto appointed a member

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 867, 'Quia, nunquam recedimus a loco quem elegit Dominus, et in quo Dominus noster Beatus Clemens voluit requiescere, non enim sine Dei nutu hic Ludovicus Imperator Domino templum istud aedificavit'.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 873, 'Abbatia, quae hactenus fuit imperialis camera, modo datur pro pretio, sicut a mercatoribus venditur vilis ancillula'.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 887.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 887.

<sup>133</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 159r = *I placiti*, n. 160.

of his own court, Adam, as abbot of San Clemente.<sup>134</sup> This intervention was cemented when Otto issued two diplomas confirming to San Clemente numerous rights and properties.<sup>135</sup> This generosity earned Otto the epithet *gloriosissimus imperator* and he was depicted in miniature in the cartulary.<sup>136</sup> Otto II also seems to have shown some interest in the abbey of San Clemente. During his 980-1 campaign to Italy, Otto II issued another confirmation to San Clemente and Berard claimed that Abbot Adam travelled in his entourage.<sup>137</sup> This was certainly the apogee of post-Louis imperial intervention in the affairs of the abbey. Berard's cartulary contains a letter of petition from the monks of San Clemente to Emperor Henry II, though, as explained above, this is most likely a later forgery.<sup>138</sup> Berard also claimed that Henry II personally appointed Abbot Wido during his Italian expedition of 1022.<sup>139</sup> The first surviving charter of Wido, however, dates from 1025 and a previous abbot, Stephen, is recorded in 1023-4.<sup>140</sup> As Henry II died in 1024, it is highly unlikely that he installed Abbot Wido.

As will be discussed in chapter 4, the Salian dynasty showed little interest in the affairs of San Clemente. John Berard claimed that the *placitum* of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany in 1028, discussed above, was the result of Emperor Conrad II's interest in San Clemente:

Then the same emperor gave one of his dukes, Count Hugh, to Abbot Wido. He commanded him to assume imperial power and restore everything the church

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<sup>134</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 827. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', pp. 114-5.

<sup>135</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 132v-133v [a.967], 135r-135v [a.969] = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 827-9, 829-31 = *Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 1 (Hanover, 1879-84), n. 353, 373. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 115 n. 67, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 683 n. 56, Pratesi, 'L'antico archivio di San Clemente a Casauria', p. 212 and Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 141.

<sup>136</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 132v.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 154r-155r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 833. In the same year, a *missus* of Otto II held a *placitum* which benefited San Clemente, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 155r = *I placiti*, n. 193.

<sup>138</sup> See above, p. 69.

<sup>139</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 841. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', pp. 108-9.

<sup>140</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 181v, 179v-180v. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 108.



had possessed, both *castella* and villages, and he did not depart from him, until he possessed everything in peace.<sup>141</sup>

Emperor Conrad issued a confirmation to the abbey during his Italian expedition of 1027 and the community of San Clemente may have utilised this opportunity to petition him for a *placitum*.<sup>142</sup> As discussed above, Berard believed that this intervention of imperial authority resolved the abbey's numerous conflicts.<sup>143</sup> In reality, however, any resolutions that Hugh imposed were temporary and the Sansoneschi clan were later documented in control of many of the properties mentioned in his *placitum*.<sup>144</sup> According to Berard, Emperor Henry III, during his second campaign in Italy in 1046-7, received a delegation of monks of San Clemente at Capua led by Abbot Dominic. The petition led Henry III to confirm the recent election of Dominic and issue a privilege to the abbey.<sup>145</sup>

Following this meeting, imperial involvement in the affairs of San Clemente terminated for almost a century. Berard, however, continued to associate the emperors with events in the history of the abbey of San Clemente. When describing the supposed deprivations that the Norman lord Hugh Malmouzet inflicted upon the abbey, Berard claimed the Hugh secretly installed his own chaplain, Gilbert, as abbot because 'Malmouzet suspected the conspiracies of the monks of San Clemente and he feared that if Emperor Henry, who was at this time in Italy and was believed to triumph with a powerful hand of Rome, would come to these parts, because of the abundance of its treasures, would restore the monastery of

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<sup>141</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 845, 'Deinde idem Imperator domno Widoni Abbati unum ex ducibus suis Ugonem Comitem dedit. Cui praecepit ut imperiali potestate sumpta restitueret ecclesiae quicquid possederat, tam castella, quam cillas, et non discederet ab eo, donec omnia possideret pacata'.

<sup>142</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 184v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 844-5 = *Konradi II. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, *MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 4 (Berlin, 1909), n. 73. See Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 153.

<sup>143</sup> See above, p. 80.

<sup>144</sup> See below, p. 179.

<sup>145</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 208r-208v = *Chronicon Casauriense* cols. 854-5, 857-8. Henry issued a similar privilege to the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere, *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr, *MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 5 (Berlin, 1926-31), n. 185.

Pescara, and return [it] to its excellent liberty'.<sup>146</sup> Gilbert's election occurred c.1094, when Henry was in northern Italy but was preoccupied with the continued resistance of Pope Urban II and the rebellion of his own son, Conrad.<sup>147</sup> Soon after, Berard also condemned William Tassio, count of Loreto, for purchasing rights over the abbey of San Clemente and claimed that 'because of this grievance, [Abbot] Grimoald was oppressed a good deal with grief, because he was not able either to go to the emperor nor know where the emperor was residing (for the Normans, who had seized all that land, would neither hear the name of the emperor, nor allow anyone to go to him)'.<sup>148</sup> Berard's insistence on the importance of the imperial connections of San Clemente in the late-eleventh century was a clearly anachronistic. Similarly, as mentioned above, Berard attributed the volte-face of the Sansoneschi in 1111 to their anxiety at the supposedly imminent arrival of Emperor Henry V. As with his interpretation of Hugh Malmouzet's imposition of Abbot Gilbert, Berard claimed that they relented in their actions as *adversarii* of the church and restored the properties they had usurped simply because they had 'heard of' the coming of Henry.<sup>149</sup> Finally, when Lothar III, the Supplinburg successor of Henry V, campaigned through Abruzzo in 1137, Berard claimed, without accompanying documentary evidence, that Lothar 'promised that he would come to the monastery with the lady empress, and to restore all its rights, properties and possessions' but was 'incited by certain rumours' and continued on to Apulia.<sup>150</sup> Thus the first German

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<sup>146</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'Suspiciabatur enim Malmazettus insidias de monachis Sancti Clementis, et timebat, ne, si Henricus Imperator, qui tunc temporis in Italia et Romae potenti manu triumphare credebatur, ad has partes veniret, ob copiam eorumdem thesaurorum, Piscariense monasterium reconvaleretur, et ad suae libertatis excellentiam rediret'.

<sup>147</sup> See I.S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 289-90. Berard admitted that Henry 'seemed to be hostile to the Roman church'. Berard earlier recorded that in 1073, after death of Abbot Dominic, the brothers 'were not able to go to the emperor because of the disagreement and discord' between Henry and Gregory VII.

<sup>148</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871, 'Ex huius itaque gravamine Grimoaldus aliquantulum coartatus, quia neque ad Imperatorem ire, neque quo maneret Imperator noscere poterat (Normanni enim, qui totam terram illam invaserant, nec nomen Imperatoris audire volebant, nec ad illum quempiam ire finebant)'.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 878.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886, 'Praeter haec idem Imperator ceteris querelis domni Oldrii Abbatis et imperialibus privilegiis monasterii Piscariensis auditis, cum cognovisset quod ipsa abbatia ab antiquo fuiisset imperialis camera, promisit se cum domna Augusta venire ad monasterium, et ei restituere omnia iura

emperor to campaign in Abruzzo in more than a century seems to have disregarded the affairs of San Clemente and, like many of his predecessors, failed to merit the adulation which John Berard later afforded him.

### 3.2.3. Delusions of grandeur II: King Roger II of Sicily and San Clemente

Despite the antipathy of German emperors to the new Norman lords of southern Italy that persisted into the twelfth-century, in his chronicle Berard transposed the perceived concerns of the emperors, constantly mindful of the security and prosperity of the abbey of San Clemente, onto the new Norman kings of Sicily. Berard included in his narrative a relatively detailed account of Roger's campaigns in Apulia, his coronation in 1130 by the anti-pope Anacletus II and the campaign of Emperor Lothar III in Italy.<sup>151</sup> This account, however, was presented prosaically, without comment on either the intentions or actions of Roger or Lothar. In contrast, immediately after the death of Lothar III, Berard vociferously condemned the persecutions of Count Robert of Manoppello, whose 'malice surpassed his father's malice'.<sup>152</sup> These malicious deprivations conducted by Robert of Manoppello, like those supposed atrocities carried out by the tenth-century usurpers and the Sansoneschi of the eleventh century, were given as context for the inevitable interventions of a benevolent royal power, in this case Roger II. In this instance, Berard claimed that:

The brothers, not wanting to bear [these persecutions], secretly sent two of the wiser monks to Apulia to King Roger... with the imperial privileges, they explained plainly the issues and the tyranny of the count and his persecution, they complained loudly so that [Roger] would act. And they received such a response from him that they returned to the monastery most moved and they were

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sua, in rebus et possessionibus eius'. The cartulary contains the text of a supposed letter of the brothers to Lothar III, *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 247v, though like the contemporary letter to Roger II, it is highly questionable.

<sup>151</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 885-6.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886

unworried, because God had submitted the land to him, and liberated the church... and given assistance to the abbot and brothers.<sup>153</sup>

Berard's account of the mission to Roger II is supported by a spurious text from his cartulary purporting to be a letter of the community of San Clemente to the king outlying its various grievances against Robert of Manoppello, who was denounced as a *tyrannus*.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, Berard related an account of a miracle story from within the monastery which described the appearance of Saint Clement and Emperor Louis II to two 'fatigued' brothers.<sup>155</sup> In this account, Louis described the abbey 'which Robert of Manoppello has so greatly scourged and Clement promised the brothers that 'I shall soon be revenged on the enemies and shall cause them to be banished from their patrimonies and they will die and be buried like wretches and exiles in a land not their own'.<sup>156</sup> Thus, when Berard turned to describing the royal invasion of Abruzzo in 1140, he was able to attribute the expedition to Roger II's desire to punish the 'enemies of San Clemente', the counts of Manoppello.<sup>157</sup> Such an interpretation implicitly identified Roger as the temporal proxy of Saint Clement and the new guardian of the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>158</sup> As Berard explained, 'from then on the church of San Clemente began to cultivate religion in an abundance of peace and to be provided with temporal goods by the care of a good shepherd, who everyday kept watch so that there was an increase of the flock committed to him'.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886.

<sup>154</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 247v = *Addimenta*, cols. 1007-8. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 778 n. 152. Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 340, accepted the authenticity of this letter.

<sup>155</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 887.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 887, 'Ita male tractatus sum, sed volo quod sciatis, quia in proximo me vindicabo de inimicis, et faciam, ut proscribantur ab hereditate paterna et moriantur, et sepeliantur ut miseri et exules in terra non sua'.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 888.

<sup>158</sup> Berard claimed the Roger II 'secretly ordered' his son, Anfusus, to 'seek out' the count of Manoppello, *ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 888, 'Ex tunc ccclesia Beati Clementis in abundantia pacis coepit studere religioni, augmentari bonis temporalibus solertia boni pastoris, qui per singulos dies invigilabat ad augmentum si gregis sibi commissi'.

Berard's further descriptions of Roger II's character mirrored his previous acclamations of the German emperors. Berard labelled Roger *serenissimus* and *victoriosissimus* and claimed that 'divine grace had rendered him illustrious, with wisdom and courage greater than all other mortals'.<sup>160</sup> This exaltation implicitly compared Roger to the previous emperors and also biblical archetypes such as Solomon. Berard also claimed that although Roger 'forced mountains to shake before his face', he 'was humble with the humble and gentle with the gentle'.<sup>161</sup> This unbridled praise illustrates Berard's obsequious attitude to Roger II, which coloured his presentation of all the king's interactions with the abbey. Berard's attribution of the impetus of the royal invasion of 1140 ignored the realities of Roger's political strategies, both foreign and domestic. Roger's hostility to the counts of Manoppello originated from their probable alliance with Emperor Lothar III during his campaign in the region in 1137.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Berard naively misinterpreted the August 1140 privilege that Roger II issued to the abbey during the invasion.<sup>163</sup> This document, dated August 1140 'in territorio civitatis Teatine super flumen Piscarie', is copied into the cartulary and, as discussed above, seems to be free of interpolation or forgery. As in numerous previous sections, Berard used his description of the context of this privilege to reinforce the exceptional status of San Clemente and emphasise Roger's position as the temporal agent of Saint Clement's will. Berard claimed that Abbot Oldrius, who received the privilege, had been accused of holding a particular *castellum*, Bolognano, illegally.<sup>164</sup> Berard identified this conflict as the impetus for the 1140 privilege but also described a miraculous appearance of Saint Clement to one of the monks in Oldrius's mission to Roger. Clement, disguised as 'an old man of venerable grey hair

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 888, 'Divina gratia, sapientia, fortitudine prae cunctis mortalibus illustraverat'.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 889, 'ante suam faciem ipsos etiam tremere cogeret montes', 'rex humilis iuxta humilem, et mitis iuxta mitem'.

<sup>162</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 764, 769.

<sup>163</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 248r = *Rogarii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed. Brühl, n. 49.

<sup>164</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 888.

[and] beautiful countenance', declared that 'the king... will give you what you seek, and more than that', thus reinforcing the sacral status of Roger.<sup>165</sup>

The terms of Roger's privilege, however, contradict Berard's ecstatic reaction. While the charter promised San Clemente liberty and security, Roger only confirmed to the abbey three properties – the *castella* of Colle Odoni, Castle Plano and Bolognano.<sup>166</sup> This contrasts with the ten *castella* listed in Pope Calixtus II's confirmation of 1121 and the nineteen properties confirmed by both Pope Hadrian IV in 1159 and Pope Alexander III in 1166.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, the 1140 charter provided no detail concerning the extent of the associated lands of these properties. Bolognano, the only property confirmed in 1140 to be listed as a San Clemente possession in the *Catalogus Baronum*, was measured as only one knight's fee.<sup>168</sup> In fact, as Laurent Feller has highlighted, by the time of the composition of the *Catalogus Baronum* the patrimony of the abbey of San Clemente was still limited to fourteen knight's fees.<sup>169</sup> Roberto Paciocco has argued that in the aftermath of the 1140 annexation San Clemente became a focal point for the expansion of royal power and a favoured institution of the Norman royal family.<sup>170</sup> This interpretation, however, is heavily dependent on the numerous spurious claims of John Berard concerning royal patronage of San Clemente and, as Laurent Feller has demonstrated, the Norman royal family favoured, as the first Norman lords of Abruzzo had, the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella.<sup>171</sup>

A final example of John Berard's delusional attitude towards the interpretation of the actions and intentions of King Roger II arises from his account of San Clemente's conflict with

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 888, 'senex venerandae canitiei, venusti vultus', 'dabit vobis quod petitis, et eo maiora'.

<sup>166</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 65, 779. *Contra* Feller and Pratesi, Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 340-1 has argued that this charter is a grant, not a confirmation, see above, p. 73.

<sup>167</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 65 and Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 124 n. 104 and above, p. 73.

<sup>168</sup> Jamison, *Catalogus baronum*, n. 1217.

<sup>169</sup> Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', p. 68 n. 63.

<sup>170</sup> Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 373.

<sup>171</sup> Paciocco's argument does not discuss San Salvatore. Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 161.

the newly installed count of Manoppello, Bohemond of Tarsia.<sup>172</sup> Berard claimed that soon after his appointment, Bohemond ‘agreed, as is customary, with the chattering of certain new flatterers’ and attempted to seize control of the abbey of San Clemente with the tacit approval of Robert of Selby, the royal chancellor.<sup>173</sup> As he had previously, however, Berard claimed that Roger, acting as the proxy for a higher power, intervened to protect the abbey – ‘but God watched over his servant, and not long after all this was revealed to King Roger, who wrote immediately to the count and sent to him a letter in these words’.<sup>174</sup> An accompanying text purporting to be the letter of reprimand of Roger II to Count Bohemond is present in the cartulary.<sup>175</sup> This letter, which contains no protocol or dating clause, was written in the first person singular and employed, in the opinion of Paul Kehr, a ‘strangely grandiloquent style’, is highly suspect.<sup>176</sup> Roger II was not accustomed to engage in letter-writing such as this and, as Carlrichard Brühl has concluded, this text is likely ‘a product of monastic wishful thinking’.<sup>177</sup> Roger had little to gain from rebuking a newly installed count who was a previously loyal follower.<sup>178</sup> When Bohemond of Tarsia was finally removed as count of Manoppello by King William I in 1155, it was not because of his malevolent exploitation of the abbey of San Clemente but his vacillation in resisting the rebellion of Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Loritello.<sup>179</sup> As with his representation of the German emperors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Berard applied paradigms of piety and virtue to the character of Roger II that were more influenced by the conduct of his successors and Berard’s belief in the righteousness of monarchy than the actions of Roger himself.

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<sup>172</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>173</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 891, ‘acquiescens, sicuti moris est, novorum quorundam adulatorum garrulitati’.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 892, ‘Deus autem invigilavit pro servo suo, et non post multos dies revelata fuerunt haec omnia Regi Rogerio, qui protinus scripsit ad comitem et misit ei epistolam in haec verba’.

<sup>175</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 249r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 892 = *Rogarii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed. Brühl, n. 51.

<sup>176</sup> See *Rogarii II. Regis diplomata Latina*, ed. Brühl, n. 51. ‘wunderlich schwülstigen Stil’

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 51, ‘ein Produkt mönchischen Wunschdenkens’.

<sup>178</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 769.

<sup>179</sup> See above, p. 41. On the revolt, see *Liber de Regno Siciliae*, ed. Siragusa, p. 22.

### 3.3. The representation of the Norman lords in the chronicle

Roger II was a king and hence, in Berard's view, a faultless quasi-religious figure and the rightful protector of the abbey of San Clemente. Nowhere in his chronicle, however, does Berard identify Roger as a Norman or a relative of some of the Norman lords who invaded Abruzzo in the eleventh century.<sup>180</sup> Indeed, Roger is portrayed as separate from and above these men and it is clear that Berard had a firm hatred of the Norman *gens*. Berard introduced the Normans into his chronicle during his account of Emperor Henry II's campaign in Apulia in 1022. Berard claimed, 'the lord emperor was at this time camped with a great army around the church of Farfa, from which he expelled the Apulians and men of Troia, who favouring certain Normans, who misled them and they subjected them to themselves, knowing the courage but also the vice of that race, and they strove to rebel against the Romans'.<sup>181</sup> Later, in a fleeting reference to the battle of Civitate in 1053, Berard declared that 'in that time in which the Normans devastated Apulia and subjected the land to themselves not by their courage but by the vice of the race'.<sup>182</sup> The arrival of the Normans into Abruzzo only heightened Berard's condemnations. Berard described how the 'Normans were pillaging the whole land' and claimed that the Normans were 'a most power-hungry race'.<sup>183</sup> Soon after, Berard denounced Hugh Malmouzet as a *tyrannus* and condemned him 'and other Normans, who dominated the whole region forcefully and through great fear'.<sup>184</sup> This sweeping hatred for the Normans and ingrained belief in their inherent malevolence was not the orthodoxy in Berard's lifetime. As will be discussed in chapter 3, Alexander, the chronicler of the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and contemporary of Berard's, believed the Normans were

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<sup>180</sup> Roger II was a cousin to both Robert of Loritello and Drogo Tassio.

<sup>181</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 842, 'Apulos et Troianos...qui faventes quibusdam Normannis, qui eos deceperant, et sibi subiugaverant noti virtute, sed vitio illius gentis, rebellari nitebantur Romanis'.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 859, 'In eo tempore, quo Normanni devastaverunt Apuliam, et non sua fortitudine sed vitio gentis subdiderunt sibi terram illam'.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 863, 'Normannis depopulantibus totas terras', 'Normannos, dominandi gentem avidissimam'.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 868, 'et aliorum Normannorum, qui eis, et in tota regione potenter et cum multo terrore dominabantur'.



‘called forth’ by ‘omnipotent God’ and claimed that Hugh Malmouzet, ‘a noble man of the Normans’, was ‘commanded by God’ and ‘by divine will, subdued all this province to his domination’.<sup>185</sup> Berard’s vehement prejudice towards the Normans and his insistence on their intrinsic iniquity influenced his entire account of the Norman invasion of Abruzzo in the eleventh century and the establishment of first Norman lordships in the region.

### 3.3.1. The demonization of Hugh Malmouzet

Berard presented his account of the Norman involvement in Abruzzo as a series of persecutions of the abbey of San Clemente by various Norman lords who rarely relented in their malicious harassment of the abbey. Each of the Norman lords who abused the abbey were defeated by their own hubris or divine intervention but were ultimately followed by an equally iniquitous Norman successor. The first great Norman *bête noire* of Berard’s chronicle was Hugh Malmouzet. Berard was unambiguous in his attitude towards Hugh when he introduced him into his narrative. When describing how the first Norman invasions, which Berard dated to the 1060s, had supposedly liberated the local aristocrats from the servile status they had accepted in the time of Abbot Guido, Berard noted that ‘Hugh Malmouzet, whose persecutions that he made on the monastery of San Clemente, we will tell of in time’.<sup>186</sup> From this point on, Hugh’s interactions with the abbey are portrayed as wholly negative and malicious. Close analysis of Berard’s accounts, however, can expose the inaccuracies of his claims and the subtle insinuations in which he employed the demonised the character of Hugh in his narrative.

Berard’s first account of Hugh’s interactions with San Clemente concerned his supposed capture of Abbot Trasmund and destruction of much of the abbey’s buildings in the late-1070s. Berard claimed that Hugh ‘set an ambush and captured the abbot’, ‘held him

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<sup>185</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 36, 35, 39, 50. See below, p. 133.

<sup>186</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 863, ‘Ugoni Malmazetto, de cuius persecutione, quam fecit Sancti Clementis monasterio, sumus locuturi tempore suo’.

bound for a long time' and 'allowed him freedom after he demolished everything as he pleased'.<sup>187</sup> Berard attributed the impetus for this assault to Hugh's anxiety at the new fortifications erected by the community of San Clemente. Within his narrative, however, this account appears to contextualise the eventual abandonment of the abbey by Abbot Trasmund, who left in 1079 to concentrate on his duties as the bishop of Valva. Berard asserted that Trasmund 'saw [the abbey] bare and plundered of goods, and since he did not find that he was able to live there... [and] partly because of the grave shame that he had brought upon himself, he returned to his bishopric'.<sup>188</sup> Thus the deprivations of Hugh provided the justification for Trasmund's desertion. In fact, Trasmund had a controversial history. Unbeknown to Berard, Trasmund has previously been abbot of Santa Maria di Tremiti, installed forcibly upon the abbey by Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino and a party which included the Norman lord, Count Robert of Loritello, an associate of Hugh's.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, Trasmund's career as bishop of Valva was contentious and in December 1080 Pope Gregory VII attempted to remove him from his post for usurping church properties, an event which Berard failed to relate.<sup>190</sup> In Berard's narrative, Trasmund was simply a victim of the persecutions of Hugh. A similar interpretation was presented for the abbacy of Trasmund's successor, Adam. After Trasmund's departure, Berard claimed the abbey was briefly abandoned, 'occupied by briars and nettles' and that, upon their return 'Abbot Adam and the monks of San Clemente were hardly able to raise [their] heads, living among enemies as if

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 866.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 866-7. Trasmund's last charter is dated November 1079, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 234r. He had evidently been succeeded by his provost, Adam, by January 1080, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 235r.

<sup>189</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.25, p. 392.

<sup>190</sup> *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Erich Caspar, *MGH, Epistolae Selectae 2* (Berlin, 1920-3), VIII, n. 15 = H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085: an English translation* (Oxford, 2002), p. 381.

they were exiles'.<sup>191</sup> This tale of anguish neatly excused the ignominious career of Abbot Adam who, as Berard noted, 'allowed himself to be conquered to some degree by carnal pleasure'.<sup>192</sup>

In fact, as numerous documents from the San Clemente cartulary and certain reports from Berard's chronicle reveal, Hugh's relationship with the abbey and the economic fortunes of San Clemente during the 1080s and 1090s were more positive than Berard allowed. Most pertinently, the cartulary contains a trio of charters, copied consecutively into the cartulary, all dated in July 1086 and written by the same scribe, that describe a complex series of land transactions between Abbot Adam, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>193</sup> The central charter amongst these transactions outlined a donation conducted by Bishop Raynulf, in which the abbey gained control of numerous properties in the Caramanico valley just to the south of Casauria.<sup>194</sup> The text of the charter clearly stated that the transactions were conducted in the presence of Hugh 'who is at the present time the *advocatus* of the aforesaid monastery'.<sup>195</sup> A second charter confirms that this donation was a land swap – in compensation the church of Chieti received lands in Chieti, centred on Villamaina – and a third charter recorded that these lands in Villamaina were in fact donated to the abbey by Hugh himself. Hugh's donation to Abbot Adam comprised fifty-six *modia* of land and was concluded with no financial advantage to Hugh.<sup>196</sup> John Berard was clearly unable to accept this act of apparent generosity on behalf of Hugh Malmouzet and, when recounting the details of the

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<sup>191</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'Abbas Adam et monachi Sancti Clementis vix erigere caput valuerunt, et inter hostes degentes, quasi hostes essent'.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 868. Adam's last charter is dated July 1086, *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 236r.

<sup>193</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 235v, 235v-236r, 236r; *Additamenta*, cols. 1002-3.

<sup>194</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 235v-236r, edited in Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', pp. 130-1.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 'qui presenti tempore advocatus est de predicto monasterio'. On the complex role of the monastic *advocatus*, see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary church in the medieval west* (Oxford, 2006), p. 337. On the use of the office of *advocatus* in contemporary central Italy, see John Howe, *Church reform and social change in eleventh-century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 130 n. 27, 157.

<sup>196</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 236r.

charter in his chronicle, simply identified him as *Ugo, genere Francus*, to disassociate this act from his rapacious caricature of Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>197</sup>

The transactions of 1086 also support a series of indications that the economic fortunes of the abbey in this period showed signs of fortitude despite the protestations of poverty by John Berard. Abbot John, active in 1090s, commissioned the construction of a decorated cross in the abbey church and a 'rafter', that, according to Berard was 'painted in a praiseworthy manner with the image of the Saviour, and pictures of the Prophets, the Apostles, also the Passion of the Lord and the Lamb of God'.<sup>198</sup> John's successor, Abbot Grimoald, also oversaw the construction of a new crypt for the abbey-church, dedicated to Saint Clement.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, while there is a lacuna in the cartulary between 1086 and 1093, in that latter year the abbey received an unusually large donation of land, measuring 1,000 *modia*, in *Aprutium*.<sup>200</sup> Manorial management also continued and two charters from the abbacy of Grimoald describe a reorganisation of the abbey's rented lands in the counties of Camerino and Firmano, well outside the Norman lordships, concerning 150 and 400 *modia*, respectively.<sup>201</sup> These various transactions suggest that Berard's account of Hugh's wholesale destruction of the abbey was exaggerated.

The hyperbolic account of Hugh's deprivations of San Clemente in the chronicle is intrinsically linked to Berard's accusation that Malmouzet forcibly installed his nominees upon the abbey against the wish of the community. Hugh's position as *advocatus* of San Clemente, as described in the charter of July 1086, may have afforded him the right to consultation in abbatial elections but, regardless, Berard's allegations are problematic. After the death of Abbot Adam, Berard claimed that Hugh refused to allow free elections and 'on the contrary he

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<sup>197</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 867.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 868.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 870.

<sup>200</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 236v.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 237v-238r, 238r.

set over them one whom he wanted, and for as long as he pleased him, a certain Adenulf, not a monk of this congregation'.<sup>202</sup> No charters survive from the abbacy of Adenulf and, while Berard denounced him as 'a squanderer of the church and an enemy of God and Saint Clement', it is possible that his tenure was brief.<sup>203</sup> Unusually, Berard claimed that Hugh acquiesced to the requests of the monks of San Clemente and 'the murmur of the mindless public' and permitted free elections.<sup>204</sup> Thus, according to Berard, John 'a monk of this same monastery, a man known for his piety and honest life' was elected.<sup>205</sup> In fact, as the San Bartholomeo chronicle recorded, this John had previously been abbot of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto since 1075 and had been elected to that office with the 'counsel and help' of Hugh Malmouzet, whom the Carpineto chronicler was comfortable labelling *dominus* of San Bartholomeo.<sup>206</sup> The election of John as abbot of San Clemente, therefore, was hardly the riposte to Hugh's malicious ambitions that Berard's portrayed. Furthermore, John was soon after raised to the bishopric of Valva and, as Berard related 'when he saw the persecution of Malmouzet becoming worse, believing it to be useful for him, he began to consider the care of the abbey less and to pay more attention to the bishopric'.<sup>207</sup> As with previous abbatial desertions, Berard attributed John's departure to the supposed persecutions of Hugh. Given the abbot's previous cordial relations with Hugh, this seems unlikely. Furthermore, in 1092 Hugh completed an extensive restitution and donation to John, as bishop of Valva, again suggesting their relationship was not confrontational.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'imo praeposuit illis quem voluit, et quamdiu sibi placuit, quendam Adenulphum non de ipsa congregatione monachum'.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 868, 'dissipatorem ecclesiae, et Dei, et Sancti Clementis inimicum'.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 'rumor insanientis vulgi'.

<sup>205</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'quendam eiusdem monasterii monachum, religione et vita probabili notum'.

<sup>206</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 37. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 122.

<sup>207</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'cum videret persecutionem Malmazetti ingravescere, utile sibi credens esse consilium, coepit Abbatiae curam postponere, et magis de episcopatu curare'.

<sup>208</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Nunzio Federico Faraglia, re-edited by Giuseppe Papponetti (Sulmona, 1988), n. 16.

John's successor as abbot was Gilbert, whom Berard identified as Hugh's chaplain. Berard claimed that Hugh, 'more to achieve his own wish than to try to perform work pleasing to God', installed Gilbert forcibly and that this abbot 'entered as a wolf in sheep's clothing, prepared to slaughter, kill and pillage and a few days later he returned to his lord with a limitless amount of gold and silver'.<sup>209</sup> As explained above, such accounts of wanton pillaging are probably exaggerated and given that Abbot John was still alive and considering his relationship with Hugh, it is probable that John sanctioned the election of Abbot Gilbert. Furthermore, as Berard recorded, following protestations, free elections were held and Grimoald, a monk of San Vincenzo al Volturno, was elected.<sup>210</sup> This abbey was far outside Hugh's sphere of influence and it can be safely assumed that Grimoald was the chosen candidate of the monks of San Clemente and not imposed by Hugh. Berard's final assault on the character of Hugh was contained in his clearly fictionalised account of Malmouzet's defeat in an attempted siege of the *castellum* of Prezza. Berard's asserted that the 'most beautiful and very clever' sister of the lord of Prezza, knowing of Hugh's 'lecherous habits', lured him into an ambush after 'lulling him with sweet words and kisses'.<sup>211</sup> Berard then seemingly took pleasure in relating how Hugh 'was cast in prison and confined until such a time as he restored freedom to all the land he had invaded and as was proper, he led a miserable life, naked and poor, not in his own lands but in exile'.<sup>212</sup> Ultimately, this celebration of the defeat of Hugh Malmouzet and Berard's various claims concerning Hugh's persecutions of San Clemente are highly incongruent with Berard's final report on Hugh's life, which related that he was buried

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<sup>209</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 868-9, 'Malmazettus autem plus suum velle, quam Dei beneplacitum nisis perficere', 'intravit sicut lupus sub tegmine agni paratus occidere, iugulare, depraedari, et paucis post diebus reversus est ad dominum suum cum infinita copia auri et argenti'.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 869.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 869-70. Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 159 has likened this episode to the Book of Judith.

<sup>212</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 870, 'et tamdiu ipse in carcere iacuit clausus, donec totam terram quam invaserat liberam redderet; et ipse sicut decens erat, nudus et pauper non in suo, sed in alieno vitam miseram actitaret.'

in the crypt of abbey of San Clemente.<sup>213</sup> This crypt, recently built by Abbot Grimoald, was dedicated to Saint Clement and Hugh's interment in such a hallowed place seems entirely contradictory to Berard's interpretation of his relationship with San Clemente

### 3.3.2. William Tassio

Just as John Berard assumed that each emperor or king must have acted only in the best interests of the abbey of San Clemente, so he believed that Hugh Malmouzet could only act maliciously and selfishly to the detriment of the abbey. This attitude was also prevalent in Berard's opinions of the other Norman lords of these Abruzzo, specifically William Tassio, Richard of Manoppello and Robert of Manoppello. Berard stated explicitly that he viewed William as the spiritual successor of Hugh. He declared that after the death of Hugh 'there arose another more wicked than him' and took great care in concocting a Greek-Latin etymology of the name William, which he translated as 'wise in worldly things'.<sup>214</sup> Berard denounced William as 'deceitful' and 'the hammer of the whole land' and claimed that William deceived Bishop John of Valva into relinquishing control of the *castellum* of Popoli and the fortifications of Bectorrita.<sup>215</sup> This allowed William, in Berard's interpretation, 'to sell both the churches of San Clemente and San Pelino and their lands just as if they were his own'.<sup>216</sup> There is no evidence to support this view, however, and considering Bishop's John's previous cordial relationship with Hugh Malmouzet, it is possible that he purchased rather than usurped these properties. William's greatest injustice, according to Berard, was to organise the sale of Popoli, San Clemente and the bishopric of Valva to Count Richard of Manoppello for 1,000 bezants.<sup>217</sup> This transaction was carried out to fund William's travels to the Holy Land

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 870.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 871, 'surrexit alter nequior illo', 'sapiens...terrena'. In fact, the name is of Germanic origin, evolving from Wil, 'desire', and Helm, 'helmet, protect'.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 871, 'fraudolentus', 'malleus universae terrae'.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 'ambas ecclesias Sancti Clementis et Sancti Pelini, et terras earum tanquam proprias vendicare'.

<sup>217</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 873.

but also, in the words of Berard, 'he did not leave undisturbed those he had robbed but greatly hindered them'.<sup>218</sup>

This hyperbolic depiction of wickedness is contradicted to an extent by evidence from the San Clemente cartulary and other contemporary sources. William's relationship with the abbey of San Bartholomeo began auspiciously with a conflict over the *castellum* of *Monte Somato* but William completed a seemingly amiable property transaction with the abbey in 1101 and the Carpineto chronicle's account of William's attempted purchase of Brittoli, which was disputed by another local lord, displayed a positive view of William.<sup>219</sup> Similar to many of his contemporaries, William patronised the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, granting the abbey six properties in 1108.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, between 1105 and 1109, William completed a series of interconnected donations and sales that included the abbeys of Santa Maria di Picciano, San Giovanni in Venere and the bishops of Chieti and Valva.<sup>221</sup> This succession of six charters was instigated by a generous donation of William to San Giovanni and included various decrees by which William compensated the other institutions. Finally, as a charter from the San Clemente cartulary shows, William atoned for his 1103 sale by donating the *castellum* of San Mauro, with appurtenances including the service of three men, to the abbey in 1114.<sup>222</sup>

### 3.3.3. Richard of Manoppello

Upon William Tassio's departure to the Holy Land, the status of nemesis of San Clemente shifted to Count Richard of Manoppello, who had apparently bought certain rights

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<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 873, 'quod male invaserat non dimittens quietum quibus abstulerat, sed magis impediens'. Concerning William's motivations to depart on pilgrimage, Berard could only declare 'I do not know what spirit led him to this'.

<sup>219</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 49, 50, 53, n. 124 = pp. 263-4.

<sup>220</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 13r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix.

<sup>221</sup> Alessandro Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano: un'abbazia scomparsa e il suo cartulario*, sec. XI (L'Aquila, 1982), App. 1, n. 27-34. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 811-2.

<sup>222</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 243v-244r, edited in Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 131.



over the abbey from William. Berard's denunciations of Richard's character was broadly similar to condemnations aimed at previous Norman lords, though Richard's apparent obsession with wealth was emphasised. Berard declared that Richard was 'desirous of rule' and was a 'tyrant'.<sup>223</sup> Specifically, Berard accused Richard of extorting tribute from the abbey and involving himself in usury. 'Showing neither respect to God nor honour to the venerable martyr', Richard threatened to demolish the abbey of San Clemente if he were not paid 1,000 bezants by the abbot, while he simultaneously appropriated the abbey's resources with 'extravagant feasting'.<sup>224</sup> Such descriptions led Berard to wonder at his 'raging fury' and assert that the count's 'mind was aflame with the fire of avarice'.<sup>225</sup> As a paradigm of greed and impiety, therefore, in Berard's opinion, Richard fully deserved his early death at the hands of Saint Clement, who struck Richard down with 'divine vengeance'.<sup>226</sup> In contrast, Richard's appearance in the San Clemente cartulary in a March 1103 charter by which he donated to the abbey the *castellum* of *Fabali* with associated lands.<sup>227</sup> This donation dates from the same year, 1103, in which Berard claimed Richard was pillaging the abbey of its resources. Berard included a terse mention of this donation in his chronicle but, as with his account of the 1086 donation of Hugh Malmouzet, Berard was clearly uncomfortable acknowledging the charter.<sup>228</sup> The donation itself seems to have been relatively generous and included a promise by Richard to 'antistare et defendere' the abbey, though this was probably a diplomatic cliché.<sup>229</sup> Richard had previously donated properties to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella in 1098 and was involved with Count Robert II of Loritello's donation to the bishop of Chieti in 1101.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 873.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 873.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 873, 874, 'rabies furibundi', 'cuius animus igne succensus erat avaritiae'.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 874.

<sup>227</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 239r-240r.

<sup>228</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 872, 'Comes Riccardus de Manuplello in anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo tertio, rursus de ipso castello [Fabali] chartulam traditionis per manus domni Grirnoaldi Abbatis fecit Sancto Clementi sicut suum fore, et ex suo dono illud largiretur'.

<sup>229</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 239v. Similarly, see above for the charters of the Sansoneschi, p. 83.

<sup>230</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 27r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii; *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 9.

### 3.3.4. Robert of Manoppello

Immediately following his account of the miraculous death of Richard of Manoppello, Berard noted that the count's son, Robert, 'reverting to the conduct of his father, surpassed his father in wickedness'.<sup>231</sup> Robert thus inherited the position of primary villain in Berard's narrative. Berard later declared that 'he returned, an evil son having been produced by an evil father, his malice surpassed his father's malice, and he began to harass, with manifest hostility, Saint Clement and his house' and that he and his soldiers 'were insane servants of their lord who raged against the servants of Christ and Saint Clement'.<sup>232</sup> Similarly to his descriptions of Richard of Manoppello and William Tassio, Berard portrayed Robert as avaricious and impious.<sup>233</sup> Moreover, as he had with Hugh Malmouzet, Berard condemned Robert for interfering in the abbatial elections of San Clemente. Berard claimed that after the death of Abbot Grimoald in c.1110, 'Giso was elevated, and he was for some days chosen because of the malevolence of the brethren [and] because he seemed to have been imposed by the violence of the counts of Manoppello'.<sup>234</sup> Robert was also accused of repeating the evil deeds of his father by exploiting the abbey's hospitality to feast on its resources and occupy the nearby *castellum* of *Insula*.<sup>235</sup> Robert's final injustice was to threaten the life of Abbot Oldrius, going as far as to draw his sword to decapitate him, because the abbot did not treat him with due 'reverence'.<sup>236</sup>

This picture of depravity is at odds with Robert's relationship with other monasteries of Abruzzo. Robert's first donation to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella came when he was still a minor in 1104, shortly after the death of his father and under the guardianship of

<sup>231</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 874, 'ad mores patris revertens genitorem suum, malitia superavit'.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886, 'reddidit, ipse a malo patre malus filius generatus, malitiam paternam sua malitia superavit, et contra Beatum Clementem eiusque domum manifestas inimicitias exercere coepit', 'insani ministri domini in servos Christi et Sancti Clementis debacchabantur'.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 887, 'cupiditas avarissimi comitis'.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 878, 'Post hunc cum levaretur Giso, essetque aliquantis diebus electus ob malevolentiam fratrum, quia videbatur violentia comitum Manuplellensium impositus'.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 887.

his uncle, Geoffrey.<sup>237</sup> Robert extended this donation in 1107, granting to the abbey further lands and rights.<sup>238</sup> The previous year, Robert had also completed a donation to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella.<sup>239</sup> Robert continued his relationship with these abbeys in the following decades and in 1122 he completed another donation to San Salvatore.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, the accusations which John Berard levelled at Robert seem problematic. Giso, who Robert supposedly forced upon the abbey in c.1110, was re-elected as abbot of San Clemente only a few years later.<sup>241</sup> Berard was comfortable asserting that Giso was ‘called back by the monks and all the people of San Clemente’ and soon after consecrated by Pope Paschal II in Benevento.<sup>242</sup> Berard also praised Giso for expanding the abbey’s library and celebrated how ‘he refused to have diminished by his neglect that which by great labour his predecessors had acquired’.<sup>243</sup> Thus, the contentious first election of Giso was likely to have been a result of factionalism with the abbey, rather than Robert’s malign interference. Furthermore, Robert’s supposed aggression towards Abbot Oldrius is at odds with Berard’s report that after the 1140 annexation Oldrius was criticised for previously receiving the *castellum* of Bolognano from Robert.<sup>244</sup> The denigration of Robert, however, readily assisted Berard’s narrative concerning the motivations for Roger II’s invasion of Abruzzo in 1140, as discussed above.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 221 = *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 275.

<sup>238</sup> Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 222 = *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 276. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 329, n. 70.

<sup>239</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 20r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

<sup>240</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 11r-11v = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix.

<sup>241</sup> Berard claims the second election occurred in 1112, though Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 72, suggests 1114.

<sup>242</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 879.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 880.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 888.

<sup>245</sup> See above, p. 94.

## Conclusion

Though the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria may have been consulted to inform judicial claims, the cartulary copies of relevant charters could not fundamentally uphold such claims. Similarly, the cartulary's use as an administrative tool was restricted by its structure, paucity of blank space and outdated toponyms. It would seem that John Berard intended his chronicle-cartulary to be viewed primarily as a work of history, explaining the territorial evolution of the abbey through the documents of the cartulary, with the chronicle elaborating on the history of the abbey. Berard's interpretation of the history of his abbey emphasised the eminent position the abbey had held during the 'golden age' of the late-ninth century, which had been undermined by the territorial usurpations of the local aristocracy and the invading Normans. Unlike some of his contemporaries, from other Italian monastic institutions and from within San Clemente, Berard did not resort to documentary forgery to support these claims, though certain of the charters he utilised faithfully were obvious forgeries.

It is clear, however, that Berard's ideology and prejudices, influenced by the ideological climate of San Clemente, as discussed in chapter 1, informed his interpretation and presentation of historical events in his chronicle. Berard was deeply critical of the local secular aristocrats of the tenth and eleventh century, who he viewed as impious usurpers of church properties. This generalisation led Berard to simplistic interpretation of historical events, such as the interventions of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany and the 1111 agreement between the San Clemente and the Sansoneschi, which belied the complexities of the political reality. Berard also harboured a profound conviction in the righteous character of royalty, the status of San Clemente as a primary concern of royal authorities and inherent importance of royal affairs to the history of San Clemente. Thus Berard, having established Louis II as the archetype of a royal patron, stressed the importance of his abbey to later Salian emperors and King Roger II

and attributed significant events, such as the 1111 agreement and the 1140 invasion, to royal anxieties concerning the persecution of San Clemente. Finally, Berard's consistent condemnations of the first Norman Abruzzese lords clearly influenced his presentation of their relationship with the abbey, which was presented in wholly negative terms yet is contrasted with their numerous donations to the abbey and Hugh Malmouzet's burial within the crypt of San Clemente. A detailed understanding of the ideology of John Berard and its resultant prejudices, however, can resolve these complications and permit the constructive utilisation of chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente, the most important historical source for medieval Abruzzo.

### Chapter 3

#### The chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the *Libellus querulus di miseris*

##### *Pennensis*

#### Introduction

While the evidence arising from the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria dominates the historical understanding of medieval Abruzzo, two further essential sources merit analysis and consultation. The chronicle-cartulary of the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto has been the subject of a brief investigation by Francesco Magistrale and has, more recently, been edited, separately, by Enrico Fuselli and Berardo Pio.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will aim to elucidate the context within which the chronicle-cartulary was devised and composed via an examination of history of the abbey of San Bartholomeo, particularly during the late-twelfth century, and the life and career of the author, Alexander. Within this context, the motivations and intentions of Alexander will be investigated. Furthermore, this chapter will examine the sources available and utilised by Alexander, his relationship with the archive of San Bartholomeo and the extent of documentary forgery within his chronicle. Building upon this contextualisation, section 1 of this chapter will conclude with an examination of the biases inherent in Alexander's chronicle and how his ideology affected his presentation of the history of two important aristocratic groups – the Normans lords of Abruzzo and the Bernardi family. Section 2 of this chapter will focus on another important source for the history of medieval Abruzzo – the *Libellus querulus de miseris ecclesiae Pennensis*. To date, this source has not been subject to a dedicated, detailed assessment and this chapter will attempt to establish a

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<sup>1</sup> Magistrale, 'Per una nuova edizione della cronaca del monastero di San Bartolomeo da Carpineto', *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, ed. Enrico Fuselli (L'Aquila, 1996), *Chronicorum liber monasterii Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto*, ed. Berardo Pio, *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale* 5 (Rome, 2001). There is also a short discussion in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 54-7. The original manuscript is now lost, though a sixteenth-century copy, made at the abbey of Santa Maria di Casanova, which was merged with San Bartholomeo in 1258, has survived in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan – codice Ambrosiano, D 70 – see *Chron. Carp*, Pio, pp. lx-lxxxv.

date for the creation of the text, ascertain the motivations the composition of the text and analyse how its inherent ideology affects its use as an historical source. The chapter will conclude with a brief survey of the most important south Italian narrative sources, traditionally utilised for the history of eleventh and twelfth century Italy, and their account of events in Abruzzo.

## 1. The chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto

### 1.1. The ideological context of the San Bartholomeo chronicle-cartulary

#### 1.1.1. The history of the abbey

The abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto was founded outside Carpineto, on the River Nora, by Bernard, son of Liudinus, in 962. Bernard identified himself in the foundation charter of the abbey as ‘count of the county of Penne from the River Tavo to the River Pescara’ and Alexander described him in his chronicle as ‘lord of all the county of Penne’.<sup>2</sup> John Berard of San Clemente a Casauria also viewed Bernard as an important local figure, describing him as ‘a noble and powerful man of Penne’.<sup>3</sup> Bernard, according to Alexander, obtained the assistance of the bishops of Chieti, Penne, *Aprutium*, Valva and Marsia for the consecration of the abbey, while the bishop of Benevento provided the relics of Saint Bartholomew.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that Bernard appropriated control over a significant area of Penne in the aftermath of the *Agarenes* raids in the middle of the century though Alexander’s claims are clearly an exaggeration given the contemporary diffusion of power and proliferation of the comital title.<sup>5</sup> Certainly, Bernard was not the only significant power in Penne during this period. A Count John of Penne was documented in 963, while in 968

<sup>2</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. xxxiv, 13, 129-30.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 836-7. See above, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 16-7. See Laurent Feller, ‘Monastères privés et réforme dans les Abruzzes (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles): l’évolution du statut de San Bartholomeo di Carpineto (962-1120)’, *Sanctorum* 7 (2010), pp. 65-82, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> See *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. xxxiv and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 579-82, 680-1.

Emperor Otto I granted Bishop John of Penne comital authority over the city of Penne.<sup>6</sup> Bernard's family, however, was an important power in the region. Alexander claimed that Bernard was related to Bishop Landulf of Benevento and Bernard and his sons were connected to the abbeys of San Vincenzo al Volturno and San Clemente a Casauria.<sup>7</sup> This family – the Bernardi clan – maintained a presence in the region throughout the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries and, as will be discussed below, their relations with San Bartholomeo was one the major interests of the chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo.

For the first century of its history, the relations of San Bartholomeo with the Bernardi clan appear to have been relatively amicable. Although Alexander had few narrative sources to provide information for the late-tenth and early-eleventh century, his cartulary documented numerous donations or contracts between the Bernardi to the abbey.<sup>8</sup> It is unclear how San Bartholomeo was affected by the feud, described by the *Libellus querulus di miseris ecclesiae Pennensis*, between Bishop Berard of Penne and his brothers, Bernard and Trasmund, which resulted in open warfare in the 1050s.<sup>9</sup> In 1071, however, Trasmund donated to San Bartholomeo the monastery of San Vitale in Locretano with its patrimony, though reserving many rights over the properties, and, if Alexander is to be believed, entered the abbey as a monk before his death.<sup>10</sup> Trasmund's relative, Bernard, son of Carboncellus, however, was demonised by Alexander for persecuting San Bartholomeo during this period and, according to Alexander, forcing Abbot Herimund and the community into exile in Locretano.<sup>11</sup> The power of the Bernardi clan was diminished somewhat by the arrival of the Normans, led in this region by Hugh Malmouzet and Nebulo of Penne, which allowed Abbot

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<sup>6</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 56. Count John donated 400 *modia* in the Vomano valley to the bishop of *Aprutium*. See *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. xxxiv. Otto's charter is *Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. Sickel, n. 357. See Mirella Colucci, 'L'Abruzzo del sec. X in un diploma di Ottone I al vescovo di Penne', *Nuova rivista storica* 65 (1981), pp. 588-616.

<sup>7</sup> See *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. xxxvii-iii, 13-4, *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 2, pp. 292-4 and *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 166v.

<sup>8</sup> For example, *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 9, 10, 20, 24, 26.

<sup>9</sup> *Libellus querulus*, pp. 1464-5. See below, p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.



Herimund to return the community to Carpineto. The new Norman regime did not wholly benefit San Bartholomeo, as Hugh Malmouzet installed Sanso, brother of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, as abbot and William Tassio briefly seized the *castellum* of *Monte Somato* from the abbey. Alexander, however, as will be discussed below, viewed the Normans and Hugh Malmouzet in particular as liberators and guardians of San Bartholomeo who vanquished the Bernardi threat.<sup>12</sup>

Though the abbey succeeded in removing itself from the direct control of the Bernardi in the twelfth century, the quarrels between the family and the local aristocracy continued throughout the century. In particular, the divergent claims to the *castella* of Carpineto, Fara and Brittoli re-emerged to stoke conflict. Abbot Sanso had purchased Brittoli from Hugh II Malmouzet in c.1110 for his nephew, Gentile, who refused to relinquish control of the *castellum* when later requested.<sup>13</sup> Gentile also gained control of half of the *castellum* of Carpineto before he was, according to Alexander, divinely stuck down by illness.<sup>14</sup> His wife, Gaietelgrima, freed herself from a similar divine illness and excommunication by returning the *castellum* of Brittoli to the abbot.<sup>15</sup> Her sons, however, continued to contest these properties with the abbey, though one, Berard, returned control of Fara to the abbey before departing to the Holy Land.<sup>16</sup> The annexation of Abruzzo into the *Regno* in 1140 was not recorded directly by Alexander and, though the new royal administration provided an avenue of assistance for the abbey, the periods of instability during the reigns of King William I and King William II led to further conflicts with the local aristocracy. The continued resistance of Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Loritello, and the instability following the assassination of Maio of Bari and the attempted coup against King William I, enabled Richard and Gentile of Brittoli, members of the Bernardi, to oppress the abbey. The defeat of Robert of Bassunvilla provided

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<sup>12</sup> See below, p. 133.

<sup>13</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 52-4.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66. Alexander compared Gaietelgrima to Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

momentary respite but his rehabilitation saw Richard and Gentile restored to their lands and they allied themselves with the counts of *Aprutium*.<sup>17</sup> Thus Count Robert supported Gentile's claims to properties in the *castellum* of Carpineto and later Count Rainald of *Aprutium* tacitly approved of the depopulation of Carpineto, which Abbot Oliver attempted to counteract by constructing a *castellum* in *Monte Somato*.<sup>18</sup> This persistence territorial conflict continued during the career of Alexander, when the new Bernardi lords of Brittoli, Frederick and Richard, with the assistance of Count Rainald, dominated Carpineto and Fara.<sup>19</sup>

Further to this threat from local secular lords, during the twelfth century the abbey San Bartholomeo had to contend with a series of ambitious bishops of Penne who coveted the abbey's properties and held ambitions to control the abbey itself. These conflicts began with the 1080 charter of Bishop Pampo of Penne which divided ecclesiastical rights over numerous *castella* surrounding San Bartholomeo, including Carpineto, Brittoli and Fara.<sup>20</sup> This agreement was renegotiated and confirmed by Bishop Heribert in 1112.<sup>21</sup> In 1123, however, Bishop Grimoald of Penne disputed control of some of the abbey's properties and petitioned the papal curia concerning the issue.<sup>22</sup> In this instance, the mediation of the bishop of Marsia yielded a negotiated settlement and Grimoald confirmed the charters of his predecessors.<sup>23</sup> Most importantly, however, Bishop Oderisius of Penne engaged in a series of conflicts with San Bartholomeo in the early-1180s, during the beginning of the career of Alexander. In 1181,

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<sup>17</sup> Jamison, *Catalogus baronum*, n. 1067.

<sup>18</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 96-7. See Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 359.

<sup>19</sup> The matter was finally settled in 1204 by Cono, son of Richard, see *Chron Carp*, Pio n. 166.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 116. Though Fuselli has dated this charter to 1085, Enrico Fuselli, 'I documenti dei vescovi di Penne riguardanti il monasterio di S. Bartholomeo di Carpineto', *Bulletino della deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 86 (1996), pp. 229-245, pp. 236-7, Enzensberger had concluded 1080, Horst Enzensberger, 'Bausteine zur Quellenkunde der Abruzzen im Mittelalter', in *Contributi per una storia dell'Abruzzo adriatico nel medioevo*, eds Luigi Pellegrini and Roberto Paciocco (Chieti, 1992), pp. 133-90. Enzensberger's date has been accepted by *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 50 n. 32 and Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 78.

<sup>21</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 126. For dating Swen Holger Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicorum liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 82 (2002), pp. 1-46, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 58-9.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 130.

Oderisius laid claim to the church of Santa Maria in Plano, with the support of Count Joscelin of Loreto.<sup>24</sup> Oderisius, Alexander claimed, 'wishing to submit this monastery to his control', rejected the mediation of papal envoys and, according to Alexander, gathered 'a multitude of armed men' to intimidate the monks into submission.<sup>25</sup> The failure of this endeavour, coupled with his exclusion by King William II from the process of the election of Abbot Bohemond of San Bartholomeo in 1181, possibly led Oderisius to petition Pope Lucius III for the right to consecrate the new abbot, resulting in a lengthy papal inquiry.

To combat the threats of the local aristocracy and the bishops of Penne, San Bartholomeo developed two important alliances during the twelfth century – with the papacy and the Norman royal administration. Close papal relations began during the abbacy of Abbot John (1110-48) who, Alexander claimed, was consecrated by Pope Paschal II in Rome and received a charter of protection from the pope.<sup>26</sup> John also succeeded in acquiring papal confirmation of the properties of San Bartholomeo in 1116.<sup>27</sup> This process was repeated throughout the twelfth century as John's successor, Oliver, was consecrated by Pope Eugenius III and Abbot Walter was consecrated by Pope Celestine III in 1194.<sup>28</sup> The abbey also received charters of protection or confirmation from Paschal II, Innocent II, Lucius III, Eugenius III, Urban III, Celestine III and Innocent III.<sup>29</sup> The papal curia also increasingly became the mediator in local disputes, particular with the bishops of Penne. Paschal III appointed Bishop Berard of Marsia to adjudicate in the conflict between the abbey and Bishop Grimoald of Penne in 1123. In c.1180 Alexander III was involved in the dispute with Bishop Oderisius of Penne over the church of Santa Maria in Plano, appointing Leonas, abbot of San Clemente a Casauria and

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94-5. See Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 370.

<sup>25</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 95, 'cupiens monasterium istud suo dominio subdere', 'copiosum multitudinem convocans armatorum virorum'.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 128.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 128, 133, 136, 143, 148, 155, 167.

Bishop Atto of *Aprutium* to mediate.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, in 1182 Lucius III responded to Bishop Oderisius's claims to the right to consecrate the newly elected Abbot Bohemond by repeatedly delegating the issue to the bishop of *Aprutium* and various members of the papal curia.<sup>31</sup>

Likewise, the community of San Bartholomeo frequently turned to the Norman royal administration for assistance. In 1158, Abbot Oliver appealed to Simon the Seneschal, constable of Apulia, concerning Berard of Vicoli, an alleged usurper of the abbey's property, which resulted in the intervention of Samarus of Trani, the royal chamberlain.<sup>32</sup> The intervention of Samarus led to the return of the abbey's properties and the incorporation of the abbey into royal protection at the cost of a 300 bezants donation to the royal treasury. Samarus's privilege was later re-issued by the vice-chancellor, Matthew of Aiello, in response to Gentile of Brittolli's incursions into the *castellum* of Carpineto.<sup>33</sup> Not long after, in 1173, King William II, responding to a petition from Abbot Oliver, commanded Count Robert III of Loritello to mediate the conflict between the abbey and the lords of Civitaquana.<sup>34</sup> This royal guardianship, however, came at a price. Upon the death of Abbot Oliver in 1180, King William II commanded the community of San Bartholomeo to conduct a *secretam nominationem* of a candidate loyal to the crown and notify the royal court of their choice.<sup>35</sup> William, however, rejected the two nominees chosen and forced the delegation of San Bartholomeo monks in Palermo to elect Bohemond, a former monk of San Clemente a Casauria, as abbot.<sup>36</sup> Despite

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6. See Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 245.

<sup>31</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 102.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82. See Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 352.

<sup>33</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio pp. 89-90. See Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, pp. 291-2.

<sup>34</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 137, Mirella Colucci, 'Sulla solitica ecclesiastica normanna nel cartulario di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', *Ricerche di storia abruzzese offerte di Vincenzo Monachino* (Cheiti, 1986), pp. 152-191, pp. 162-3. Though as an ally of the lords of Brittolli, Robert had vested interests, see *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 88-9.

<sup>35</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 140. See Colucci, 'Sulla solitica ecclesiastica normanna nel cartulario di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 147.

<sup>36</sup> Legally, this conformed to *quattuor capitula* of concordat of Benevento, Colucci, 'Sulla solitica ecclesiastica normanna nel cartulario di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 177.

this interference in abbatial elections, the abbey continued to depend on royal protection of its properties and liberty.

### 1.1.2. The life of Alexander

Alexander identified himself as the author of the San Bartholomeo chronicle-cartulary in the prologue of the work. The chronicle-cartulary also contains the only available evidence for the career of Alexander, which began in the early-1180s.<sup>37</sup> Alexander presumably died soon after the date of the final charter of his cartulary – 1217. Although he did not provide any details concerning his early life or education, describing himself in his prologue only as a *conmonachus* of the community of San Bartholomeo, his importance within the abbey of San Bartholomeo and lack of connections to another abbey would suggest that he entered the abbey as an oblate and was educated there.<sup>38</sup> It is possible, however, considering Alexander's close associations with Abbot Bohemond, originally a monk of San Clemente as Casauria, and his eventual return to San Clemente in the company of Bohemond, that Alexander began his career in San Clemente before transferring to San Bartholomeo before or shortly after the election of Bohemond in 1181.<sup>39</sup> Certainly Alexander's first appearance in his chronicle was after the election of Bohemond and concerned the continuing judicial and territorial dispute between the abbey and Bishop Oderisius of Penne.<sup>40</sup> Alexander identified himself as part of the council convoked in an attempt to settle this dispute. The council comprised four monks of San Bartholomeo and four canons of the bishopric of Penne but Alexander seems to have occupied the pre-eminent position on the San Bartholomeo panel, while a *magister Berterannus* led the Penne canons.<sup>41</sup> While these deliberations did not fully settle the conflict

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<sup>37</sup> A December 1186 charter of Bohemond, written by Alexander, is the only documentary evidence for Alexander, *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 156.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Though no Alexander appears in the contemporary charters of San Clemente.

<sup>40</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. xi, 104-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104. This *Berterannus* may be the same man who witnessed a 1169 charter of Bishop Oderisius of Penne to the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano, Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, p. 258. See *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 104 n. 7.

between abbey and bishopric, the event illustrated the importance of Alexander within the community even at such an early stage in his career.<sup>42</sup>

Further evidence for Alexander's distinguished status within San Bartholomeo and his close alliance with Abbot Bohemond arises from Alexander's mission in 1185/6 to Pope Urban III in Verona.<sup>43</sup> Alexander claimed that he was sent by Abbot Bohemond and was 'well received' by the Pope, who listened to Alexander's petitions concerning the conflict between his abbey and the bishop of Penne.<sup>44</sup> Alexander evidently had some success in his mission and in January 1187 Urban confirmed the earlier privilege of Pope Lucius III, reproached the bishop in a letter of February 1187 and assigned a cardinal, Gerard of San Adriano, to mediate in the case.<sup>45</sup> Alexander's position as emissary of his abbot was also confirmed when Bohemond dispatched Alexander, along with a fellow monk, *Britius*, to the royal court to counter the claims of a local lord, Richard of Padula, to the church of Santa Maria *de Rubeis*.<sup>46</sup> Alexander's companion on this mission, *Britius*, had previously represented the abbey at royal court in the early-1170s and the deliberations also brought Alexander into contact with Richard's lord, Count Peter of Manoppello and Matthew, the vice-chancellor of kingdom of Sicily.<sup>47</sup> Finally, Alexander claimed that after the death of King William II in 1189 he was dispatched by Bohemond on a futile mission to Count Rainald of *Aprutium* in an attempt to persuade the count to rebuke two persecutors of the abbey, Richard and Frederick of Brittoli of the Bernardi clan.<sup>48</sup> These various missions, undertaken perhaps as a secretary to the more experienced *Britius*, demonstrated Alexander's status with his community and Abbot Bohemond's faith in the young Alexander.

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<sup>42</sup> See *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. xi.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106. Pope Urban III (1185-1187), mainly resided in Verona during his pontificate due to his continued dispute with Emperor Frederick I.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106, 'benigne receptus'.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 148, 149.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>47</sup> On *Britius*, see Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 291. Pio, *Chron Carp*, Pio p.xiii, and Enzensberger, 'Bausteine zur Quellenkunde der Abruzzen im Mittelalter', pp. 57-9, have suggested that Matthew's letter to Richard (n. 151) should be dated to 1185, not 1180.

<sup>48</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. xiii, 112.

This alliance between Alexander and Bohemond was illustrated most clearly when in c.1190 Bohemond confessed to have committed simony in attaining the abbacy and resigned his office.<sup>49</sup> Alexander recorded in his chronicle that Bohemond ‘admitting that he had obtained the abbey by simony and renouncing it, he returned to the monastery of San Clemente, from which he had been taken’.<sup>50</sup> Alexander also twice noted that he himself was the only brother of San Bartholomeo to follow Bohemond to San Clemente.<sup>51</sup> This resignation, however, did not terminate Alexander’s, or indeed Bohemond’s, activities on behalf of San Bartholomeo. Neither does another abbot seem to have been elected to replace Bohemond. Alexander again travelled to Rainald of *Aprutium*, this time alongside Bohemond, to remonstrate against the actions of the lords of Brittoli.<sup>52</sup> Soon after, ‘on the advice of certain brothers’, Alexander claimed, Alexander travelled to *partes Lombardie* to petition Henry Testa, Emperor Henry VI’s legate in Italy who was at the time leading the imperial army south to defeat Tancred of Lecce.<sup>53</sup> Alexander claimed that, at his council held in Rieti in 1190, Henry Testa ‘promised to cause to be restored to us all that was stolen by the count’, and subsequently the assistance of the Pope, the bishops of *Aprutium* and Penne and Abbot Joel of San Clemente was enlisted in the quarrel against Rainald.<sup>54</sup> Alexander portrayed this combined effort as the catalyst for the resolution of San Bartholomeo’s issues as Count Rainald convoked a court at *Balneo*, near Penne, which promised the abbey restitution and restoration of its properties. Henry Testa’s expedition, however, after sacking Chieti and Amiterno and invading Apulia, was forced to retreat north, leaving Tancred to consolidate his control over the Regno. The power of Count Rainald, a previous supporter of Henry VI, was curtailed by Tancred and Bohemond, accompanied by Alexander and *Britius*, exploited this

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114, ‘recognoscens abbatiam simoniacam se fuisse adeptum et ei abrenuntians, ad monasterium Sancti Clementi, de quo assumptus fuerat, rediit’.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115, ‘promisit enim omnibus ablatis ibidem per comitem facere nos restitui’

new political situation by obtaining a charter of protection from Tancred at Aterno in November 1191.<sup>55</sup>

Bohemond's success in securing the support of Tancred led to his re-assumption of control of the abbey. The reinstatement, however, was evidently against the wishes of some of the monks of San Bartholomeo and Alexander later recorded that he was accused of squandering the goods of the abbey and mismanaging the abbey to such a degree that it was left open to the attacks of its enemies, such as the lords of Brittoli.<sup>56</sup> Eventually, the brothers petitioned Pope Celestine III, who assigned a cardinal to mediate in the case. Before the subsequent inquiry concluded, however, Bohemond died in April 1193.<sup>57</sup> Alexander's role in this attempted deposition is unclear but in his chronicle he related the accusations against Bohemond frankly and described the dispatch of petition to Pope Celestine in the first-person plural.<sup>58</sup> As will be discussed below, the details of Alexander's prologue suggest that he began his chronicle-cartulary during the vacancy between the death of Bohemond and the election of Abbot Walter of Civitiquana in 1194. Alexander's status within the abbey, however, seems to have remained stable as he accompanied Abbot Walter, again alongside *Britius*, to Rome where the abbot received investiture from Pope Celestine.<sup>59</sup> This event marked the end of the final book of Alexander's chronicle. The *Prologus in fundatione*, which Alexander added sometime after 1209, however, related that Alexander had been 'recalled according to the law of postliminy, when the edict of proscription, together with the proscriber, was banished to all eternity'.<sup>60</sup> This oblique reference would suggest that Alexander had spent a period in the first years of the thirteenth century in exile from his abbey. Alexander refrained from naming his

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118, n. 157.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119, 'Nos ergo, cum sepius iam dictum abbatem monuissimus et emendari de dilapidatione et aliis iniquitatibus nollet, domino papae Celestino terio causam detulimus'.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127, 'iure postliminii revocatus, proscriptionis edicto pariter cum proscripore in eternitatem sublato'.



'prosciber' but it was unlikely to be Abbot Walter, who continued as abbot of San Bartholomeo until his elevation to the bishopric of Penne in 1217. Thus it would seem that after the completion of his chronicle, Alexander's reputation within the monastery diminished and he did not record himself as undertaking any further missions on behalf the community. His access to the archive of the abbey evidently continued, however, and he probably died soon after 1217, the date of the final charter of his cartulary.<sup>61</sup>

### 1.1.3. Sources and influences

As with his contemporary authors of chronicle-cartularies, Alexander's primary resource for his work was the archive of his abbey. Also like his contemporaries, such as John Berard of San Clemente and John of San Vincenzo, Alexander lamented the state of his archive and the loss of documents.<sup>62</sup> In particular, he noted that 'unsightly pen blots' and old age made many of his charters 'sufficiently difficult to read'.<sup>63</sup> Alexander's archive seems to have been relatively limited.<sup>64</sup> Including the twenty-four charters referenced in the chronicle but not produced in the cartulary, the chronicle-cartulary contained 184 documents.<sup>65</sup> Some of these documents may have been copied from an earlier cartulary, as occurred in San Clemente, though no evidence confirms this supposition.<sup>66</sup> The archive was also pillaged, according to Alexander, in the 1160s by Gentile of Brittolli, who took advantage of Abbot Oliver's abandonment of San Bartholomeo to remove certain documents that prejudiced his

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 169.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 33 and *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 1, p. 31. See also Martin, 'Occasions et modalités', p. 145.

<sup>63</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 3, 'quaedam vero informis litura calami fecerit ad legendum satis horrenda'. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 55.

<sup>64</sup> On the ordering of the archive, see Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 67.

<sup>65</sup> See Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicorum liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 20.

<sup>66</sup> Colucci, 'Sulla solitica ecclesiastica normanna nel cartulario di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 159, has suggested a cartulary was made during the abbacy of Herimund, before the abandonment of abbey. See also Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 69.

family, such as the letters of Simon of Seneschal and King William I.<sup>67</sup> The archive was also not comprehensive in its coverage. Alexander related 'many kinds of material have been bestowed on us' for the reign of Abbot Herimund (1047-72) yet the chronicle's sections concerning the abbacies of Bernard (996-1012) and Giso (1012-29) were terse as the archive contained no documents from that period.<sup>68</sup> The cartulary also contained very few local documents from the twelfth century and only papal or royal charters after 1180, though this may have been a methodological choice by Alexander.

Beyond his archive, Alexander seems to have had access to few other sources. His detailed information on abbatial reigns suggests that he possessed an abbatial list and necrology of the abbey. Moreover, his relatively detailed account of the foundation of San Bartholomeo and the translation of the relics of Saint Bartholomew was likely to have been based on a previous written source.<sup>69</sup> In his prologue, Alexander noted that he made use of the 'tradition of the ancients', a possible reference to narrative sources.<sup>70</sup> Alexander also made oblique references to the works of Horace and numerous biblical allusions.<sup>71</sup> For the narrative sources of his chronicle, Alexander was clearly well-informed concerning some of the history of southern Italy during the late-eleventh and twelfth century. He included a lengthy digression covering the arrival of the Normans in southern Italy to the death of Duke William of Apulia and later in his chronicle was knowledgeable concerning the creation of the kingdom of Sicily and the protracted difficulties caused by Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Loritello. His information on twelfth-century politics may have come from oral sources but his account of the Norman conquest mirrors that of William of Apulia's historical poem *Gesta*

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<sup>67</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 84-5. See Colucci, 'Sulla solitica ecclesiastica normanna nel cartulario di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 160.

<sup>68</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 25, 'multiplex nobis offertur materia'. See Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicorum liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 20, table n. 2.

<sup>69</sup> A martyrology of an abbey of San Bartholomeo, probably Carpineto, was later recorded in the episcopal library in Sulmona, *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. xxvi, n. 42.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4, 'antiquorum traditio'.

<sup>71</sup> For example, *ibid.*, pp. 55, 66.

*Roberti Wiscardi*, written in the 1090s. In particular, Alexander's account of the alleged first contact of Melus of Bari, the rebellious Byzantine official, with some Norman adventurers at the shrine of San Angelo in Gargano and his description of Melus's distinctive Greek dress seems to follow William's poem.<sup>72</sup>

The inspiration for Alexander's methodology would seem obvious. Abbot Bohemond, whom Alexander served faithfully during the 1180s was a monk of San Clemente a Casauria and, as Alexander repeated twice in his chronicle, Alexander was the only monk of San Bartholomeo to follow Bohemond into exile in San Clemente after his admission of simony. The period of Bohemond's exile from San Bartholomeo, during which he continued to pursue diplomatic avenues on behalf of the abbey but was based at San Clemente, covered the years c.1190-1. It is probable that John Berard, author of the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente, had finished his work and possibly died by this point. Berard's chronicle concluded with an account of the death of his abbot and patron, Leonas, in 1182, while the final charter of the cartulary, copied under the title of *post mortem domini abbatis* was attributed to Count Robert of Caserta, constable and justiciar of Apulia, who died in the same year.<sup>73</sup> Although Alexander's work was probably formatted differently, with the cartulary following the chronicle rather than integrated in one work, it is probable that Alexander's methodology of constructing a narrative history of his abbey based on and supported by a collection of documentary evidence, was influenced by the work of John Berard.<sup>74</sup> It is also possible that Alexander drew on Berard's work for his chronicle but only one clear example is evident – both Alexander and John Berard claimed that Abbot John of San Clemente, who had

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41, 'nomine Melum, more Grecorum vestibus indutum, caput mirifice habentem quasi mitra ornatum'. William of Apulia, p. 100, 'more virum Greaco vestitum, nomine Melum / Exulis ignotam vestem capitque ligato / Insolitos mitrae mirantur adesse rotatus'.

<sup>73</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 272r. On Count Robert of Caserta, see Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 304, though Donald Matthew, *The Norman kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 181, dated Robert's death to 1183.

<sup>74</sup> Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 72, tentatively suggested that *translatio* of the relics of Saint Bartholomew apud Berard *translatio* of the relics of Saint Clement.

previously been abbot of San Bartholomeo, was elevated to the office of bishop of Valva 'because of [his] morals, honesty and wisdom'.<sup>75</sup>

## 1.2. The motivations and intentions of Alexander

### 1.2.1. The prologue

Alexander's prologue conformed to many of the clichés prevalent in contemporary chronicle-cartularies, such as the works of John Berard at San Clemente and Gregory of Catino in Farfa. Alexander, he claimed, was concerned that many of the documents of the San Bartholomeo archive had been lost through neglect, while those charters that survived were difficult to read.<sup>76</sup> Alexander also lamented the lack of historiography within the abbey, noting that 'of various events little or nothing was recorded in writing'.<sup>77</sup> This situation led the community of San Bartholomeo to request Alexander, who initially demurred, to compose a *chronicorum librum*. The absence of direct reference to an abbot suggests that Alexander began work during the abbatial vacancy after the death of Abbot Bohemond in April 1194, though his work seems to have continued into the reign of Bohemond's successor, Abbot Walter, as the final event of book 6 of the chronicle was the 1194 consecration of Walter by Pope Celestine III.<sup>78</sup> The exact process of this work Alexander outlined in the prologue. He related that he began by compiling 'singula capitula singulorum capitulorum' – an inventory or index of documents – after which he composed a history of the foundation of San Bartholomeo by Bernard, son of Liudinus, including a description of Bernard's endowment of the abbey and the installation of its first abbot, Benedict. This was followed by a history of the abbots of San Bartholomeo, which comprised the majority of the six books of the chronicle, and their associated documents. Finally, Alexander related, he completed the cartulary with

<sup>75</sup> Alexander altered the Latin of Berard slightly, *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'dominus Iohannes Piscariensis abbas, pro morum honestate et sapientiae praerogativa, meruit Sancti Pelini sublimari in episcopum, et Valvensis episcopus effectus', *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 37-8, 'qui [John] pro morum honestate et sapientiae prerogativa postea in episcopatum Sancti Pelini meruit sublimari'.

<sup>76</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 4.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 'variorum eventuum scriptis nulla vel pauca notaverit'.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

the documents concerning the papacy, royal family and the 'princes of the kingdom'.<sup>79</sup> Alexander noted that his information arose from 'some things the traditions of the ancients taught me, other deeds I know from our own time'.<sup>80</sup>

### 1.2.2. The purpose of the chronicle-cartulary

Alexander's avowed purpose, elucidated in his prologue, was to write a history of his abbey, utilising the archive and narrative sources available to him, to combat his community's ignorance of their history. Beyond this clichéd claim, however, lay numerous possible explanations for the composition of the San Bartholomeo chronicle-cartulary. Bernard Pio and Enrico Fuselli have argued that the chronicle-cartulary was devised primarily for practical purposes, to provide a dossier of supporting documents to protect the abbey's patrimony and support the community's territorial ambitions.<sup>81</sup> Pio highlighted the chronicle's accounts of the conflict over nearby properties such as Fara and Carpineto, coveted by the Bernardi clan, during the mid- and late-twelfth century.<sup>82</sup> Fuselli has similarly commented on the chronicle's emphasis on political and judicial proceedings and the relative absence of accounts of mundane activity, such as agricultural development and construction.<sup>83</sup> As noted in chapter 1, however, a cartulary copy of a document had limited power as legal evidence in judicial proceedings.<sup>84</sup> The cartulary was also not a full facsimile of the San Bartholomeo archive, as Alexander referenced numerous charters in his chronicle which he declined to copy into the cartulary.<sup>85</sup> Thus it would seem that Alexander's stated intention to create a history of his abbey was, in fact, his primary purpose. His audience was likely to have been the community

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<sup>79</sup> For Alexander's method, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 55 and Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 66.

<sup>80</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, pp. 4-5, 'Eorum siquidem que narravi alia scriptis utcunque notata reperi, alia me antiquorum traditio docuit, alia vero nostris gesta novi temporibus'.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii; Fuselli, *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, p. 30.

<sup>82</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. xxix.

<sup>83</sup> Fuselli, *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, p. 30.

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 20. Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicon liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 31 also highlights this paradox.

<sup>85</sup> See *ibid.*, table n. 2.

of San Bartholomeo itself and his purpose was, as Swen Holger Brunsch has argued, to create a historical consciousness within the abbey.<sup>86</sup> Given the increasing threat of the bishop of Penne to the independence of San Bartholomeo and the continuing conflicts with the Bernardi clan, outlined thoroughly in Alexander's chronicle, a forthright defence of the abbey's liberty, supported by associated documentation, was required to bolster the solidarity of the community during a period of abbatial vacancy.

Furthermore, it would seem that Alexander had a highly personal interest in presenting the history of his abbey. As he related in his chronicle, Alexander was closely associated with Abbot Bohemond, acting as his legate on numerous important occasions. As mentioned above, Alexander was also, by his own admission, the only monk of San Bartholomeo to follow Abbot Bohemond into exile and continued to cooperate with him during this period, including accompanying him to Aterno where the abbot obtained a privilege from Tancred of Lecce, which seems to have secured his re-admittance to the abbacy of San Bartholomeo. As Alexander recorded, however, Bohemond was rejected by the community and was subject to a papal inquiry at the time of his death.<sup>87</sup> When describing the exile and attempted deposition of Abbot Bohemond, Alexander consistently utilised the first-person plural and he was frank in relating the accusation made against the abbot. Thus it is probable that the composition of the chronicle-cartulary represented an attempt by Alexander to disassociate himself from the transgressions of Abbot Bohemond and display his relevance to the community in the aftermath of Bohemond's death. His exclusion from the government of the abbey and apparent expulsion before 1209, as described in the opening sentences of his *Prologus in fundatione*, would suggest that this mission was not wholly successful.

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>87</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 119.

### 1.3. Forgery and error in the cartulary

#### 1.3.1. Interpolations in the charters of the bishops of Penne

Beyond several clear instances of bias and misinterpretation, as will be discussed below, Alexander appears to have completed his work in an honest fashion. What mistakes he made in his work are probably attributable to simple error. In his account of the foundation of San Bartholomeo in 962, Alexander identified Bishop Landulf of Benevento as an archbishop, a simple mistake given that Benevento was elevated to an archbishopric only a few years later.<sup>88</sup> Alexander also mistakenly attributed some charters to incorrect abbatial reigns based on the misunderstanding of certain dating clauses.<sup>89</sup> The only certifiable documentary intrusion committed concerned the charters of the bishops of Penne. Many of these documents have survived and are now extant in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.<sup>90</sup> Comparing these originals with Alexander's cartulary copies exposes certain alterations. Possibly based on a confusion between two similar charters, Alexander revised the date of the 1112 donation charter of Bishop Heribert of Penne to 1109 and exchanged the abbot named in the charter, from John to Sanso, accordingly.<sup>91</sup> The earlier charter of Bishop Pampo from the 1080s, however, was clearly manipulated and interpolated to the benefit of San Bartholomeo.<sup>92</sup> While the original charter granted San Bartholomeo a quarter of the episcopal dues of five *castella* – Locretano, Genestrula, Carpineto, Brittoli and Fara – Alexander's cartulary version granted full control of these properties and a further two *castella*, Catignano and Nocciano.<sup>93</sup> The census due to the bishop from the abbey was also reduced by almost half.<sup>94</sup> As this

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Benevento was raised to an archbishopric in 969 by Pope John XIII, Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 33.

<sup>89</sup> See Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicorum liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 27.

<sup>90</sup> See *ibid.*, table n. 1.

<sup>91</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 126. See Brunsch, 'Urkunden und andere Schriftstücke im Chronicorum liber des Klosters S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto', p. 8.

<sup>92</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 116. On the date of this charter, see above, p. 116.

<sup>93</sup> See Fuselli, 'I documenti dei vescovi di Penne riguardanti il monasterio di S. Bartholomeo di Carpineto', pp. 236-8.

<sup>94</sup> From 22 denari to 12.

alteration is also present in the edition available in the *Italia sacra*, compiled from the original manuscript of the San Bartholomeo chronicle-cartulary, it cannot be ascribed to the error of a later copyist.<sup>95</sup> Enrico Fuselli has attributed this interpolation to Alexander, utilising this accusation to emphasise his interpretation of the chronicle-cartulary as a 'utilitarian' document intended primarily to directly combat the ambitions of Bishop Oderisius of Penne in the 1190s.<sup>96</sup> As discussed above, however, the legal force of a cartulary copy of Pampo's charter would have been limited, particularly considering the original was still extant. It is more likely that Alexander copied an earlier forgery, created in the abbey during the late-eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>97</sup>

#### **1.4. The representation of the Bernardi family in the chronicle**

##### **1.4.1. The foundation of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto**

Alexander began the first book of his chronicle with a description of the founder of San Bartholomeo, Bernard, son of the Liudinus, as 'a man, made entirely of knowledge and virtues, noble through the merits of his parents, distinguished in reputation, outstanding in his life'.<sup>98</sup> According to Alexander, Bernard resolved to found an abbey dedicated to Saint Bartholomew after a miraculous recovery from grave illness. This intention marked Bernard as a 'magnificent man' and he proceeded to endow San Bartholomeo with a substantial patrimony, install an abbot and organise, in conjunction with the bishop of Benevento, the translation of the relics of Saint Bartholomew to the abbey and the subsequent consecration of the abbey by the bishops of Penne, Chieti, Valva and Marsia.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, Alexander claimed, based on the clearly interpolated foundation charter of the abbey, that Bernard 'stated that none of his heirs or relatives would have permission to exercise lordship in that

<sup>95</sup> *Italia sacra*, X, col. 388. See Fuselli, *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, p. 36.

<sup>96</sup> Fuselli, 'I documenti dei vescovi di Penne riguardanti il monasterio di S. Bartholomeo di Carpineto', p. 238, 'utilitaristica'.

<sup>97</sup> This has also been suggested, tentatively, by *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 246 n. 43.

<sup>98</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 13, 'vir, totus ex sapientia et virtutibus factus, meritis parentum nobilis, fama celebris, vita perspicuus'.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 16-7.



monastery or demand any dues from it'.<sup>100</sup> In reality, as Laurent Feller has suggested, Bernard would have reserved numerous rights over the abbey, much like Bernard's relative, Beczo, son of Walderbert, stipulated when he founded the nearby monastery of San Vitale in 998.<sup>101</sup> One condition may have been the establishment of San Bartholomeo as a family mausoleum for the Bernardi as Alexander reported that members, such as Trasmund, son of Bernard in the 1070s, were buried within the abbey.<sup>102</sup> Bernard, however, was convinced that his abbey had been granted full liberty at the time of its foundation and established Bernard as an ideal against whom to compare later generations of his family. Thus Trasmund, son of Bernard, was of the 'noble stock' which originated from Bernard, son of Liudinus, and in 1053 donated a church in Locretano as he wished 'to succeed to the merits of the family whose successor he was'.<sup>103</sup> Later, Trasmund's nephews, Sanso and Carboncellus, 'descended through the blood line from noble Bernard *Liudini*, of celebrated memory', donated various properties to San Bartholomeo were thus 'buried with glory'.<sup>104</sup> Alexander's opinion of both Bernard and his eleventh century descendants was probably skewed by the evidence available to him, which comprised solely their donations charters and not any associated narrative or documentary sources detailing their exploitation or domination of the abbey.<sup>105</sup>

#### 1.4.2. The persecution of Bernard, son of Carboncellus

Alexander utilised the ideal of Bernard, son of Liudinus, in particular when denouncing the actions of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, the supposed persecutor of San Bartholomeo during the 1070s. Alexander claimed that Bernard was 'incorrectly named for his great-

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17, 'statuit preterea ut nullus suorum haeredorum vel consanguineorum in eodem monasterio licentiam habeat dominandi vel ex debito aliquid exigendi'. On the foundation charter, see Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 74.

<sup>101</sup> Feller, 'Monastères privés', pp. 77-8. San Vitale was later donated to San Bartholomeo by a descendent of Bernard in 1071, *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 115.

<sup>102</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 32.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31, 'succedere meritis cuius successor erat proenie'

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33, 'descendentes per consanguinitatis lineam a nobili stipite Bernardo Liudini, memorie celebrande', p. 34, 'est ipse sepultus in gloria'.

<sup>105</sup> Donation charters of the Bernardi include *ibid.*, n. 9, 10, 20, 24, 26. See Fuselli, *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, p. xl.

grandfather' and was not of the 'fruitful stock' of Bernard, son of Liudinus, but was 'originated from the devil, the architect of unjust construction'.<sup>106</sup> This Bernard, 'fodder of the Antichrist' in the view of Alexander, 'roared like a bloody beast, and turning his mind to the destruction of the entire [abbey], he attacked, removed and, by any method he could, devastated and destroyed the goods of the monastery'.<sup>107</sup> During this process of persecution, Bernard instructed his chambermaids to wash clothes near the doors of the abbey. Subsequently, these women entered the cloister and refectory of San Bartholomeo, used the monk's latrines and removed a month's provision of bread. This 'ignominy', as Alexander described the episode, led the abbot, Herimund, to order the retreat of the community of San Bartholomeo to Locretano 'which in all the time of that persecution he (Herimund) inhabited as if in his own home'.<sup>108</sup>

The process, though couched in terms of malevolent harassment and misogynistic references to Bernard's chambermaids, clearly represented the extraction of dues or tribute from the abbey that Bernard, as a descendant of the founder of San Bartholomeo, claimed from the familial monastery.<sup>109</sup> The episode also excused Herimund's abandonment of the abbey in favour of Locretano, which Alexander further explained by reference to Matthew 10:23, 'If they persecute you in one town, flee to another'. Moreover, the representation of Bernard, 'a most evil man', provided a foil for the messianic character of Hugh Malmouzet, as will be discussed below. According to Alexander, Hugh brought about the downfall of Bernard, who died 'destitute and in exile', and engineered the return of Abbot Herimund. This episode of deliverance and liberation provided, in Alexander's narrative, the context and explanation for Hugh's control of the subsequent election of Abbot John, an intervention entirely contrary

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<sup>106</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 34.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, 'cui toto tempore illius persecutionis tanquam proprie domui cohabitavit'.

<sup>109</sup> See Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 80.

to Alexander's interpretation of liberties granted to San Bartholomeo at its foundation and so vehemently defended in Alexander's time.

## 1.5. The representation of the Norman lords in the chronicle

### 1.5.1. The Normans as liberators

In the third book of his chronicle, Alexander, before providing an account of the arrival and rise to power of the first Norman adventurers, noted that 'the land, that was formerly tranquil and at peace, through the coming of the Normans was awoken in great sedition'.<sup>110</sup> Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as John Berard of San Clemente, Alexander portrayed the Norman influence on the region in almost wholly positive terms. His narrative of the Norman conquest of Abruzzo is entwined with his account of the liberation of abbey from the tyranny of the Bernardi family. Alexander further portrayed the arrival of the Normans as a miraculous endeavour, claiming that:

Almighty God, who unties the belts of kings and binds a rope around their loins [Job 12:18] called forth the Normans to destroy this wicked man [Bernard, son of Carboncellus], and on their arrival, like dust before the wind and like the mud of the streets [2 Samuel 22:43], this Bernard was destroyed in a great extinction and outlawed from his paternal inheritance.<sup>111</sup>

In particular, Alexander idolised the new Norman lord, Hugh Malmouzet, whom he identified as the main opponent of Bernard, son of Carboncellus. Alexander introduced Hugh with the words: 'among the Normans a certain noble and magnificent man, Hugh Malmouzet, by the

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<sup>110</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 41, 'terra, que prius pace siluerat, per adventum Normannorum est in seditionem maximam excitata'.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, 'Deus omnipotens, qui balteum regum dissolvit et accingit fune renes eorum, ad abolendam huius viri nequitiam, excitavit Normannos, ad quorum adventum, ut pulvis ante faciem venti et ut lutum platearum, est hic Bernardus gravi deletus exterminio et proscriptus ab hereditate paterna'.

will of God subjected all those provinces to his lordship'.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, Hugh, after witnessing the 'horrible desolation and tyranny of Bernard', 'greatly sympathising with their distress, recalled the abbot and monks [from Locretano], restored them to their own residences and collected the dispersed goods of the monastery, repaired what was broken and preserved what was gathered'.<sup>113</sup> These various proclamations concerning the righteous character of Hugh Malmouzet provided the context for the subsequent election of Abbot John, which was carried out 'with the counsel and help' of Hugh 'who, full of devotion and great love, was an ally to the monastery'.<sup>114</sup>

### 1.5.2. Hugh Malmouzet and the election of Abbot Sanso

Alexander's commendation of Hugh's character also masked Malmouzet's concessions to the continuing power of the Bernardi. As Alexander noted, after the departure of Abbot John, who was elected abbot of San Clemente a Casauria with the sponsorship of Hugh, the monks of San Bartholomeo 'took advice' from Malmouzet, 'who was the lord of this monastery'.<sup>115</sup> Apparently at the suggestion of Hugh's wife, a monk of San Giovanni in Venere, Sanso was elected. In fact, this Sanso, as Alexander admitted, was a brother of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, the villain of the second book of the chronicle.<sup>116</sup> As a political expedient, the choice of Sanso was a clearly calculated move by Hugh Malmouzet, who indulged the Bernardi family's long-held claims to control of the abbey of San Bartholomeo to counteract any continuing resistance to his new regime.<sup>117</sup> Alexander's description, repeatedly invoking divine inspiration and intervention, of the election of Sanso demonstrated his unease at an episode

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, 'Normannorum, quidam vir nobilis et magnificus, Ugo Malmozeatus, omnes provincias istas, nutu divino, suo subdidit dominatui'.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, 'videret eius dum desolationem horrendam et tirrannide Bernardi... eius miserie condolens et valde compatiens, revocavit abbatem et monachos et eos propriis restituit sedibus, monasterii bona congregavit dispersa, compegit confrica et compacta servavit'.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, 'consilio et auxilio', 'qui glutino devotionis et magne dilectionis erat monasterio federatus'.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38, 'Malmozeatus cepit esse sollicitus, eo quod dominus erat huius monasterii'.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>117</sup> See above, p. 134.

that contradicted his ideology and the theory of monastic *libertas*. Alexander claimed that Hugh ordered Sanso to be brought to San Bartholomeo ‘as through divine prophecy’ and ‘he began to advise, exhort and request the brothers to choose Sanso’.<sup>118</sup> Alexander further noted that it was not because of this pressure but ‘rather at the inspiration of God’ that Sanso was elected.<sup>119</sup> These references to divine inspiration helped deflect any accusations of misconduct from Hugh, who Alexander later praised a ‘noble man of Normandy’ and a ‘magnificent and most generous special benefactor of this church’ for donating 3,000 *modia* of land to San Bartholomeo in 1093.<sup>120</sup> These sweeping exaltations, which contrasted sharply with the proclamations of John Berard, belied the complex political entente that Hugh established with the Bernardi clan, as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 7.

## 2. The *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis*

### 2.1. Context and author

After the chronicles of San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, the most important narrative text for eleventh-century Abruzzo and the Norman invasion is a text, edited by Adolf Hofmeister as the *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis*, now extant in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, but previously of the library of Cyrus Minervini of Naples.<sup>121</sup> This text describes with varying levels of detail: the foundation of the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria; the alleged capture, and subsequent release, of Frederick of Lorraine, papal legate and future Pope Stephen IX, by Count Trasmund III in 1054; the deposition of Bishop Berard of Penne by papal decree and Berard’s violent conflict with his

<sup>118</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 39, ‘quasi divino presagio’, ‘cepit igitur fratres monere ac exorando rogare’.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, ‘immo ad Dei inspirationem’.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51, ‘nobilis vir Normannie, magnificus et munificentissimus huic ecclesiae precipuus benefactor’.

<sup>121</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Fonds Borghese, MS Lat. 807, fols. 8-11. The Borghese collections came from a Roman family and were bought by the Vatican Library in 1891. Hofmeister’s edition is an updated and annotated version of Herrn Münter, ‘Breve Chronicon, seu potius epistola encyclica, in tabulario ecclesiae Pennensis, ex bibliotheca D. Cyri Minervini, Neapoli’, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 4 (1822), pp. 128-38. Cyrus Minervini is mentioned as an ‘able naturalist and antiquarian’ of Naples by an 1810 pamphlet, *A few remarks in reply to Mr. Pinkerton, upon the scarcity of men of genius at Naples, in recent times* (Bristol, 1810), p. 21.

brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, of the Bernardi family; the defeat and capture of Trasmund and Bernard at the battle of Ortona and their compact with Bishop John of Penne to provide the funds for their ransom. The text also contained a purported charter of Trasmund and Bernard, whereby they surrendered certain properties in Penne in exchange for 60lbs of gold from Bishop John needed for their ransom payment. It is clear from the text that the *Libellus querulus* was written from the point of view of the church of Penne and was addressed, at least superficially, to the pope. The opening sentence of the text reads:

Let it be known to the primate of the Roman church and the lord pope, and the others, his successors, and all Christians, that the church of Penne with all its city and with various *castella* has always been made free and has no chain over it, except that of blessed Peter.<sup>122</sup>

The text also claimed that, after the foundation of San Clemente a Casauria by Emperor Louis II, Bishop Grimoald of Penne exchanged his control of the island of Casauria for the emperor's properties in the city of Penne and 'henceforth no lord, no margrave, no count, no viscount entered into the lands of the bishops except by cause of love'.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, the author claimed, 'from that time the church, healthy and pure, remained in the faith of Saint Peter'.<sup>124</sup> Later the accounts of Count Trasmund's conflict with Frederick of Lorraine and Bishop Berard of Penne's deposition focused heavily on the righteous actions of the papacy and the author praised 'the most holy pope'.<sup>125</sup> Finally, after describing the treacherous actions of Trasmund and Berard, who after receiving 60lbs of gold from the Bishop John of Penne, reneged on their promise to surrender their properties in Penne in favour of making an accord with the

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<sup>122</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1462, 'Notum sit primitus Romanae ecclesiae dominoque papae [...] caeterisque successoribus suis omnibusque aliis Christianis, quod Pinnensis ecclesia cum tota civitate sua et cum aliis castellis semper absoluta fuit et nullum vinculum super se habuit, nisi beati Petri'.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1462, 'nullus dux, nullus marchio, nullus comes, nullus vicecomes infra totam terram episcopatus intraret nisi causa amoris'.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1462, 'ab illa hora sana illibataque ecclesia ad fidem beati Petri remansit'.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1464, 'sanctissime papa'.

invading Normans, the author, in his final sentence of narrative text, summarised that 'by such actions, most holy pope, your church was robbed of all properties'.<sup>126</sup>

Adolf Hofmeister has suggested that the earliest date for the creation of the *Libellus querulus* was 1079, the date he ascribed to the charter of Trasmund and Bernard to Bishop John of Penne.<sup>127</sup> Hofmeister based this suggestion on a possible reference to the battle of Ortona in recension B of the annals of Montecassino for 1078.<sup>128</sup> Vincent de Bartholomaeis, however, has corrected the reading of the dating clause of the charter to June 1076, indiction XIV.<sup>129</sup> This date, June 1076, is thus the *terminus post quem* for the creation of the *Libellus querulus*. Hofmeister has also concluded the text was intended as a petition to Pope Gregory VII and that it prompted Gregory's letter of February 1081 to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino which implored the abbot to contact Robert Guiscard concerning Robert of Loritello's incursions into the 'lands of the apostolic see'.<sup>130</sup> Thus, Hofmeister deduced, the *Libellus querulus* was likely to have been written before February 1081. This interpretation is also problematic, however, as Gregory's letter does not mention the church of Penne or the complaints of its bishop. Moreover, while the *Libellus querulus* mentioned Robert of Loritello, the author's focus and ire was directed almost exclusively, as will be discussed below, at the Bernardi brothers, Trasmund and Bernard. Robert was mentioned only as the victor at Ortona and the captor of Trasmund and Bernard. Thus it is highly unlikely that the letter of Pope Gregory to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino can be connected to the *Libellus querulus*. Another suggested *terminus ante quem* for the text is the death of Bishop John of Penne.<sup>131</sup> Although this date is unknown, a charter of John's successor, Pampo, detailing a donation to

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'tali modo, sanctissime papa, vestra ecclesia desolata est omnibus bonis'.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1462.

<sup>128</sup> *Annales Cassinenses*, ed. Wilhelm Smidt, *MGH, Scriptores* 30 (Leipzig, 1934), p. 1420, a. 1078, 'Hoc anno fuit proelium de Cappelli'. This entry is missing from the other recensions.

<sup>129</sup> *Amatus*, p. 329 n. 1. Accepted by Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 728.

<sup>130</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1461. *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, n. 9.4a = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, n. 9.4, p. 404-5.

<sup>131</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464, n. 6.

the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, has been dated by Horst Enzensberger to 1080.<sup>132</sup>

While Bishop John is an important figure in the narrative of the *Libellus querulus*, however, at no point in the text he directly identified as the author or patron of the text.

Thus while it can be safely assumed that the text was written in the aftermath of the battle of Ortona and was a response to the political transformations of the late-1070s and 1080s, no firm date for the completion of the *Libellus querulus* can be deduced. The numerous allusions to the life and actions of Bishop John and the specific emphasis on the final sections of the text, concerning the issue of the contested Penne properties of Trasmund and Bernard, accompanied by the 1076 charter, suggest that the text was probably written under the tutelage of Bishop John, or his successor Pampo, during the late-1070s or 1080s. Furthermore, although the text is clearly addressed to a pope and makes reference to a desire to inform the pope of the deprivations of the church of Penne, it is unclear whether the *Libellus querulus* was, in fact, dispatched to the papal curia as an official petition. As discussed above, the letter of Pope Gregory VII to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino of 1081 cannot be connected to the *Libellus querulus*. Moreover, the allusions to the pope, the presumptive reader, in the text are vague and the author does not explicitly solicit to assistance of the papacy in the conflict with the Bernardi brothers. While it is possible that the *Libellus querulus* was dispatched to Rome, it is also probable that the text was written as a propaganda work intended to be read by the canons of the church of Penne or other churchmen of the region, with the framing device of a papal petition utilised to add authority.

## **2.2. The foundation story of San Clemente a Casauria**

While the central thesis of the *Libellus querulus* concerned the wickedness of Trasmund and Bernard and their usurpation of the episcopal properties in Penne, the text also

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<sup>132</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, n. 116, though a later date, 1085, has been suggested by Errico Fuselli, see above, p. 116. Hofmiester in *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464 n. 6, argued for 1090.



presented an account of the foundation of the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria which emphasised the eminent status and role of the Bishop Grimoald of Penne. In many details, the account of the foundation in the *Libellus querulus* mirrored the later account of John Berard in the San Clemente chronicle.<sup>133</sup> The author noted that the Emperor Louis ‘on the advice of the Roman pontiff wished to build a church in honour of Saint Clement’.<sup>134</sup> The emphasis on the role of the pope and the dedication to Saint Clement echoed the later claims of John Berard and, most likely, the account of the foundation emerging in San Clemente in the 1070s and 1080s.<sup>135</sup> In contrast, the Montecassino chronicle explained that that Louis initially dedicated the abbey to the Holy Trinity and an association with Saint Clement was created later by the abbots ‘it pleased’ them.<sup>136</sup> The author of the *Libellus querulus* also seems to have had knowledge of the March 873 charter of Bishop Grimoald of Penne, whereby the bishop surrendered control of the island of Casauria to facilitate the foundation of San Clemente, as he correctly identified the church and amount of land sold – San Quirico and 150 *modia*.<sup>137</sup> The author’s other details concerning the transactions, particularly his assertion that Emperor Louis prostrated himself at the feet of Bishop Grimoald, are likely to have been a fiction designed to enhance the status of Bishop Grimoald and hence the church of Penne.<sup>138</sup> He is correct, however, in asserting that Louis granted the bishop all imperial properties in the city of Penne. This claim over the city of Penne, and not any claims to control San Clemente, would seem to form the crux of the account of the foundation of San Clemente. Indeed, while the author noted that the abbey was founded on land previously belonging to the church of

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<sup>133</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 775-84.

<sup>134</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1462, ‘imperator... per consilium Romani pontificis vellet ecclesiam in honorem Sancti Clementis... aedificare’.

<sup>135</sup> Though the *Libellus querulus*, like some contemporary San Clemente documents, continued to acknowledge the dedication to the Holy Trinity, p. 1462.

<sup>136</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, I.37, p. 103. See Loud, ‘Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi’, p. 111. *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, pp. 225-6 has a similar version of the foundation, clearly based on Montecassino account.

<sup>137</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 836-8. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 572, who dates this charter to 873, not 872 as in Muratori’s edition.

<sup>138</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463.

Penne, he described the foundation purely as an undertaking of Emperor Louis and ascribed the bishop no role in the process beyond the sale of the island of Casauria. In the twelfth century, the tympanum of San Clemente, as discussed in chapter 1, would brashly claim that Bishop Grimoald granted the abbey liberty from episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>139</sup> This issue was clearly of little interest to the author of the *Libellus querulus*, who constructed his account of the foundation to provide context for episcopal control of the city of Penne in the light of the later conflict with Trasmund and Bernard.

### 2.3. The conflict of Count Trasmund III and Pope Stephen IX

The account presented in the *Libellus querulus* of Count Trasmund III's quarrel with Frederick of Lorraine, later Pope Stephen IX, succinctly demonstrated the author's beliefs concerning the usurpation of church goods, the punishment of impious secular lords and the righteousness of papal intervention. The author related that Frederick of Lorraine, who he correctly identified as the papal chancellor, upon returning from a legation to Constantinople and laden with 'many gifts from the emperor', 'was flung into this territory by an ocean storm'.<sup>140</sup> This mission was almost certainly the 1053-4 papal delegation, led by Cardinal Humbert of Silva-Candida, to Constantinople which resulted in ecclesiastical schism, though the author of the *Libellus querulus* was unaware of, or declined to extrapolate upon, the importance of this mission.<sup>141</sup> The author claimed that Count Trasmund imprisoned Frederick and deprived him of his treasures and clothes before allowing him to continue to Rome. This event is corroborated by the Montecassino chronicle – 'On their successful return, as they were travelling through his land, Count Trasmund of Chieti seized them and everything that they carried and taking them away with great injury, he finally let them go. And so Frederick

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<sup>139</sup> See above, p. 52, and Feller, 'La fondation de San Clemente', p. 723.

<sup>140</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463, 'maritime tempestate ad has partes proicertur'.

<sup>141</sup> On the 1054 mission, see *Chron. mon. Cas.*, ll. 85, pp. 333-4.

returned to Rome'.<sup>142</sup> The *Libellus querulus* then recorded that Frederick was elected Stephen IX and 'remembering the disgrace and injury that Count Trasmund had done to him', gathered an army to 'obliterate Trasmund, together with his progeny from the land'.<sup>143</sup> This campaign, claimed the author, resulted in Trasmund's humiliation and submission to the pope. Again, the account is corroborated by the Montecassino chronicle, though with certain differences:

Then Frederick, learning that the emperor had died, now confidently approached the pope [Victor II] and fully describing everything that Trasmund had done, he caused Trasmund to be excommunicated. Finally, Trasmund went to Rome for the sake of absolution and returned almost everything that he had taken from Frederick.<sup>144</sup>

After this restitution, according to the chronicle, Trasmund gained absolution. The Montecassino chronicle implied that the threat of excommunication, rather than military action, prompted Trasmund's repentance, though it is possible that both tactics were deployed by the pope.<sup>145</sup>

It is clear that the author of the *Libellus querulus* had a distinct motive, beyond recording historical events, for including the account of Trasmund's transgressions and ultimate humiliation in his text. The author denigrated the character of Trasmund continually, labelling him 'the most cruel count' and comparing him to a man possessed by a demon.<sup>146</sup> In fact, Trasmund's actions in 1054 do not seem to have irreparably damaged his relations with

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 85, p. 334, 'Quos prospere revertentes Trasmundus Teatinus comes per terra suam transeuntes cepit et universa, que ferebant, cum magna iniuria auferens tandem dimisit. Atque ita Fridericus Romam reversus est'.

<sup>143</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463, 'ut comitem Trasmundum cum sua progenie deleteret de terra'. Frederick was elected Stephen IX in August 1057 and died March 1058.

<sup>144</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.91, p. 345, 'Fridericus dehinc comperto imperatoris obitu iam fiducialiter ad papam accessit et universa, qui illi Trasmundus fecerat, pleniter referens eundem Trasmundum excommunicari fecit. Demum vero idem Trasmundus absolutionis sue causa Romam pergens et fere omnia, que Friderico abstulerat, referens'.

<sup>145</sup> It is unlikely, therefore, that the author of the *Libellus querulus* used a Montecassino source for his account but instead worked from oral history or a local source.

<sup>146</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463, 'crudelissimus comes'.

the papacy. In 1056 Trasmund was involved in Pope Victor II's *placitum* held in *Vitice* in *Aprutium*, where he was afforded the title *comes Teatinus*.<sup>147</sup> Thus the campaign of Stephen IX against Trasmund appears to have been born mainly from a personal vendetta. In the narrative of the *Libellus querulus*, however, the character of Trasmund was utilised as a proxy for the Bernardi brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, who later cheated Bishop John of Penne, while the intervention of Pope Stephen was presented in wholly positive terms. The episode served as a clear representation of what the author of the *Libellus querulus* believed should be the proper papal response to irreverent and iniquitous secular lords who usurped ecclesiastical property. Trasmund was forced to return 'everything he had taken away', just as, in the view of the author, the Bernardi brothers should be forced to do.<sup>148</sup>

#### 2.4. The deposition and death of Bishop Berard of Penne

The deposition of Bishop Berard of Penne by Pope Stephen IX is attributed by the author of the *Libellus querulus* to Berard's actions as a 'warmonger... who was stronger in arms than in divine matters' and 'who had committed murders and [whose] hands were full of blood'.<sup>149</sup> This condemnation of Berard may have had more to do with his familial ties than his actual character as the *Libellus querulus* admits that Berard resigned his post without resistance and accepted the election of a new bishop.<sup>150</sup> Peter Damian, writing only a few years later, also claimed that Berard 'freely gave up' his position and 'with sincere devotion willingly entered the service of his successor'.<sup>151</sup> It is clear, however, that the author's main interest lay in Pope Stephen's grant of the city of Penne to Berard for 'as long as [he] shall

<sup>147</sup> *I placiti*, n. 403. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 618.

<sup>148</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464, 'quaequae abstulerat'.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1463, 'Berardus et belligerator et magis valebat in armis quam in divinis', 'Berardus, qui omicidia commissa habebat, et manus eius sanguine plenae erant'. Cowdrey, *The age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 66 wrongly identified the pope as Nicholas II.

<sup>150</sup> The exact nature of Berard's submission has been disputed by Francois-Louis Gansholf, 'Note sur l'apparition du nom de l'hommage particulièrement en France', in *Aus Mittelater und Neuzeit*, ed., J. Engel (Bonn, 1957), pp. 19-31, p. 31 and Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 213-4.

<sup>151</sup> *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, MGH, *Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* 4.2 (Hanover 1983), p. 353 = *The Letters of Peter Damian* trans. Owen J. Blum (Washington, D.C., 1992), vol. 3, n. 72. The letter is to Pope Nicholas II, using Berard as an example to justify an episcopal resignation.

live'.<sup>152</sup> The temporary nature of Berard's control of Penne is crucial to the author's argument concerning the later conflict with Trasmund and Bernard, Berard's brothers, and he claimed that, after the grant, 'no one came forward, most holy pope, who had dared to say or babble with [their] tongue, that the city had been his hereditary right and not the land of the church'.<sup>153</sup> Following this assertion, the author recorded the death of Berard. This occurred, claimed the *Libellus querulus*, following a battle, during which Berard was wounded by his own lance, but not before 'he returned everything to the bishop, as he had been ordered by the lord pope'.<sup>154</sup> Thus the reported actions and death of Bishop Berard were presented to further support the church of Penne's claim to control of the city of Penne and contextualise Trasmund and Berard's duplicity. As well as highlighting imperial support for the church's claims, based on the charter of Emperor Louis II, the author now invoked papal assistance.

## 2.5. Bishop John of Penne and the capture and ransom of Trasmund and Bernard

The denouement of the *Libellus querulus* concerned the capture of Trasmund and Bernard at the battle of Ortona and the subsequent compact with Bishop John of Penne to receive monies to pay their ransom. The text does not relate any information concerning the brother's relationship with Bishop John in the intervening years and, as Amatus of Montecassino recorded, Bishop John was present at Ortona but was released by the Normans after the defeat 'because he was a holy and revered person'.<sup>155</sup> The author of the *Libellus querulus* claimed that after their capture, the Bernardi brothers 'gave a hostage and guarantors of fidelity, until they gave money with which they would free themselves'.<sup>156</sup> Thus

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<sup>152</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464, 'quamdiu vixeris'. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 588-9, 601-2, has argued that Stephen completed this grant as acting duke of Spoleto.

<sup>153</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464, 'Nullus affuit illuc, sanctissime papa, qui dicere ausus esset vel balbutiri cum lingua, quod civitas esset sua haereditas nec aliqua terra ecclesiae'.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1465, 'omnia episcopo reddidit, sicut ei fuerat imperatum a domino papa'.

<sup>155</sup> *Amatus*, p. 328, 'qué estoit saint et reverende personne'. See Prescott N. Dunbar and Graham A. Loud, *The history of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 182.

<sup>156</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465, 'obsidem dederunt et fidelitatis sponsores similiter, usque dum darent pecuniam, quam sibi irrogaverant'.

the brothers returned to Penne and petitioned the bishop to assist them. According to the text, the brothers declared:

We have sinned, most holy father. Spare the penitent concerning the fact that we have dared to invade the land of the church; rescind the charter of renunciation and excommunication, as you did with your canons, [and] neither we, nor our inheritors, will dare, against the will of you or your successors, to demand any part of that, which we renounce. Only, most serene father, help us, so that we may withdraw from the capture of the evil Normans.<sup>157</sup>

Following this plea, the bishop rescinded the excommunication of the brothers and provided them with 60lbs of 'gold and silver and a mantle and other ornaments and horses'.<sup>158</sup> The charter appended to the end of the text supported this claim, describing how the brothers had surrendered 'our properties and all our goods that we seized in the city of Penne on the death of our brother, Bishop Berard' and 'we wish to have assistance... because we are in the imprisonment of the Normans'.<sup>159</sup> Following the agreement, however, 'Satan, who entered into the heart of Judas, the betrayer, through the bread that he accepted, invaded their hearts' and they made a *pactio* with Nebulo of Penne.<sup>160</sup> By this treaty, according to the *Libellus querulus*, Nebulo accepted numerous properties, included the city of Penne, and thus

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1465-6, 'Peccavimus, sanctissime pater. Parce poenitentibus pro eo, quod ausi fuimus invadere terram sanctae ecclesiae; accipe cartulam abrenunciationis et excommunicationis, sicut tu feceris cum tuis canonicis, quod neque nos, neque nostri haeredes ausi simus sine tua tuorumque successorum voluntate aliquam partem de hoc, quod abrenunciamus, demandere. Solummodo, sanctissime pater, adiuva nos, ut exeamus de captione malorum Normannorum'.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'aurum et argentum et pallium et alia hornamenta et equos'.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'nostris proprietatibus et de omnibus nostris rebus, quas in civitate Pinnensi cepimus ad mortem nostri fratris Berardi episcopi...adiutorium desideramus habere per vestram mercedem ab isto sancto episcopo et vobis, quia in captione Normannorum sumus'.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'sathanus, qui in corde ludae traditoirs per acceptam buccellam ingressus est [John 13:26-7], corda illorum invasit'.

'other [properties] of theirs [Trasmund and Bernard] were safe and secure from any harassment by the Normans'.<sup>161</sup>

Thus the central thesis of the *Libellus querulus* was exposed – that the church of Penne deserved ownership of the city of Penne but the Bernardi brothers had duplicitously usurped the *castellum*. The conflict between the brothers and Bishop John in fact concerned certain unnamed properties within the *castellum*, as the charter elucidated, but the author of the *Libellus querulus* clearly intended the text to support the church's claims not just to these disputed properties but to the whole *castellum*. Consequently, Emperor Louis was presented as surrendering 'all that he held in the city of Penne' and Pope Stephen IX invested Berard with 'all the *castellum*', which was returned to the church of Penne after his death. It is perhaps interesting that the author did not mention the May 968 charter of Emperor Otto I who confirmed to the bishop of Penne the previous donations of his 'predecessors', presumably including that of Louis II.<sup>162</sup> The confirmation also included 'the city and all the buildings' of Penne. This charter was later present in the episcopal archive of Penne and it is probable that the author had knowledge of its contents though perhaps felt its inclusion unnecessary given the sufficient support of Louis II's donation and the decree of Stephen IX.<sup>163</sup> Regardless, the argument of the *Libellus querulus* was made clear by the closing statement of the text which lamented that Trasmund and Bernard 'surrendered the city and the other *castella*, in such a manner, most holy pope, your church was robbed of all its properties'.<sup>164</sup>

## 2.6. The representation of the Normans

On the whole, the *Libellus querulus* was not concerned with the Norman invaders of Abruzzo. Unlike John Berard of San Clemente, who denounced the Normans as 'a most power-

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<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'alia eorum essent salva et secure absque ulla molestione Normannorum'.

<sup>162</sup> *Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. Sickel, n. 357. See Colucci, 'L'Abruzzo del sec. X in un diploma di Ottone I al vescovo di Penne',

<sup>163</sup> *Italia sacra*, I, col. 1114.

<sup>164</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1466, 'Tali modo, sanctissime papa, vestra ecclesia desolata est omnibus bonis'.

hungry race', and Alexander of San Bartholomeo, who believed the Normans had been sent by God to liberate his monastery, the author of the *Libellus querulus* did not display strong views concerning the Normans.<sup>165</sup> Primarily, as his interest lay in explaining the transgressions of Trasmund and Bernard, his views on the Normans were shaped by their interactions with the Bernardi brothers. Thus while the author, when describing the battle of Ortona, claimed that Bernard and Trasmund were defeated 'by the will of the Most High, who does not allow any crime to go without judgement', it is clear that, unlike Alexander of Carpineto, he did not view the Normans as righteous agents of God.<sup>166</sup> Thus Nebulo of Penne, labelled 'the most noble of the Normans', is implicitly but not explicitly condemned for making a treaty with the Bernardi brothers and accepting numerous properties, some allegedly ecclesiastical, from Trasmund and Bernard to guarantee their political survival.<sup>167</sup> In this instance, although Nebulo is culpable by association, it is the Bernardi brothers who are primarily condemned. Moreover, while the text included the phrase 'evil Normans' (*malos Normannos*) it was attributed to the Bernardi brothers, who themselves condemned the Normans to Bishop John. The ambiguous nature of the author's view of the Normans, as opposed to the convictions of John Berard and Alexander, may have reflected the ideological confusion within the church of Penne immediately after the invasion, which had yet to fully comprehend and evaluate the impact of the Norman conquest. As a near-contemporary source, however, the *Libellus querulus* is one of the most important sources for the history of the Norman conquest of Abruzzo.

### 3. The south Italian narrative sources

A canon of narrative sources exists to elucidate the history of eleventh- and twelfth-century southern Italy and, in particular, the Norman invasion of the region. This group of sources, however, yields little information concerning the internal issues of the aristocracy

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<sup>165</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 863, 'dominandi gentem avidissimam'.

<sup>166</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465, 'volente altissimo, qui sine iustitia nullum facinus dimittit'.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466, 'nobilissimo Normagno'.



and the political changes in Abruzzo during this period. While the Abruzzese narrative sources, especially the chronicle-cartularies of San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, focused intently on local issues, numerous southern Italian sources of the later eleventh and twelfth century centred their narratives on the rise of the Norman power, especially the Hauteville family, yet declined to record much information concerning the Norman incursions into Abruzzo. The submission of the duchy of Apulia, the invasion of Sicily and Robert Guiscard's campaign against the Byzantine empire, as well as the rise of the Norman princes of Capua, dominated these narratives. Events occurring in Abruzzo, in contrast, both before and after the invasion, were of little interest to these chroniclers. Similarly, the traditional narrative sources for twelfth-century southern Italy – the works of Falco of Benevento, 'Hugo Falcandus', Alexander of Teleso and Romoald of Salerno – paid little heed to Abruzzese events before the region's incorporation in the *Regno* in 1140.

### 3.1. Amatus of Montecassino

The *Historia Normannorum* was written by Amatus, a monk of Montecassino with possible Salernitan origins, probably c.1080 and certainly after April 1078 but before the election of Desiderius of Montecassino as Pope Victor III in May 1086.<sup>168</sup> The text exists today only in an early-fourteenth-century Old French translation, probably made by an Italian, present in a codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>169</sup> Amatus's history was focused on

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<sup>168</sup> The Latin name has been assumed from the later translation. Peter the Deacon referred to the work as 'Ystoriā quoque Normannorum', *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.35, p. 411. On Amatus and the dating of the text, see Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, pp. 1-38 and Wilhelm Smidt, 'Die "Historia Normannorum" von Amatus', *Studi Gregoriani* 3 (1948), pp. 173-323.

<sup>169</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Fr. 688. Published as *Storia de Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. Vincent Bartholomaeis, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 76 (Rome, 1935) and *Ystoire di li Normant*, ed. Michèle Guéret-Laferté (Paris, 2011), translated as Prescott N. Dunbar and Graham A. Loud, *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino* (Woodbridge, 2004). The identity of the translator and the accuracy of his translation has been discussed in Jakub Kujawinski, 'Alla ricerca del contesto del volgarizzamento della *Historia Normannorum* di Amato di Montecassino: il manoscritto francese 688 della Bibliothèque Nationale de France', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 112 (2010), pp. 91-136 and Jakub Kujawinski, 'Quand une traduction remplace l'original: la méthode du traducteur de l'*Historia Normannorum* d'Aimé du Mont-Cassin', in *The medieval translator. Traduire au Moyen-Âge. In principio fuit interpres*, ed., Alessandra Petrina (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 63-74.

recording and explaining the Norman rise to power and concentrated primarily on the exploits of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua.<sup>170</sup> Much like Alexander of Carpineto, Amatus believed the Norman victory in southern Italy to be a divinely inspired retribution against immoral local lords, such as Prince Pandulf IV of Capua and Prince Gisulf II of Salerno.<sup>171</sup> This viewpoint permeated Amatus's only important account of Abruzzese events, his explanation of the conflict between Count Trasmund III and his brother Atto and the subsequent defeat of the forces of Trasmund III at the battle of Ortona by Robert of Loritello.<sup>172</sup> Amatus claimed that Atto, after a quarrel over inheritance with his brother, 'was killed through his brother's malice..., drowned in the sea with a stone around his neck' because his brother did not give him his inheritance.<sup>173</sup> To denigrate the character of Trasmund, Amatus claimed that he married his brother's widow to a peasant, subsequently had her murdered and also that her guards 'died of various tortures'.<sup>174</sup> This immorality served to explain the defeat of the forces of Trasmund at Ortona but Amatus also claimed that Trasmund 'falsely took the treasures of the church of St John the Baptist' to pay his ransom and that he was later tortured, physically or possibly spiritually, for this transgression.<sup>175</sup> Ultimately, Amatus believed that Trasmund accepted the Norman victory when he 'saw that the will of God was against him'.<sup>176</sup> This prejudice against the Attonid counts clearly influenced Amatus's interpretation of the events surrounding Ortona, though the information he provided concerning those involved in the campaign and the political settlement following the battle are very important. Similarly, Amatus's account of Trasmund's violent conflict with his brother is probably an exaggerated version of a simple fraternal quarrel. Amatus's claim that Atto was violently murdered is

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<sup>170</sup> Though Amatus had some information on Robert of Loritello, such as his campaign against the rebel Gradilon, *Amatus*, p. 316.

<sup>171</sup> See Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 28.

<sup>172</sup> *Amatus*, pp. 323-330, 332-4.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334, 'fu mort, par la malice de lo frere..., noier en mer, une pierre à lo col'. This account is somewhat disorganised, see Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 183 n. 69.

<sup>174</sup> *Amatus*, p. 334, 'morir de diverses penes'.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325, 'faussement prist lo tresor de Saint Jehan Baptiste'. This church was most likely San Giovanni in Venere, see Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 181 n. 61.

<sup>176</sup> *Amatus*, p. 330, 'quand il vit que la volenté de Dieu li estoit contraire'.

seemingly contradicted by his October 1059 donation to San Maria di Tremiti which recorded that he was dying of an illness.<sup>177</sup> Similarly, Amatus is most likely wrong to conclude that Trasmund 'fell into great poverty and died miserably' after these events, as he is documented donating to the bishop of Chieti in October 1086, after the *terminus ante quem* of Amatus's history.<sup>178</sup>

### 3.2. William of Apulia and Geoffrey Malaterra

The hexametrical poem of William of Apulia, the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, and the prose history of Geoffrey Malaterra, the *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, similarly focused on the exploits of their Norman protagonists.<sup>179</sup> William of Apulia, writing 1096-1099 possibly for the court of Count Roger Borsa, was primarily concerned with the deeds of Robert Guiscard.<sup>180</sup> Malaterra was a monk of Sant'Agata in Catania, Sicily, possibly of Norman origin, who completed his work 1090-1101, and focused on the life of Roger I of Sicily.<sup>181</sup> Both these authors were almost completely ignorant of, or chose to ignore, events in Abruzzo. Malaterra, based in Sicily, unsurprisingly possessed little information about the region and his most pertinent account, concerning Geoffrey of Capitanata's first campaigns into Chieti, is confused. Malaterra claimed that Robert Guiscard, along with his brother Roger, personally aided Geoffrey in capturing *Guillimacum*, after which Geoffrey then 'began fiercely to attack the whole province of Chieti'.<sup>182</sup> Malaterra's insistence on Robert and Roger's personal involvement is probably an exaggeration based on the centrality of their characters to the narrative and the claim that

<sup>177</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 66. See Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 183 n. 69.

<sup>178</sup> Amatus, p. 334, 'vint à grant povreté, et morut malvaisement'. Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 9 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 8. See Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 183 n. 70.

<sup>179</sup> Published as *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961) and *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 5 (Bologna, 1927-8), pp. 3-108, respectively.

<sup>180</sup> Though William's knowledge of the Byzantine empire was impressive, see Paul Brown, 'The *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*: A 'Byzantine' history?', *Journal of medieval history* 37 (2011), pp. 162-179.

<sup>181</sup> On Malaterra, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Geoffrey Malaterra: The deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2005), pp. 1-33.

<sup>182</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 23, 'totam Teatinam provinciam fortiter debellare coepit'.

Geoffrey controlled Chieti is an assumption or confusion with the successes of Geoffrey's son, Robert of Loritello. William of Apulia is even less informed about Norman campaigns in Abruzzo, relating only that Robert of Loritello was appointed steward of Robert Guiscard's dominion in 1081 when Guiscard embarked on a campaign against the Byzantine empire in the Balkans.<sup>183</sup> William, however, does name Count Trasmund III and his brother Atto as the leaders of the 'Italian' forces at the battle of Civitate in 1053, though he described them only as 'germani comites ...Trasmundus et Atto' and did not know their title or political status.<sup>184</sup>

### 3.3. The Montecassino chronicle

Leo *Marsicanus*, later cardinal-bishop of Ostia, composed his section of the *Chronica monasterii Cassinensis* in the first years of the twelfth century, probably before 1103, as a history of his abbey but also included considerable detail concerning the politics of southern Italy and the Norman invasion.<sup>185</sup> The abbey of Montecassino, the most powerful abbey of central Italy, had significant territorial and ecclesiastical interests in the Abruzzo region. Even in the eleventh century, despite usurpations by an expansionist aristocracy and an increase in rental disputes, the abbey's property censuses documented the abbey's extensive landholdings in Abruzzo.<sup>186</sup> Montecassino also had important ecclesiastical connections in the region, such as with the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella, a dependent house. The monastery also provided many of the foremost ecclesiastics of Abruzzo, such as John, prior of the dependent house of *Septum Fratrum*, who was elected, consecutively, as abbot of San

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<sup>183</sup> William of Apulia, p. 214. It is possible that Robert was known to Anna Comnena, the twelfth-century Byzantine historian, who related that Robert Guiscard left his son Roger and a *Boritylas* in command of his lordship at this time, *The Alexiad* trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London, 1969), p. 66. See also Graham A. Loud, 'Anna Comnena and the Normans of southern Italy', in *Church and chronicle in the Middle Ages*, eds, Ian Wood and Graham A. Loud (London, 1991), pp. 41-57, p. 46.

<sup>184</sup> William of Apulia, p. 140. See Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', p. 56.

<sup>185</sup> For Leo and issues concerning dating, see Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Studien zur Chronik von Montecassino', *Deutsches Archiv* 29 (1973), pp. 59-162, p. 138 and *Chron. mon. Cas.*, p. vii-xi.

<sup>186</sup> See Mariano Dell'Omo, 'Un nuovo inventario patrimoniale dei possessi Abruzzesi di Montecassino in scrittura Beneventana (sec. XI, seconda metà, dopo il 1055)', *Benedictina* 49 (2001), pp. 53-83 and Mario Inguanez, 'Elenco di censi nell'Abruzzo e nel Molise', *Documenti cassinesi dei secoli XI-XIII con volgare* (Montecassino, 1942), pp. 25-27. See also Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 692.

Bartholomeo di Carpineto, abbot of San Clemente a Casauria and bishop of Valva.<sup>187</sup> John's predecessor as both abbot of San Clemente and bishop of Valva, Trasmund, was also a monk of Montecassino.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, as the *Libellus querulus* recorded, the abbot of Montecassino, Desiderius, was consulted concerning the election of Bishop Berard of Penne, who was a monk of San Liberatore alla Maiella.<sup>189</sup> Despite these clear links, however, and Leo's probable origins in the Marsia, information concerning Abruzzese events is scarce in the Montecassino chronicle and was recorded only when the events impacted upon the abbey and its lands.<sup>190</sup> Thus Leo recorded a *placitum* of Count Trasmund III, as it concerned the land of San Liberatore alla Maiella, and Emperor Henry II's censure in 1022 of the Attonid brothers, Atto and Landulf, for usurpation of Montecassino properties.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, as discussed above, Leo provided important detail concerning Trasmund III's attack on Frederick of Lorraine, the papal chancellor, in 1054 and Frederick's subsequent campaign to gain revenge.<sup>192</sup> This episode was of interest to Leo as Frederick, in the years between Trasmund's transgression and his election as pope, was abbot of Montecassino. Leo was equally uninterested in the Norman invasion of Abruzzo, recording only that Robert of Loritello had been involved with Desiderius of Montecassino in reforming the abbey of Santa Maria di Tremiti in 1071.<sup>193</sup> Ultimately, despite the important connections that the abbey of Montecassino maintained with Abruzzo, the Montecassino chronicle showed little interest in Abruzzese affairs.

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<sup>187</sup> *Chron Carp*, Pio, p. 37; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868.

<sup>188</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 865. See *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.25, p. 392.

<sup>189</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1464.

<sup>190</sup> As Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 111 has highlighted, Montecassino's strongest links in greater Abruzzo region were with counts of Marsia. See also Howe, *Church reform and social change in eleventh-century Italy*, p. 133.

<sup>191</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.52, p. 264. *Heinrici II. Diplomata*, eds H. Bresslau, et al., *MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 3 (Hanover, 1900-3), n. 465 = *I placiti*, n. 310.

<sup>192</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.85, pp. 333-5.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, III.25, p. 392.

## Conclusion

The scarcity of information available within the traditional narrative sources for medieval southern Italy concerning Abruzzese events emphasises the importance of Abruzzese sources, such as the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente, discussed in chapters 1 and 2, and the chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis*. The chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo was composed in the late-twelfth century, following a period in which its author, Alexander, had been closely involved in the abbey's administration. The concerns of the abbey during this period were dominated by territorial conflicts with the local aristocracy, particularly the Bernardi lords of Brittoli, and disputes over monastic liberty with Bishop Oderisius of Penne. The support of the Sicilian royal family and the papacy were central to the abbey's prosperity and liberty during this period. Alexander's chronicle-cartulary was unlikely to have been intended for habitual administration but instead was primarily composed as an historical and polemic work designed to emphasise San Bartholomeo's liberty from aristocratic and episcopal domination. Furthermore, considering Alexander's close association with Abbot Bohemond, who had been rejected by the monks of San Bartholomeo, the chronicle-cartulary was probably intended to restore Alexander's standing within the community. Alexander's intentions and ideology influenced his historical accounts and, having falsely established Bernard, son of Liudinus, founder of San Bartholomeo, as the paradigmatic pious patron and protector of monastic liberties, Alexander portrayed Bernard's descendants in a wholly negative fashion. Conversely, the new Norman powers, particularly Hugh Malmouzet, were exalted as divinely authorised liberators and their relations with the abbey were presented almost exclusively positively. This simplistic dichotomy belied and concealed the political accommodation that the Bernardi clan had developed with the new Normans authorities, as will be discussed further in chapter 7.

The relationship between the Bernardi clan and the new Norman lords of Abruzzo is also illuminated by the *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis* although, as discussed above, this text was intended primarily as a propaganda tract, composed in the 1070s or 1080s, to support the bishop of Penne's claims to the city of Penne. Thus the account of the foundation of San Clemente in the *Libellus querulus* argued that Penne was granted to the bishop by imperial decree, while the account of Pope Stephen IX's deposition of Bishop Berard of Penne asserted that the church of Penne regained the city by papal judgement. Fundamentally, the various episodes presented in the narrative of *Libellus querulus* were presented to contextualise the charter appended to the tract, which purported to document the sale of the properties in Penne of Trasmund and Bernard, of the Bernardi clan, to Bishop John of Penne, which the brothers had reneged upon. With an understanding of this central thesis, the *Libellus querulus* can be utilised as an important and near-contemporary historical source for the Norman invasion of Abruzzo and, most importantly, for the analysis of the new political associations that the local aristocracy and the invading Normans created during the establishment of the first Norman lordships in Abruzzo, as will be discussed further in chapters 5 and 7.

## Chapter 4

### Imperial authority, comital power and aristocratic autonomy in Abruzzo, c.950-c.1060

#### Introduction

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, southern Italy during the tenth and eleventh was a politically, culturally and religiously divided region.<sup>1</sup> Although the western and eastern empires claimed dominion over much of the Italian peninsula, their authority in the region was limited and insecure. Byzantine authority was enhanced during the time of the *catepans* Basil Mesardonites and Basil Boiannes in the early-eleventh century and the German emperors, Henry II and Conrad II, intervened in Capuan affairs in the 1020s and 1030s. Factionalism and Muslim invasions, however, pre-occupied Byzantium from the middle of the eleventh century, while the minority of Henry IV and his subsequent conflict with Pope Gregory VII relegated south Italy to a minor interest for the German monarchy. Section 2 of this chapter will analyse the extent of German imperial authority in Abruzzo and the increasing influence of the papacy in the region. During this period southern Italy as a whole also experienced a significant disintegration of centralised power. Following revolts in Palermo in the early-eleventh century, the authority of the Sicilian emirs collapsed, the citizens of Benevento increasingly rejected the authority of the local princes and the Apulian aristocracy capitalised on Byzantine difficulties by asserting their autonomy. Section 3 and 4 of this chapter will examine this historical trend in Abruzzo by investigating the nature and extent of Attonid comital authority in Abruzzo and the development of aristocratic autonomy before the Norman invasion. These developments and the political divisions they caused were

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview, see Graham A. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the tenth century', in *The new Cambridge medieval history III, c.900-c.1024*, ed., Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 624-645 and Loud, 'Southern Italy in the eleventh century', pp. 94-119.



exploited by the Norman invaders of Abruzzo, as elsewhere in southern Italy, as will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

### 1. The Attonid family

The Attonid kin-group originated with Atto I, son of Atto, who was count of Chieti by 957.<sup>2</sup> Atto I was most likely installed by Pandulf Ironhead, prince of Benevento, duke of Spoleto and prince of Salerno and was documented in Pandulf's entourage at Bari in 968.<sup>3</sup> Atto I was documented dispensing justice in the counties of Chieti, Penne and *Aprutium* and had connections with the bishops of these areas and the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria.<sup>4</sup> Atto's meteoric rise was matched and exceeded by his son, Trasmund, who after a career in Abruzzo with his father ingratiated himself with Emperor Otto II during the 970s and was installed as duke of Spoleto following the death of Pandulf in the 982.<sup>5</sup> Trasmund I died before the end of the decade, pre-deceasing his father, and the family failed to regain the office of duke of Spoleto, yet were firmly installed in Abruzzo by the time of Count Atto I's death sometime after 995.<sup>6</sup> Trasmund II, son of Duke Trasmund, ruled alongside his father and grandfather during the final decades of the century and was documented as count until 1016.<sup>7</sup> Trasmund's brother, Atto III, was documented leading imperial forces against Muslim incursions in Apulia in 991.<sup>8</sup> The sons of Trasmund II – Atto IV and Landulf – founded two distinct lineages but internecine conflict was avoided. Atto and Landulf were both chastised by Emperor Henry II in 1022 for usurping properties of the abbey of Montecassino in the county of Termoli.<sup>9</sup> Ten

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<sup>2</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 140v.

<sup>3</sup> *I placiti*, n. 160. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 611.

<sup>4</sup> *I placiti*, n. 160, 174, 179, 182, 183, 185, 191, 197, 205. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 607-11.

<sup>5</sup> *I placiti*, n. 162, 182, 184. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 613.

<sup>6</sup> *I placiti*, n. 222. The duchy of Spoleto became associated with the march of Tuscany after Trasmund's death.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 193. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 614-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Rerum in Regno Neapolitano gestarum breve chronicon*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores 5* (Hanover, 1844), pp. 51-63, p. 56 = William J. Churchill, 'The *annales Barenses* and the *annales Lupi Protospatharii*. Critical edition and commentary' (Unpublished Ph.d thesis, University of Toronto, 1979). p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> *I placiti*, n. 310 = *Heinrici II. Diplomata*, eds H. Bresslau, et al., n. 465.

years later, Atto IV described himself in a donation charter to the abbey of Santa Maria di Tremiti as 'lord of the whole county of Termoli', though this was probably an egotistical exaggeration.<sup>10</sup> Atto's son, Count Trasmund III, continued to control and administer the comital lands, alongside his cousin, Trasmund IV, son of Landulf, from the 1030s until the defeat of the Attonid forces by Robert of Loritello at the battle of Ortona in 1076.<sup>11</sup> Trasmund III's last documented actions, three donations to the abbeys of Farfa and Montecassino and the bishop of Chieti in 1085-6, marked the end of more than 130 years of Attonids domination in Abruzzo.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. Imperial influence in Abruzzo in the tenth and eleventh centuries

The Attonid family, through the elevation of Trasmund to the office of duke of Spoleto, profited from the resurrection of the imperial title by the Ottonian kings of Germany and their usurpation of the kingdom of Italy in 951. This policy was intended to usher in a new wave of imperial control over the Italian peninsula and incorporate the region's leaders, such as the Attonid counts, into a new administration.<sup>13</sup> In practice, however, although the Ottonians spent much time in Italy during the late-tenth century, the various Attonid counts of the later tenth and eleventh centuries had only sporadic and fleeting contact with the emperors or their emissaries.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the machinations of the various Lombard princes and dukes of southern Italy, as well as the challenges of Muslim raiders and Byzantine *catepans*, was of secondary importance to the eleventh-century emperors, whose expeditions to Italy were

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<sup>10</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 13, 'dominator toto comitatus Termolensis'. On Attonid interests in Termoli, see Jean-Marie Martin, 'La Pouille et les Abruzzes (XIe-début du XIIIe siècle)', in *Contributi per una storia dell'Abruzzo adriatico nel medioevo*, eds Luigi Pellegrini and Roberto Paciocco (Chieti, 1992), pp. 71-87, pp. 77-80 and Roscini, 'Il Monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024', p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> A brief, though compromised, account of the actions of Trasmund III is available in Rivera, 'Le conquiste dei primi Normanni in Teate, Penne, Apruzzo e Valva', pp. 7-10.

<sup>12</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1091 = *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Balzani, vol. 2, p. 170; Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 191 = *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.56, p. 437; Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 9 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 8.

<sup>13</sup> See Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the early Middle Ages, c. 800-1056* (London, 1991), pp. 148-180.

<sup>14</sup> On the Ottonians and southern Italy, see Graham A. Loud, 'Southern Italy and the eastern and western empires, c.900-1050', *Journal of medieval history* 38 (2012), pp. 1-19.

primarily launched to acquire the imperial crown at Rome. Those emperors that ventured further south than Rome, such as Henry II in 1022 and Conrad II in 1038, showed a limited interest in Abruzzo and their actions had a short-lived impact on southern Italy.

### 2.1. The German emperors in Abruzzo

The Attonid counts often utilised these intermittent expeditions to ingratiate themselves with the emperors to gain good favour and patronage. As mentioned, Trasmund I exploited the occasion of Otto II's campaign in Italy in the 982 to secure his elevation to the office of duke of Spoleto, while his father continued to exercise the office of count. Trasmund exercised one of the traditional responsibilities of the duke by directing operations against the Muslim invaders of Apulia. The Barese chronicle of the so-called 'Lupus Protospatharius' recorded that Trasmund's son, Atto, supported by a Barese force, defeated a Muslim force at Taranto in 991.<sup>15</sup> The premature death of Trasmund I seems to have precluded him from permanently extending the power of his family over the duchy or passing his ducal title to one of his sons but the family had cemented their control over Abruzzo and expanded their interests further south. The Attonids, however, were not always gifted with imperial favour. During Henry II's campaign into southern Italy in 1022, Count Atto IV and his brother Landulf were chastised by the emperor, in front of a distinguished court of bishops and counts, for usurping the lands of the abbey of Montecassino.<sup>16</sup> These lands, which Henry confiscated from the brothers and returned to the abbey, measured 4,000 *modia* and were situated in the county of Termoli. Similarly, at the same time the brothers' uncle, Hildebrand, was forced by

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<sup>15</sup> *Rerum in Regno Neapolitano gestarum breve chronicon*, ed. Pertz, p. 56 = Churchill, 'The *annales Barenses* and the *annales Lupi Protospatharii*', p. 131. Also Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 613 n. 178.

<sup>16</sup> *I placiti*, n. 310 = *Heinrici II. Diplomata*, eds Bresslau, et al., n. 465.

the imperial chancellor, Teoderic, to surrender lands in Penne that he had usurped from Montecassino.<sup>17</sup>

These incidents succinctly expressed the power that the emperors could wield when they took direct action in Italy but conversely show how the Attonids had successfully assumed control over a large section of Termoli without sanction. Atto IV's claim in a charter of 1032 to be 'lord of the whole county of Termoli' further demonstrated the impotence of the Henry's decree. Conrad II took an active interest in the affairs of southern Italy but there is no evidence to show that his expedition of 1038 travelled through Abruzzo or that he encountered the Attonids. Conrad's son, Henry III, showed a similar interest in Italy but again his contacts with the Attonids were either non-existent or undocumented.<sup>18</sup> Amatus of Montecassino, however, claimed that imperial influence could still reach Abruzzo by the mid-eleventh century. In recounting the quarrels of the Attonid brothers, Atto V and Trasmund III, which began with Trasmund's imprisonment of his younger brother, Amatus claimed that Trasmund released his brother 'by the command of the emperor'.<sup>19</sup> This claim may have been a literary trope employed by Amatus but, if true, this intercession was of limited success as, according to Amatus, Trasmund later had his brother assassinated.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.2. Imperial *missi* in Abruzzo

Outside these intermittent personal interventions by the emperors in Abruzzo, instances of imperial influence over the affairs of Abruzzo, and particularly its judicial processes, were limited. In the northern regions of the kingdom of Italy in this period, *placita* – judicial inquiries – were often presided over by imperial emissaries, called *missi*, or imperial

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 311 = Raffaello Volpini, 'Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae' (secc. IX-XI): Primi contributi per un nuovo censimento', *Contributi dell'istituto de storia medioevale* 3 (1975), pp. 245-461, n. 22. See Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024', p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Henry III did issue a confirmation charter to San Giovanni in Venere, see below, n. 162.

<sup>19</sup> *Amatus*, pp.332-3, 'par le comandement de lo Impereor'.

<sup>20</sup> In fact, Atto likely died of illness, see *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 66. See above, p. 149.

judges, usually bearing the title *iudex sacri palatii*.<sup>21</sup> Many of these officials were local ecclesiastics or counts granted imperial titles but some were dispatched from the imperial court. In Abruzzo during the latter half of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the influence of imperial *missi* was almost non-existent. In 981, Count Trasmund II, son of the future Duke Trasmund, was joined in presiding over a *placitum*, held in the county of Penne, by Itto 'missus domini Ottonis imperatoris'.<sup>22</sup> This occurrence, however, may be seen as extraordinary as the date of the *placitum*, October 981, coincided with Otto II's campaign into southern Italy. Itto's mission was probably related to an attempt by Otto to expand imperial control in southern Italy during his expedition rather than an example of systematic use of imperial *missi* in Abruzzo.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the intervention of Chancellor Teoderic in Penne in 1022 was linked to Henry II's campaign in southern Italy and the *placitum* of Count *Sichebaldus* held in Teramo was probably connected to Henry III's 1055 campaign in Italy.<sup>24</sup> Outside of the occasions of imperial campaigns, *placita* continued to be dated with imperial regnal years and followed established formulas but the intervention of imperial *missi* was rare. Duke Hugh of Tuscany, having been invested with the duchy of Spoleto, briefly took an interest in the judicial proceedings of Abruzzo, dispatching two *missi* who held *placita* in Teramo and Valva in 989 and 995, respectively.<sup>25</sup> Yet this interest was fleeting. The next *missus* documented was Count Gerard of Ascoli, who presided over a *placitum* held in Grasciano in Teramo in July 1057.<sup>26</sup> Gerard, however, was the *missus* of Pope Victor II and, though Victor had been granted control of the duchy of Spoleto by Henry III before his death, this *placitum* demonstrated the emergent papal power as much as imperial authority. This absence of imperial authority in the

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<sup>21</sup> For examples, see Sutherland's list of officials associated with the *placita* of the 970s, Jon N. Sutherland, 'Aspects of continuity and change in the Italian *placitum*, 962-72', *Speculum* 2 (1976), pp. 89-118, table n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *I placiti*, n. 193.

<sup>23</sup> Itto had also been involved with Otto II's privilege to San Clemente, issued at Rome in 967, *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 132v-133v = *Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. Sickel, n. 353.

<sup>24</sup> *I placiti*, n. 311 = Volpini, 'Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae' (secc. IX-XI)', n. 22. Teoderic used the idiosyncratic titles of 'consiliarius domni imperatoris' and 'logotheta Italicus', *Cart. Teramana*, n. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *I placiti*, n. 209, 222

<sup>26</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 20. Though Savini's date of July 1058 is incorrect.

region enabled the Attonid counts to operate illegally when expedient, for example when they usurped the properties of Montecassino before 1022, but also deprived the counts of an important buttress for their own authority in the face of an increasingly aggressive lesser aristocracy.

### 2.3. Papal encroachment into Abruzzo

The papacy of the mid-eleventh century, buoyed by a culture of intellectual revival and freed, at least partly, from the machinations of Roman aristocrats by imperial support, aimed to incorporate sections of Abruzzo into the patrimony of Saint Peter. The unique composition of the Abruzzese church, being composed of a patchwork of private churches, secular-controlled bishoprics and powerful monasteries, and lacking a unifying archbishop, ensured that ecclesiastical opposition to papal expansion was limited.<sup>27</sup> The Attonid counts seem to have proffered little opposition. Both the *Libellus querulus de miseriis ecclesiae Pennensis* and the Montecassino chronicle claimed that Trasmund III had captured and imprisoned Frederick of Lorraine, the future Pope Stephen IX, after Frederick had been shipwrecked on the Abruzzese coast while returning from a papal legation to Constantinople in the 1054.<sup>28</sup> Frederick was soon released, having been plundered of his goods and clothes, and though the *Libellus* described this episode as an act of brigandage, Trasmund may have been displaying an anti-papal streak. Regardless of Trasmund's motives, however, his belligerence was short-lived. The Montecassino chronicle claimed that Frederick persuaded Pope Victor II to impose excommunication upon Trasmund, after which the count repented, returned what he had stolen and was given absolution.<sup>29</sup> The *Libellus querulus* further claimed that Frederick, after his election as Pope Stephen IX in 1057, led an army into Abruzzo 'to obliterate Trasmund,

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<sup>27</sup> For an analysis of Abruzzo's unique ecclesiastical structures during the central Middle Ages, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 785-849.

<sup>28</sup> *Libellus querulus*, pp. 1461-7, p. 1463. *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.85, p. 334

<sup>29</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.86, p.345.

together with his progeny from the land' and forced the count's submission.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, beyond this moment of dissension, the counts seem to have placidly accepted the popes increasing power. In 1056, Pope Victor II had himself presided over a *placitum* in the northern Abruzzese *castellum* of *Vitice*.<sup>31</sup> The witnesses to this *placitum* included Trasmund IV, son of Landulf, and Count Trasmund III. In subscribing the charter, Trasmund III titled himself *comes Teatinus*, seemingly implicitly renouncing his comital rights over *Aprutium*. Trasmund IV and his cousin, Atto, who was presumably the *Acto filio Actoni* listed, were also witness to the *placitum* held by Count Gerard of Ascoli in 1057. In this charter, Gerard called himself 'count of the counties of Ascoli and *Aprutium*' and neither Trasmund nor Atto was afforded a comital title.<sup>32</sup> The priority of Count Gerard in relation to the Attonid counts demonstrated how the northern region of Abruzzo had been effectively removed from the Attonids' authority.

### 3. The extent of Attonid comital power

#### 3.1. Attonid military power

At certain times the Attonid counts could utilise their traditional responsibilities as counts to greatly enforce their powers. The expedition of Atto III to Apulia in 991, discussed above, to resist the incursions of Muslims raiders surely brought Atto and his family a great deal of prestige. The chronicler 'Lupus Protospatharius' also seemed to imply that Atto was accepted as temporary military leader by the native Barese forces.<sup>33</sup> The Montecassino chronicle also recorded that Trasmund II, whom it titles *comes et marchio*, gathered a army in 993 and invaded Capua to avenge the murder of the recently elevated Prince Landenulf by the rebellious group of Capuans.<sup>34</sup> Trasmund's campaign resulted in the besieging of the city of Capua for fifteen days and the pillaging of the surrounding area and, ultimately, the military

<sup>30</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463, 'ut comitem Trasmundum cum sua progenie deleteret de terra'.

<sup>31</sup> *I placiti*, n. 403.

<sup>32</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 20, 'comes de comitatu asculano et aprutiensi'.

<sup>33</sup> *Rerum in Regno Neapolitano gestarum breve chronicon*, ed. Pertz, p 56, 'fecit bellum Asto Comes cum Sarracenis in Tarento, et ibi cecidit ille cum multis Baresibus'

<sup>34</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.10, p. 188. Landenulf had been involved in a dynastic struggle.

intervention of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany. This episode demonstrated the military power that the Attonids could wield but also showed how this military responsibility could be utilised for political goals as Trasmund's army contained Rainald II and Oderisius I, the counts of Marsia.<sup>35</sup> The Marsian counts and the Attonids frequently disputed jurisdictional control over their shared borderlands in Valva but, in this instance, Trasmund could enforce his superiority over his rivals. Although these rights to demand military service and assume leadership of military expeditions were rarely exercised by the Attonids, it is clear their privileges in this field were widely recognised, even after their political power waned significantly in the eleventh century. William of Apulia claimed that Trasmund III and his brother Atto IV were present at the battle of Civitate in 1053 and William identified them as part of the leadership of the 'Italians'.<sup>36</sup> At the battle of Ortona in 1076, the Attonid count, Trasmund IV, according to the account supplied by Amatus of Montecassino, was able to raise an army of ten thousand and call on the support of numerous important churchmen such as Hugh, bishop of Camerino, and John, bishop of Penne. Amatus further claimed, probably exaggerating, that the Normans captured four thousand horses. This campaign marked the end of Attonid military power in the region and while their military campaigns had brought the family prestige during the eleventh century, the infrequent nature of these campaigns was not enough to sufficiently bolster their political authority.

### **3.2. Attonid economic power**

During their years of ascendancy, the Attonids could depend on important economic resources. A confirmation charter obtained by the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere from Henry III 1047 claimed that Trasmund II, founder of the abbey, had been able to endow the abbey with 12,000 *modia* of land, situated in a vast tract between the rivers Sangro and

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<sup>35</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 689.

<sup>36</sup> William of Apulia, p. 140.



Olivello.<sup>37</sup> In 1017 Trasmund II's sons, Atto IV and Landulf were able to donate lands in Chieti to the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria measured at 1,500 *modia*.<sup>38</sup> The counts were also able to profit from their comital right to taxation. Henry III's 1047 charter to San Giovanni in Venere described how the counts had controlled the revenues of the *portus* of the Sangro and Ortona, and the *transitorium* between the Pescara and Aterno.<sup>39</sup> The counts were also not above exploiting monastic lands for personal profit. John Berard, author of the San Clemente chronicle, claimed that 2,500 *modia* granted to Atto I in 993 by a precarial tenancy was 'irretrievably alienated'.<sup>40</sup> Berard also claimed that Trasmund II imposed his own nominee, Gisibert, as abbot in 997 to appropriate the abbey's economic resources.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Henry II's chastisement of Count Atto and Landulf in 1022 was a response to the brothers' usurpation of 4,000 *modia* of land in the county of Termoli from the abbey of Montecassino.<sup>42</sup> As the eleventh century progressed, the size of the Attonids' donations to ecclesiastical institutions declined sharply, a sign of the counts' decreasing power. Their territorial interests, however, remained extensive until the deprivations visited upon them by the Norman invaders. Trasmund III's donations of 1085-6 to the abbeys of Montecassino and Farfa and the bishop of Chieti totalled 24,000 *modia*, though many of these properties had already come under Norman control.<sup>43</sup>

### 3.3. Attonid judicial power

<sup>37</sup> *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, eds Bresslau and Kehr, n. 185. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 689.

Trasmund II had re-established the abbey in 1015, following the original foundation in 973 by his father Trasmund I.

<sup>38</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 175v-176r.

<sup>39</sup> *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, eds Bresslau and Kehr, n. 185.

<sup>40</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, 177v. See Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un'abbazia', pp. 11-12.

<sup>41</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 836. The nature of the Attonid relationship with San Clemente is disputed by Roscini Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un'abbazia', p. 16 and Laurent Feller, 'Pouvoir et société dans les Abruzzes autour de l'an mil: aristocratie, incastellamento, appropriation des justices (960-1035)', *Bulletino dell'istituto italiano per il medio evo e archivio Muratoriano* 94 (1988), pp. 1-72.

<sup>42</sup> *I placiti*, n. 310 = *Heinrici II. Diplomata*, eds Bresslau, et al., n. 465.

<sup>43</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 9 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 8; *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1091; Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 191.

The military prowess of the Attonids was infrequently exercised, while the extensive wealth of the family was rarely documented fully, yet analysis of their political power and jurisdictional authority is possible through examination of the various *placita* convoked in Abruzzo during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The term *placitum* was the general name ascribed to a range of judicial inquiries held mainly by imperial officials.<sup>44</sup> This practice had precedence in Roman law but was crystallised as a form of conflict resolution in Francia during the course of the seventh century.<sup>45</sup> Although not always conclusive or regular, the *placita* provided an important forum for the settlements of disputes and the recognition of imperial or comital power. Overwhelmingly concerning property disputes or confirmations, the *placita* in Italy became more common during the latter half of the tenth century, concomitant with the imposition and expansion of Ottonian rule over the peninsula. As Jon Sutherland has shown, all the *placita* held during this half century were presided over by imperial appointees, mostly imperial *missi* and counts, and were initiated by plaintiffs, mostly churchmen, with prior associations with the imperial system.<sup>46</sup> These churchmen often appeared with secular advocates and sometimes, though rarely, judicial combat was offered. Traditionally, counts had played a secondary role in the decisions of *placita*. In the ninth century in Italy, the majority of *placita* held were presided over by imperial *missi*.<sup>47</sup> By the mid-tenth century in Abruzzo, however, the counts had gained almost exclusive rights to preside over *placita*.

The Attonid counts themselves, or their appointed officials, presided over most of the *placita* held in Abruzzo between 969 and 995.<sup>48</sup> These courts often had clear and definitive outcomes. In 975, Atto I and his son Atto II held a *placitum* in Chieti at the behest of Abbot

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<sup>44</sup> Francis Estey, 'The meaning of *placitum* and *mallum* in the capitularies', *Speculum* 22 (1947), pp. 435-9.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Fouracre, 'Placita and the settlement of disputes in later Merovingian Francia', in *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe*, ed., Wendy Davies (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 23-44,

<sup>46</sup> Sutherland, 'Aspects of continuity and change', p. 89. *Placitum* most commonly concerned: litigation concerning a property dispute; the confirmation of a property holding; the confirmation of an earlier commercial transaction or property agreement.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, table n. 1.

<sup>48</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 688.

Adam of San Clemente.<sup>49</sup> Also present at the proceedings were a large selection of important nobles including viscounts and gastalds from both Penne and Chieti and the bishop of Penne. Before this assembly, Adam complained that a certain Lupo, son of Ludegerus, had usurped an assortment of the abbey's lands near the River Orta.<sup>50</sup> Lupo, being unable to produce evidence to contradict the abbot's claims, was duly stripped of the possessions in question, which were returned to the abbey.<sup>51</sup> This swift and decisive outcome suggests that the presiding counts wielded significant political power and that Lupo ultimately respected their jurisdictional authority. Not all the *placita*, however, held by the Attonid counts were this straightforward. In 981, Atto I presided over a *placitum* held in Penne to settle a dispute between Abbot Adam of San Clemente and a certain Aczo, son of Peter, who had refused to honour the terms of a contract between himself and the abbot.<sup>52</sup> Aczo accepted the accusations of the Abbot and Atto ordered him to resolve the terms of the contract within thirty days. Aczo, however, ignored this order, resulting in the distraint of his associate Wido, son of Giso, who had given assurances for Aczo and who was obliged to pay Aczo's fine.<sup>53</sup> This resulted in Atto appointing a gastald, Adam, to confiscate the properties of the still recalcitrant Aczo to compensate both Wido and the abbey of San Clemente. Though the details of the *placitum* do not stipulate the method of this confiscation, Aczo's continued refusal to accept the decisions of the court would suggest that Adam was appointed to enforce the terms militarily. Ultimately, this dispute was resolved by the intervention of Atto I but Aczo's disregard for the court's ruling and the methods utilised by Atto suggest that the count's jurisdictional authority was not always placidly recognised.

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<sup>49</sup> *I placiti*, n. 174 = Liber instrumentorum, fols. 143v-144r.

<sup>50</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 678.

<sup>51</sup> Though Lupo was later accused of persecuting the abbey further, *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 831-2. For Lupo, see above, p. 77.

<sup>52</sup> *I placiti*, n. 191 = Liber instrumentorum, fols. 155v-156r. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 675-7.

<sup>53</sup> Wido was labelled a 'fideiussor', *I placiti*, n. 191.

The frequency of *placita* during the latter quarter of the tenth century suggests that the Attonids had established a functioning, if challengeable, jurisdictional administration. As the eleventh century progressed, however, Attonid-controlled *placita* and examples of Attonid judicial power became increasingly rare.<sup>54</sup> While the *placitum* continued to function effectively in northern Italy as a function of comital authority and were also adapted to meet political and social changes, records of Attonid *placita* in Abruzzo declined sharply.<sup>55</sup> Count Trasmund II and Landulf presided over a *placitum* in Chieti in 1014, the Montecassino chronicle recorded that Trasmund III held a *placitum*, possibly in the 1020s, concerning the lands of San Liberatore alla Maiella and Cono, a gastald of Atto IV, presided over a *placitum* in Chieti in 1034.<sup>56</sup> This decrease of comital jurisdiction was concomitant with the emergence of various lesser aristocratic families, who will be discussed below, who pursued vigorous expansionist policies via increasingly violent means. Dynastic conflicts also affected the unity of the Attonid kin-group.<sup>57</sup> The emergence of two distinct lineages, following in descent from the brothers Landulf and Atto IV, does not seem to have created tension. As Amatus of Montecassino claimed, however, the Atto V and Trasmund III succumbed to internecine, and possibly violent, rivalry.<sup>58</sup> These decades also witnessed the overall contraction of the Attonids' area of influence. The intervention of Henry II in 1022 and his confiscation of Attonid lands in the county of Termini truncated the family's ambitions to expand southward. Furthermore, the increased vigour of papal infringement into the northern regions of Abruzzo detached the area from Attonid control. The operations of Count Gerard of Ascoli on behalf of Pope Victor II

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<sup>54</sup> See Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', p. 52 and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 691.

<sup>55</sup> On the development of the *placitum* in the north, see Chris Wickham, 'Justice in the kingdom of Italy in the eleventh century', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (sec. IX-XI)* (Spoleto, 1997), pp. 179-255, and François Bougard, "'Falsum falsorum iudicium consilium": l'écrit et la justice en Italie centro-septentrionale au XIe siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 155 (1997), pp. 299-314,

<sup>56</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, App. II, n. 1; *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.52, p. 264; Volpini, 'Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae' (secc. IX-XI): Primi contributi per un nuovo censimento', pp. 397-400.

<sup>57</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 624.

<sup>58</sup> *Amatus*, pp. 332-4.

and the subordination of the counts in the 1057 *placitum* exemplified this process.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, within the core territories of the Attonids, their inability to provide sufficient comital justice resulted in others attempting to mediate disputes and appropriate traditional comital jurisdictional rights. The first private *placitum* was held in the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria in 1057 and presided over by San Clemente's provost.<sup>60</sup> Persecuted ecclesiastical houses also began to turn away from the traditional routes of comital justice and appeal to the papacy for assistance, such as San Clemente's 1061 petition to Pope Alexander II concerning the deprivations of the Sansoneschi.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4. The lesser aristocracy

The decline of comital authority in Abruzzo during the eleventh century was exacerbated by the parallel rise of a number of aggressive kin-groups, who emerged from the lesser nobility of Abruzzo and created patrimonies through unorthodox methods and often by violence. The process of *incastellamento*, by which dispersed and unfortified settlements were reorganised, for both economic and military reasons, into nucleated, fortified villages, had begun in Abruzzo by the late-tenth century.<sup>62</sup> The impact of *incastellamento* led to a deficit of available land and restrictions in social mobility.<sup>63</sup> Without the availability of comital patronage and free from the threat of comital jurisdiction, the lesser aristocracy of Abruzzo resorted to increased militarisation and political independence during the eleventh century. This process led to notable instances of private wars and usurpation of ecclesiastical

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<sup>59</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 20.

<sup>60</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 44v. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 705 and Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 155.

<sup>61</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 288r-288v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 862-3.

<sup>62</sup> On the process of *incastellamento*, see Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*. On *incastellamento* in Abruzzo, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 211-306, Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', and Feller, 'L'Incastellamento inachevé des Abruzzes', pp. 121-36.

<sup>63</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 584.

properties and irrevocably changed the political landscape of Abruzzo in the years before the Norman invasion.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.1. The Tebaldi

Some of the emergent families of this period increased their power with seemingly legal methods, though the evidence for their acquisitions survives only in charters and, as such, may present an idealised version of events. One such family was the Tebaldi, centred on the brothers Tebald and Winisus and their respective sons. This family originated from humble roots to become a significant economic and military force in the Caramanico valley, mostly through land purchases.<sup>65</sup> In 989, Tebald and Winisus bought 200 *modia* of land in Scanglari from Lupo, son of Wido, a member of another important local family, the Luponeli, for the price of 400 *solidos*.<sup>66</sup> Four years later, the same brothers purchased 300 *modia* in the same area from Count Tresidio, a local petty magnate who had forged a seemingly autonomous lordship, appropriated a comital title and begun usurping jurisdictional rights in the area.<sup>67</sup> The roots of the family's wealth and political connections are unknown but they evidently increased in the following decades. In 1021, Winisus's eldest son, Dodo, was able to purchase the *castellum* of Sant'Elia, with 260 *modia* of land, for 600 *solidos*.<sup>68</sup> This purchase placed the family in control of an important strategic centre in the valley.

By the 1030s, the family had come to control many of the other *castella* of the valley.<sup>69</sup> The *castella* were listed in a charter of 1038, which recorded how the family

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<sup>64</sup> Further to the examples mentioned below, a 1025 census of Montecassino properties in Abruzzo indicated a trend for land usurpation and refusal to pay rents, Inguanez, 'Elenco di censi nell'Abruzzo e nel Molise', pp. 25-27. See also Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 692.

<sup>65</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 591-2

<sup>66</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 43v.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* See Feller, 'Pouvoir et société', pp. 11-24 and Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un'abbazia', pp. 17-21

<sup>68</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 44r.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 44r.

undertook a reorganisation and probable hierarchal clarification in that year.<sup>70</sup> Dodo, son of Winisus, purchased from his uncle, Tebald, and his cousin their portions of the *castella* of Luco, Paterno and Piczerico. Dodo was presumably already in possession of a portion of these *castella*. The strongholds came with associated lands of 4,000 *modia* in Chieti and Valva, indicating the extent of the possessions of what was a junior branch of the family. Furthermore, Dodo was able to raise the significant sum of 8,000 *solidos* for the purchase. This organisation was finalised in 1060 when the three sons of Tebald yielded all their possessions in Luco, Paterno and Piczerico to Dodo and his brother Rainald.<sup>71</sup> Both this charter and that of 1038 included numerous conditions under which the transactions were to be completed and respected, such as an undertaking by Dodo not to alienate the lands he had acquired to enemies of his cousins. As such, Laurent Feller has seen in these charters a form of organisation whereby Dodo was recognised as the overlord of the family's lands.<sup>72</sup> As Feller has argued, this emergence of hierarchical organisation amongst this family was aimed at ensuring familial cordiality at a time when accessibility to legally available land was diminishing. Moreover, the implementation of this solution would suggest that an important problem, that of increasing conflict and confrontation within the family and against their neighbours, had arisen by the mid-eleventh century.

#### 4.2. The Teutoneschi

This process of territorial expansion based on a combination of legal commercial acquisitions and illegal, possibly violent, appropriations was repeated by an emergent family operating in *Aprutium*, the Teutoneschi.<sup>73</sup> This family concentrated their operations in the Vomano valley, west of the city of Teramo, and in particular profited from usurping lands from the bishops of *Aprutium*. The family probably originated from Rainerius, son of Teuto, who in

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<sup>70</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 591-2.

<sup>71</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 44v-45r.

<sup>72</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 592.

<sup>73</sup> This name was used contemporarily to describe the family. See, for example, *Cart. Teramana*, n. 49.

948 received more than 300 *modia* of land near Montorio in *Aprutium* from Bishop Landulf of *Aprutium* under a precarial tenancy.<sup>74</sup> Such contracts, agreed typically for three generations and at low annual rents, were easily exploitable and in 1026, Wibert, son of Teuto, a descendant of Rainerius included some of the lands rented from Bishop Landulf in his donation to Bishop Peter of Magliano.<sup>75</sup> Wibert's donation also documented the expanding wealth of the family as the endowed lands spread over a wide area of northern *Aprutium*, including the *castellum* of Goriano, and measured 1,000 *modia* in total. In the same year Wibert donated a collection of properties in Penne to the bishop of *Aprutium*, though the extent of this donation is unknown.<sup>76</sup> Three years later, Wibert's brothers, Peter and Teuto, also completed a donation to the bishop of *Aprutium* concerning lands south of the Vomano.<sup>77</sup> By the 1050s, the family had become an important part of the local political landscape. At some point in this decade, most likely 1055, a *missus* of Emperor Henry III, Count *Sichebaldus*, presided over a *placitum* in Caniano to decide on a dispute between Bishop Sicherius of *Aprutium* and the sons of Siolfus concerning goods in the north of the county.<sup>78</sup> Among the list of *boni homines* who co-presided with *Sichebaldus* were members of the Teutoneschi family. Another charter, which related a possibly associated agreement made between Peter, one of the sons of Siolfus, and Bishop Sicherius in 1050, was witnessed by Peter, son of Teuto and brother of Wibert and Teuto.<sup>79</sup>

One of the reasons for this expansion in wealth and power may be inferred from a document of the mid-1050s which was composed by the church of *Aprutium* to list the various properties it claimed the Teutoneschi had usurped.<sup>80</sup> The document accused Peter, Wibert, Teuto and two other brothers, Sifredus and Rainerius, of occupying a wide expanse of lands

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 51. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 594 n. 119.

<sup>75</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, App. n. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, App. n. 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 2.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 11.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, App. n. 4.



measuring 1,500 *modia*. Furthermore, the brothers were in control of a significant amount of *castella* in the region, with associated lands measuring 800 *modia*. While there is no indication that the bishop was able to reclaim the lands and *castella* that this document listed, the illegal expansionist methods of the Teutoneschi did not go unchallenged. In July 1056, Pope Victor II presided over a *placitum* in the *castellum* of *Vitice* which adjudicated over a grievance brought to it by Bishop Peter of *Aprutium* against Teuto and his sons.<sup>81</sup> Specifically, the bishop accused the family of acquiring *Vitice* itself ‘by illegal methods’.<sup>82</sup> The family had evidently already abandoned the *castellum*, presumably on the approach of the pope and his party, and despite the presence of the pope and Count Trasmund III none of the Teutoneschi appeared at the *placitum*. In their absence Bishop Peter was granted *Vitice* and the family was declared rebels.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Victor appointed a count, Gerard, to enforce the decisions of the *placitum* and seize certain properties of the Teutoneschi and the language of the charter suggests that military operations followed. The conduct of the ‘rebel’ family towards this *placitum* again illustrates how respect for the traditional jurisdictional rights of the counts, and the emperor’s officers, had diminished and violent conflict had become more common. Moreover, the family was not damaged by this reprimand and continued to operate successfully in the area into the twelfth century and maintained control of a selection of important *castella*.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4.3. The Bernardi

This increase in political independence and military conflict was not limited to emergent families. The Bernardi kin-group of southern Penne traced its roots from Bernard, son of Liudinus, the founder of the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto. The Carpineto chronicler, Alexander, identified this Bernard as ‘lord of all the county of Penne’, labelled him

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 6 = *I placiti*, n. 403.

<sup>82</sup> ‘malo ordine’.

<sup>83</sup> *I placiti*, n. 403, ‘in placito presentare rebelles fuerunt’.

<sup>84</sup> See *Cart. Teramana*, n. 10, 25, 49, App n. 10 and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 752.

'count' and claimed he was related to Bishop Landulf of Benevento, who he convinced to consecrate San Bartholomeo in the presence of the bishops of Penne, Chieti, Valva, *Aprutium* and Marsia.<sup>85</sup> As discussed in chapter 3, Alexander's clear prejudices left him prone to exaggeration but it is certain that Bernard was an important force in the region, donating lands in Loreto to San Vincenzo al Volturno in 983 and completing a large land swap totalling 1,000 *modia* with San Clemente at the turn of the century.<sup>86</sup> Bernard's relatives or descendants also founded the abbeys of San Vitale in Penne and Santa Maria di Picciano.<sup>87</sup> The family also profited from the decline in comital authority during the eleventh century. The Montecassino chronicle claimed that, at some point in the mid-1050s, 'Counts Trasmund and Bernard' pledged to defend the lands of the abbey in the counties of Chieti and Penne.<sup>88</sup> The chronicle identified this Trasmund with the Attonid count, Trasmund III, yet as Bernard was not a name used by the Attonid family, it is more likely that these men were Trasmund and Bernard of the Bernardi, brothers of Bishop Berard of Penne and much maligned by the *Libellus querulus*. The choice of the Bernardi brothers as guardians by Montecassino reflected their prestige in the area but also the increasing impotence of Attonid comital authority.

The position of the family was also enhanced by the election of Berard as bishop of Penne. This office not only brought rights over the episcopal demesne and courts but also empowered Berard with certain comital rights that Emperor Otto I had conferred upon the bishop of Penne in the tenth century.<sup>89</sup> It is unclear exactly what policies Berard exercised during his tenure as bishop and whether or not he acted exclusively for the benefit of his family. The *Libellus querulus* certainly viewed Berard, and particularly his methods, with

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<sup>85</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 13, 'totius comitatus Pennensis dominus'.

<sup>86</sup> *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 2, pp. 292-5. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 651. *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 836-7, described Bernard as 'nobilis et potentus virus Pinnensis'. Berard may have confused Bernard with his grandson, also a Bernard, son of Liudinus, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, pp. xxviii-xxix.

<sup>87</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. xlvi; Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, p. 211. See Feller, 'Pouvoir et société', p. 9.

<sup>88</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.86, p. 337.

<sup>89</sup> *Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. Sickel, n. 357. See Colucci, 'L'Abruzzo del sec. X in un diploma di Ottone I al vescovo di Penne', pp. 588-616.

disdain. The author claimed that this Berard 'had committed murders and his hands were full of blood' and that he was a 'warmonger' who had 'been stronger in arms than in divine matters'.<sup>90</sup> This condemnation may have been exaggerated but it is significant that whatever transgressions Berard had committed were punished not by the intervention of an Attonid count but by Pope Stephen IX who deposed Berard and, in conjunction with a distinguished party of ecclesiastics, including Desiderius of Montecassino, installed a monk of San Liberatore alla Maiella, John, as bishop.<sup>91</sup> Berard was pardoned, however, and, according to the *Libellus querulus*, granted control of the *castella* of Penne. Yet Pope Stephen's settlement was evidently not amenable to Berard's brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, who rejected the decision and violently opposed their brother. The *Libellus querulus* recounted that this conflict came to a head at a battle near *Farindola*, during which Berard was mortally wounded. On his deathbed, Berard promised all his properties to Bishop John but Berard's brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, were successful in usurping these lands and dividing the spoils.

This episode displayed succinctly how dynamic and aggressive the aristocratic families of the eleventh-century had become. Berard was content to use violent means to expand his influence, even possibly at the expense of his own family. Similarly, his brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, were not inhibited by the threat of an intervention by an Attonid count or an imperial official and were certainly not perturbed by the bishop's status as an imperially-empowered official. When a significant intercession was made, it was directed by the pope, though the new bishop's papal endorsement provided him with no more reverence in the eyes of Bernard and Trasmund. After the brother's capture at the battle of Ortona, Trasmund and Bernard pledged to return the properties they had usurped from their brother to Bishop John in return for funds to pay their ransom, only to renege on this promise when a politically

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<sup>90</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1463, 'Berardus, qui omicidia commissa habebat, et manus eius sanguine plenae erant', 'Berardus et belligerator et magis valebat in armis quam in divinis'.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1464.

expedient settlement with the new Norman lords of Abruzzo became available.<sup>92</sup> Without the threat of punishment from a higher power the Bernardi family were able to expand their patrimony, usually at the expense of the bishop of Penne, through violent and illegal operations.

#### 4.4. The Sansoneschi

The Sansoneschi family, who operated in western Chieti and Valva, epitomised the dynamic kin-groups that utilised the increasing political vacuum of the eleventh century to advance their territorial goals through usurpations and aggressive politicking. This family also presents an important case study of the Abruzzese aristocracy as its members are consistently and relatively generously documented from the end of the ninth century to the twelfth. Indeed, the flexible loyalties and canny political strategies of this kin-group enabled its members to operate equally successfully within the relatively regimented world of the ninth and tenth centuries, the upheavals caused by the Normans incursions of the later eleventh century and the variable political climate of the early-twelfth century. The lineage originated from Sanso, who operated in the county of Valva, held the title of gastald and officiated over at least one *placitum* in the region in 873/4.<sup>93</sup> Sanso's position as imperial official does not seem to have been inherited by his descendants. By the mid-tenth century, the family had already begun a policy of aggressive expansionism to further their prospects. The Sansoneschi came to control much of the Peligna valley, including the strategically important fortress of Prezza, and expanded onto the Navelli plain to the north.<sup>94</sup> This expansion undoubtedly pitted the members of the Sansoneschi against other powerful local families but the evidence available, arising as it does mostly from the chronicle of John Berard, focused on the impact

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1465-6. For further detail, see above, p. 143.

<sup>93</sup> *I placiti*, n. 72. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 584, François Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie, de la fin du VIIIe siècle au début du XIe siècle* (Rome, 1995), p. 182, and Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un'abbazia', p. 24.

<sup>94</sup> For the early history of the Sansoneschi, see *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 819-20, Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', pp. 142-3 and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 575-6.

the family's strategies had on the abbey of San Clemente. The construction of Rocco di Soti by Abbot Adam of San Clemente in the 980s was probably aimed at obstructing the family's routes between Bussi and Casauria.<sup>95</sup> Certainly by 981 members of the family were installed in the *castellum* of Pesconsansonesco, which was located only a few kilometres from San Clemente and provided a direct threat to the abbey's heartlands.<sup>96</sup> Abbot John's precarial tenancy of 130 *modia* in Penne to a member of the family in 992, which granted the family control of the properties for five generations, was probably an attempt to extract some revenue from previously usurped properties.<sup>97</sup>

These incursions continued apace and John Berard provided a typically hyperbolic account of the family's depravations in c.1000:

During this time, a certain Remigius... and his brother Sanso, both distinguished in military power, with all the Sansoneschi, entered secretly and pillaged the *castella* and properties of the church, which the most prudent Abbot Adam had built at great expense, to be the refuge, pride and defence of the abbey of Pescara [San Clemente].<sup>98</sup>

The family did not confine itself to irking the San Clemente monks. In 998, Sanso, so disdained by John Berard, obtained a tract of land of land in northern Valva, including half of the *castellum* of Carapelle on the Navelli plain, from the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno.<sup>99</sup> The charter confirming this grant to Sanso stipulated a rent of six denari annually for a period of

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<sup>95</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 832-33. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 587.

<sup>96</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 155v. See Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 142.

<sup>97</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 164v. See Roscini, 'Il monastero di S. Clemente a Casauria dal 987 al 1024: crisi e decadenza di un'abbazia', p. 26.

<sup>98</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 837, 'Nam ex ipso tempore Remigius quidam de capite Piscariae et Sanso frater eius, ambo militaris insignes potentiae, totumque genus Sansonicorum subintraverunt, et pervaserunt castella et terris ecclesiae, quae aedificaverat prudentissimus Abbas Adam cum multis expensis, ut essent profugium, decus, et tutamen Piscariensis abbatiae'. Here Berard was contrasting Sanso to Bernard, son of Liudinus, a hero of both the San Clemente and San Bartholomeo chronicles.

<sup>99</sup> *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 2, n. 182, pp. 355-7.

twenty-nine years. Given the abbey's considerable distance from the transferred lands and the Sansoneschi's dynamic activity in the region, this contract may have constituted an *ex post facto* settlement concerning lands already occupied by the family. According to John Berard, San Clemente was not able to reach such agreements with the family during this time and their usurpations continued. Their annexations included Bectorrita, the closest *castellum* to the abbey, and Rocca di Soti, the fortress erected specifically to ward off the family's advances.<sup>100</sup> As Berard recorded, by 1026 these lands had become permanently associated with the Sansoneschi:

At that time, [the Sansoneschi] held Rocca di Soti, Bectorrita and others, which had been built by Abbot Adam himself to protect the monastery of San Clemente... [and] after they were improperly usurped by the [the Sansoneschi], they were called *Sasonesicae*, after the name of Sanso.<sup>101</sup>

These deprivations, though probably exaggerated somewhat by John Berard, illustrated the aggressive territorial expansion of the Sansoneschi and their attempts to consolidate a patrimony in the region surrounding San Clemente.

These operations seem to have prompted the intervention of Margrave Hugh II of Tuscany, acting duke of Spoleto, in 1028, which demonstrated the breadth of the Sansoneschi's operations but also the ultimately ineffectual nature of imperial and comital authority in the region. John Berard claimed that Hugh was dispatched by Emperor Conrad II to alleviate the problems of the abbey of San Clemente after a petition by Abbot Wido of San Clemente. Specifically, Berard claimed, Conrad 'commanded [Hugh] to assume imperial power and restore everything the church had possessed, both *castella* and villages, and and he did

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<sup>100</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 844. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 586.

<sup>101</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 844, 'Nam eo tempore tenebant... Roccam de Soti, Bectorritam et cetera, quae ab ipso Abbate Adam... ad profectum Monasterii Sancti Clementis fuerant aedificata [et]...postea ab ipsis usurpatae abusive, fuerunt appellatae Sansonicae, ex nomine ipsius Sansonis'.

not depart from him, until he possessed everything in peace'.<sup>102</sup> Conrad's recent descent on Rome in 1027, during which he issued a confirmation to San Clemente, may have solicited a petition from the abbey, resulting in the intervention of Hugh, though the duke probably had his own motives.<sup>103</sup> Certainly, Hugh was in San Clemente in January 1028, where he held a *placitum* at the behest of the abbot, Wido, and in the presence of Count Atto IV.<sup>104</sup> The defendants in this case included 'the sons of Rainald and their sons', most likely the Sanso and Walter, previously condemned by John Berard as the usurpers of Rocca di Soti and Bectorrita. In the same month, Count Atto held a *placitum* in *Laco* in Penne which was attended by many of the witnesses of Hugh's *placitum* in Casauria.<sup>105</sup> The plaintiff on this occasion was again Abbot Wido, who appeared with Hugh's *missus*, Bishop Dodo of Nocera. Again the defendants were members of the Sansoneschi family, this time specifically named as Sanso and Walter, son of Rainald. These two *placita* are obviously interconnected and represent a concerted effort on the part of Abbot Wido to rid himself of the nuisance of the Sansoneschi, particularly Sanso and Walter, by obtaining the assistance of Duke Hugh.

Superficially, this strategy paid dividends for the abbot. Hugh's *placitum* confirmed to the abbey all its possessions 'in the counties of Penne, Chieti and *Aprutium*' and invested the abbot with control of the bridges of the Pescara, which the Sansoneschi had captured.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, Atto's *placitum* legislated for the transferral of the mills and lands of Bectorrita and *Fara de Blonze* from Sanso and Walter to Wido. The abbot's preoccupation with control of Bectorrita and the bridges over the Pescara suggest that his main concerns lay not with simple economic motives but with dominance of the important fortifications and the lines of communications in the environs of the abbey. The fine set by Duke Hugh for breach of his

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 845, 'Cui praecepit ut imperiali potestate sumpta restitueret ecclesiae quicquid possederat, tam castella, quam villas, et non discederet ab eo, donec omnia possideret pacata'.

<sup>103</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 184v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 844-5 = *Konradi II. Diplomata*, ed. Bresslau, n. 73. See, Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 153.

<sup>104</sup> *I placiti*, n. 327 = Liber instrumentorum, fols. 185r-185v. = *Additamenta*, col. 989

<sup>105</sup> *I placiti*, n. 328 = Liber instrumentorum, fol. 186r = *Additamenta*, col. 990.

<sup>106</sup> 'in comitatu Pinnensi, sive in comitatu Teatino, sive in comitatu Aprutiense'.

decree, 1,000lbs of gold to be paid half to the emperor and half to the abbey, demonstrated the significance of these bridges in the local political and economic landscape. In contrast, a penalty of 100lbs of gold was stipulated for violation of Count Atto's decree, which concerned control of some of the closest properties to the abbey. These *placita* also illustrated the Sansoneschi's concerted strategy to obtain control of the bridges of the Pescara in the region around Casauria and annex various *castella* in order to dominate the area. John Berard believed that the intervention of Duke Hugh and Count Atto fundamentally derailed this strategy: 'they surrendered to [Duke Hugh's] mercy all that they had wickedly invaded and they swore, that neither they nor their successors, would usurp any of those possessions that the venerable Abbot Wido retained for himself'.<sup>107</sup>

This interpretation of events, however, is exposed as naive by a San Clemente charter of 1035.<sup>108</sup> In February of that year, Abbot Wido granted a precarial tenancy to Sanso and Walter, the defendants of the 1028 *placita*, and their sons and nephews, including lands in Blonza and Bectorrita and control of the *Pons Regalis*.<sup>109</sup> This grant was clearly incongruous to the earlier pronouncements of Duke Hugh and Count Atto. It would seem unlikely that a détente had been brokered which relieved Abbot Wido of his suspicions to such an extent that he would grant away lands so vehemently coveted only seven years previously. In particular, the granting of a bridge, the *Pons Regalis*, seems entirely contradictory to the spirit behind the intervention of Duke Hugh. It would seem, therefore, that the terms of the charters of 1028 had never been enforced, or the lands they concerned had been rapidly reoccupied by the Sansoneschi, again demonstrating the decreasing power of comital and imperial interventions

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<sup>107</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 846, 'quicquid ipsi male invaserant in eius misericordia dereliquerunt, et iuraverunt, quod nec ipsi, nec successores sui, aliquid de illis possessionibus, quas praedictus venerabilis Abbas Wido sibi retinuerat, usurparent'.

<sup>108</sup> The following provides a different interpretation to Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 154-5

<sup>109</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194v-195r, edited in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 918. This bridge may have been in close proximity to the abbey, see Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'éta tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 137.



in the region. Wido's grant of 1035 was thus an accommodation undertaken to attempt to halt the expansion of Sansoneschi and gain formal recognition of San Clemente rights over the lands they had usurped. The concomitant obligations accepted by the Sansoneschi illustrated Wido's strategy. Walter provided an oath of fidelity to the abbot, pledging: 'we will be your helper and defender through your proper fidelity, and we will not break your fidelity through evil nature'.<sup>110</sup> Most significantly, however, the Sansoneschi promised not to construct any fortifications in the area between the Pescara and Candido rivers and, specifically, near the *Pons Regalis*, without the consent of the abbot.<sup>111</sup> This condition exposed the 1035 settlement as a concession intended to indulge the territorial ambitions of the Sansoneschi in order to ensure the security of the abbey of San Clemente.

The results of this compromise seem to have been positive for the abbey. Sanso and Walter were not recorded as impinging upon the abbey's estates after this date and in 1065 Sanso donated to San Clemente the church of Santa Maria in Blesiano, with associated lands of 300 *modia*.<sup>112</sup> John Berard claimed that this Sanso was recognised as the *princeps* of the family and this donation was also witnessed by a number Sanso's cousins.<sup>113</sup> The third branch of the family, represented by Sanso, son of Rainerius, also seems to have come to terms with the abbey and in 1058 this Sanso donated a selection of lands to the abbey, including his portion of the *castellum* of Favale in Penne with 300 *modia* of land.<sup>114</sup> This movement towards a manageable entente may have been encouraged by San Clemente's increasing reputation as a centre of arbitration and jurisdiction during the mid-eleventh century.<sup>115</sup> It was also presumably this Sanso, identified as *Sanso de Fabali*, who was present at a *placitum* held by

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<sup>110</sup> 'erimus adiutor et defensor per vestram et rectam fidem, et per malum ingenium hanc vestram fidem non frangimus'.

<sup>111</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194v-195r, edited in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 918-9. See Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 143.

<sup>112</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 229v.

<sup>113</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 846.

<sup>114</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 239r.

<sup>115</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 702-8.

Dominic, abbot and bishop, in Alanna in April 1068.<sup>116</sup> This policy of collaboration, however, was evidently not accepted by some younger members of the kin-group and around the same time that Sanso, son of Rainerius, was donating lands to San Clemente, his sons were persecuting the abbey. Once again, the abbey attempted to obtain assistance from an outside power. In 1061, Pope Alexander II issued a letter, addressed to ‘the noblemen Trasmund, Bernard and Berard, sons of Sanso’ calling on the brothers to desist from harassing the abbey.<sup>117</sup> Though he does not mention any specific lands, bridges or fortifications that the brothers had occupied, Alexander threatened excommunication should they continue to act ‘with scandalous and sacrilegious temerity’ and called on them to restore what they had usurped.<sup>118</sup> The effects of this papal intervention are unknown and though no records survive confirming campaigns by the Sansoneschi against the abbey in the following decades, the sweeping tide of Norman infiltration would thoroughly alter the political situation of central Abruzzo and provoke a revision of the relationship of the abbey of San Clemente and the Sansoneschi kin-group, as will be discussed in chapter 7.

## Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, although the Abruzzo region lacked the religious and cultural divisions common in the *Mezzogiorno*, the political situation in Abruzzo during the tenth and eleventh centuries bore numerous similarities to contemporary political developments in southern Italy. The authority of the German emperors in southern Italy declined significantly during this period and a comparable trend emerged in Abruzzo. Although imperial interventions did occur – such as Emperor Henry II’s censure of Count Atto

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<sup>116</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 231v.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 288r-288v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 862-3.

<sup>118</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 228r-228v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 863, ‘nefanda et sacrilega temeritate’.

and Landulf in 1022 – these measures were limited and temporary. Furthermore, operations by imperial officials and *missi* were rare in Abruzzo, particularly in the eleventh century, while their judgements were not permanent – such as Margrave Hugh II of Tuscany's declarations concerning the Sansoneschi clan. Concomitant with this decrease in imperial influence in Abruzzo, however, was a rise in papal authority in the northern county of *Aprutium*, as illustrated by the 1056 *placitum* of Pope Victor II held in *Vitice* and the 1057 *placitum* of Victor's *missus* Gerard, 'count of the counties of Ascoli and *Aprutium*'. This development demonstrated the decreasing authority of the Attonid counts within their lordships. Although their military capabilities remained effective, though rarely utilised, their political and judicial authority collapsed during the course of the eleventh century. In the late-tenth century, the Attonid counts could exercise a functioning, though challengeable, judicial and political control over their lordship. During the early-eleventh century, however, this authority declined significantly and was usurped by the lesser aristocracy. This process is clearly influenced the disintegration of Attonid power in the face of the Norman invasion, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Contemporary and related to the breakdown in Attonid power was the rise of political autonomy amongst the lesser aristocracy coupled with the adoption of aggressive, expansionist strategies. This process had parallels throughout southern Italy during the eleventh century, such as in Sicily and Apulia, and was probably exacerbated in Abruzzo by the pressures created by the progression of *incastellamento*. In the Caramanico valley, the Tebaldi family responded to the developing situation by consolidating their lordship and implementing a process of hierarchical organisation within the family. Further north, in *Aprutium*, the Teutoneschi family profited from land usurpations at the expense of the bishop of *Aprutium* while violently opposing the attempted interventions of the Attonid count, Trasmund III, and Pope Victor II. In Penne, the Bernardi clan capitalised on comital weakness to control the bishopric of Penne and, after a period of fraternal conflict within the family, rejected both

comital and papal authority by usurping episcopal properties. The most important case study for aristocratic autonomy, however, arises from the Sansoneschi kin-group. This family originated from an imperial official yet profited significantly via usurpation of ecclesiastical properties in the late-tenth century. Moreover, their involvement in the 1028 *placitum* of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany illustrated the importance of military concerns, particular bridges, to the local political situation but also the fragility of imperial and comital authority, as Hugh's judgements were ultimately ignored by the family. Although the leading members of the clan privately negotiated a working detente with the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria by the middle of the century, junior members continued to adopt aggressive strategies, as evidenced by Pope Alexander II's reprimand of 1061. This continuing conflict exemplified the volatile nature of Abruzzese society during the eleventh century, a situation that was exploited by the invading Normans, as will be discussed in chapter 5.

## Chapter 5

### The Norman invasion of Abruzzo, c.1060-c.1100

#### Introduction

As concluded in chapter 4, the political conditions in Abruzzo on the eve of the Norman arrival bear close similarities to the situation in various regions of southern Italy. Modern historical studies have elucidated the multifaceted aspects of the development of the Norman conquest of southern Italy and, most importantly, analysed the complex relationship of the new Norman lords with the existent powers of southern Italy and with each other.<sup>1</sup> As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, these studies have revealed the extent and distribution of the Norman conquests while examining the conflicts apparent within the Norman hierarchy and the varying relationship of these Norman lords with the local secular aristocracy of the *Mezzogiorno*.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the intricate relationship of the Norman lords with the ecclesiastical institutions of southern Italy – such as the papacy, the episcopate and the powerful abbeys of the regions – has been analysed.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will examine the genesis of the Norman invasion of Abruzzo and the connections of the most prominent member, Count Robert of Loritello, to the wider Norman milieu. After an investigation of the events and impact of the battle of Ortona, section 2 will investigate the new Norman lordships of Abruzzo – the county of Loritello, the county of Loreto and the lordships of Nebulo of Penne and Hugh Malmouzet. These investigations will focus on the territorial extent of each lordship, the associations of these lords with the local church and the various relationships established with the local aristocracy. Finally, the nature of the administration of each lordship, the

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard* and Martin, *Italies normandes*.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Cuozzo, "'Milites" e "testes" nella contea normanna di Principato', pp. 121-63.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Loud, *Church and society in the Norman principality of Capua* and Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*.

political connections maintained within the lordships and the nature of the network of political associations established between the new Abruzzese Norman lords will be examined.

## 1. Count Robert of Loritello and the first phase of the invasion

### 1.1. The origins and family of Robert of Loritello

Robert of Loritello came from the most influential Norman family to arrive in south Italy, the Hautevilles, and Amatus of Montecassino identified Robert as a nephew of the driving force behind the conquest, Robert Guiscard.<sup>4</sup> Romoald of Salerno specifically identified Robert of Loritello as the son of Geoffrey, son of the lineage's progenitor Tancred of Hauteville and brother of Robert Guiscard.<sup>5</sup> Amatus's chronology implied that Geoffrey arrived in Italy in the early-1050s so it is possible that Robert was born in the duchy of Normandy before his father's emigration.<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra related that Geoffrey of Hauteville was invested as count of Capitanata by his brother Humphrey shortly after his arrival in Italy and following the death of his brother, the previous count, Mauger.<sup>7</sup> Little is recorded of Geoffrey's campaigns but the positioning of Robert's base at Loritello, situated at the northern fringe of the area of the Capitanata, implied that Geoffrey and his son intended to expand further north.<sup>8</sup> This was a logical route of expansion as campaign to the west would have led to confrontations with the Norman princes of Capua and to the east of Loritello, Lesina had been occupied since 1047 by Walter, son of the Hauteville's Norman rival, Amicus.<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra claimed that it was Geoffrey who began the push northward into Abruzzo. Malaterra claimed that Geoffrey had invaded Chieti 'in an attempt to increase his dominions' and that in the late-1050s Geoffrey,

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<sup>4</sup> *Amatus*, p. 323. See Dunbar and Loud, *The history of the Normans*, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> *Annales (a. 893-1178)*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, *MGH, Scriptores 19* (Hanover, 1866), pp. 387-461, p. 405 = *Romualdi Salernitani chronicon*, ed. Carlo A. Garufi (Città di Castello, 1935), p. 183. See also Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Amatus implied that Geoffrey arrived in Italy about the time of the battle of Civitate, *Amatus*, p. 159. See Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 101 & n. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 16, 'Sed Malgerius, moriens, cum omnem comitatum suum Willelmo fratri reliquisset, Willelmus, Gaufridum fratrem suum diligens, ei concessit'.

<sup>8</sup> Modern-day Rotello in the Campobasso.

<sup>9</sup> *Romualdi Salernitani chronicon*, ed. Garufi, p. 179.

with the aid of Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger, had stormed *Guillimacum* in Chieti.<sup>10</sup> After this success, Malaterra asserted, Geoffrey 'began fiercely to attack the whole province of Chieti', though this interpretation is questionable.<sup>11</sup> While it is probable that Geoffrey wished to dominate Chieti and while it must be assumed that he provided his son with military aid during his first campaigns, Geoffrey is not evidenced campaigning with Robert and died at an unknown date after 1059.<sup>12</sup>

## 1.2. Robert of Loritello, Robert Guiscard and the invasion of Abruzzo

Building upon his father's advances, it is clear that before and during his involvement in the early invasions of Abruzzo, Robert of Loritello was an important lord in the region surrounding his base at Loritello. This status and his familial connection to Robert Guiscard, suggest that Robert of Loritello operated under the command or in the service of his uncle. Certainly, Geoffrey Malaterra believed that Geoffrey of Hauteville worked closely with his brothers, Robert Guiscard and Roger, to storm *Guillimacum*. Malaterra's insistence on the personal involvement of Guiscard and Roger, however, is probably a fiction given his authorial intentions and his allegiance to these brothers. Robert, however, did have numerous associations with his uncle. Robert of Loritello was listed as witness or participant in at least eight of Robert Guiscard's surviving charters from the 1060s and 1070s.<sup>13</sup> The majority of these charters related to Guiscard's favoured abbey, Santissima Trinita in Venosa yet a charter of Guiscard's concerning the abbey of Torremaggiore in northern Apulia specifically stated that Robert was involved in proceedings as a protector of the abbey and not as an agent of

<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 23. Cesare Rivera believed this to be Guilmi, near Gissi, Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 12. It could, however, refer to Colle Dionisio (Gugliionsi) in Termoli, as suggested by De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalesimo nel Molise', p. 274 and Bartholomaeis in *Amatus*, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 23, 'totam Teatinam provinciam fortiter debellare coepit'.

<sup>12</sup> The *Chronicon breve Northmannicum* gave a date of April 1063 for Geoffrey's death, ed. Errico Cuozzo, *Bollettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 83 (1971), pp.131–232, though this text has been questioned by André Jacob, 'Le Breve chronicon Northmannicum: un véritable faux de Pietro Polidori', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 66 (1986), pp. 378–92.

<sup>13</sup> *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie, 1046-1127: Les Premiers Ducs, 1046-1087*, ed. Léon-Robert Ménager (Bari, 1980), n. 8, 9, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 25.

Guiscard.<sup>14</sup> Though Robert evidently politically allied himself to his uncle, he maintained a high degree of autonomy, as will be discussed below.

Certainly, Robert did assist his uncle militarily. In c.1073, according to Amatus of Montecassino, Robert had aided his uncle in the suppression of the rebel Abelard, another nephew of Guiscard.<sup>15</sup> Robert's involvement here again amounted to an alliance rather than illustrating a status of subordination as Robert would have had much interest in limiting the power of Abelard, who frequently operated in the region around Loritello. This alliance illustrated the growing power of Robert in the region. Also, around the same time, as the Montecassino chronicle related, Robert was involved in the abbot of Montecassino's enforced reform of the abbey of Santa Maria on the islands of Tremiti.<sup>16</sup> Robert was named among the party that accompanied the newly appointed abbot, Trasmund, to the islands to depose the ruling abbot, Adam IV, who had been deemed degenerate by Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino. Also in this party was Peter of Lesina, the bishops of Troia, Dragonara and Civitate and the abbot of Torremaggiore. Robert's involvement with the powerful and esteemed abbey of Montecassino and with these other important churchmen suggests that he held a respected and possibly dominant status within the region.<sup>17</sup> Robert's power evidently only increased during the 1070s and in 1075 Pope Gregory VII excommunicated Robert, along with his uncle, Robert Guiscard, at the Roman synod of that year.<sup>18</sup> The synodal protocol related that this judgement was passed down because the two Normans were *invasores* of the properties of Saint Peter. In this context, Gregory was possibly reviving a belated papal claim to overlordship of Abruzzo. Robert Guiscard eventually came to a detente

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Amatus, p. 318. For the dating of this campaign, see Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 200.

<sup>16</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.25, p. 392. The islands of Tremiti are situated off the Gargano peninsula.

<sup>17</sup> *Contra* Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 435, Robert was not involved with the abbey of Tremiti again in 1081. See *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, II, n. 84, pp. 250-3. Trasmund was later abbot of San Clemente a Casauria and Bishop of Valva.

<sup>18</sup> *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, II.52a, pp. 196-7. See Cowdrey, *The register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 145.



with Pope Gregory at Ceprano in 1080 yet Robert of Loritello seems to have disregarded any armistice. In the next year, Pope Gregory wrote to Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino commanding him to contact Robert Guiscard concerning the 'sacrilegious boldness' of Robert of Loritello.<sup>19</sup> Guiscard clearly ignored or could not enforce this request as in the same year, according to William of Apulia, he named Robert of Loritello as one of two stewards of his duchy when he embarked on his campaign to the Balkans.<sup>20</sup>

Thus it is evident that Robert held influence in the region surrounding Loritello and, supported by the influence of his father, the count of Capitanata, had become a powerful lord in his own right and secured a stable power base at Loritello. His relationship with his uncle, Robert Guiscard, seems to have been mutually beneficial and lack any indications of submission or service. The impetus for and leadership of the invasion of Abruzzo would seem to lie firmly with Robert of Loritello and not his uncle. The only evidence for the direct involvement of Robert Guiscard in the invasion of Abruzzo comes from Amatus of Montecassino's account of the decisive battle of Ortona. Amatus claimed that Robert of Loritello fielded 500 knights that day, all but eighty of which had been provided to him by Robert Guiscard for his previous campaign against their mutual enemy, Abelard.<sup>21</sup> Amatus's exact numbers are clearly dubious but his assertion that Guiscard provided military aid to Robert of Loritello may be valid. Guiscard's interest in Robert of Loritello's northern campaigns seems to have ended here and, while Guiscard was preoccupied with campaigning in Calabria and the Balkans, Robert of Loritello acted autonomously in Abruzzo.

### **1.3. The beginnings of the Norman invasion of Abruzzo**

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<sup>19</sup> *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, IX.4, p. 577 = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 405, 'sacrilegiam audaciam'.

<sup>20</sup> William of Apulia, p. 214. It is possible that Robert was known to Anna Comnena, the twelfth-century Byzantine historian, who related that Robert Guiscard left his son Roger and a *Boritylas* in command of his lordship at this time, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. Sewter, p. 66. See also Loud, 'Anna Comnena and the Normans of southern Italy', p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> *Amatus*, p. 327.

The first mention of Norman involvement in Abruzzo from local sources comes from the San Clemente Chronicle. John Berard claimed:

From this time the brothers had begun to forget the imperial court and not being strong enough to resist the Norman devastation of all the land, were first subject to Robert, the first count of Loritello and after his death to Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>22</sup>

The situation of this report within the chronology of the Berard's work would suggest that Berard believed that the Norman expeditions into the Chieti-Valva region surrounding Casauria began in the early-1060s. The first direct interactions with the Normans that Berard recorded, however, was the supposed abduction of Abbot Trasmund by Hugh Malmouzet in the later-1070s.<sup>23</sup> Cesare Rivera believed that an inscription found in the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere implied that the Normans had begun encroaching on that abbey's lands before 1061.<sup>24</sup> This inscription related that new fortifications had been constructed by the abbot, Oderisius, in 1061 to thwart the abbey's *hostes*.<sup>25</sup> These fortifications may have been erected to resist Norman advancement, possibly by Geoffrey of Hauteville but equally could have been intended to defend against encroaching local lords.

It is certain, though, that by 1070 the invasion had advanced into the heart of the Valva-Chieti region. John Berard's protestations that Robert had subdued the whole region are probably exaggerated but certainly the Norman advance negatively affected some local ecclesiastical institutions and probably San Clemente in particular. Berard claimed that at a Roman council of 1073 Pope Gregory VII issued an anathema against those 'Normannos, et

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<sup>22</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 863, 'Ab hoc siquidem tempore coeperunt fratres oblivisci imperatoris curiae, et Normannis depopulantibus totas terras non valentes resistere, primitus fuerunt subditi Roberto primo comiti de Rotello, et post mortem eius Ugoni Malmazetto'.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 866.

<sup>24</sup> Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 15

<sup>25</sup> Vincenzo Bindi, *Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzo* (Naples, 1889), p. 391, 'ut tuta ista domus maneret ab hostibus atris | ardens amore divae pacis | oderisius abbas | turribus et fortis munivit moenia claustris | anno dominicae incarnationis mlixi'.

alios invasores' who had usurped the estates and possessions of the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>26</sup> The San Clemente cartulary contains the text of this supposed proclamation which was addressed to 'quis Normannorum, vel quorumlibet hominum', suggesting that the abbey was suffering from the impositions of the Normans but also from opportunist local lords.<sup>27</sup> This document was probably intended mainly for use against Robert. This reprimand evidently had little effect and may have led to Robert of Loritello's excommunication in 1075 as an invader of the lands of Saint Peter.<sup>28</sup> Thus it is probable that Robert of Loritello's invasion of Abruzzo began in earnest in the mid-to-late-1060s and, despite Robert's continued operations in Apulia-Capitanata, advanced steadily.<sup>29</sup>

#### 1.4. The battle of Ortona – context, date and events

These incursions evidently brought the Norman forces into conflict with the Attonid counts and both Amatus of Montecassino and the *Libellus querulus* report that a decisive battle occurred between the two forces at Ortona in Chieti. The account of Amatus implied that Robert's invasion of Abruzzo and the subsequent battle of Ortona occurred about the same time that Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua, hitherto quarrelling rivals, came to an entente.<sup>30</sup> This would seem to have been the early-1070s. The *Libellus querulus*, though providing no date for the battle, did contain a copy of a purported charter of Bernard and Trasmund, members of the Bernardi kin-group, pawning their properties in the city of Penne to Bishop John of Penne because they were 'in the capture of the Normans' following the battle at Ortona.<sup>31</sup> As discussed in chapter 3, the date of this charter has been debated but is

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<sup>26</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 864.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 865.

<sup>28</sup> *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, II.52a, pp. 196-7 = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 145.

<sup>29</sup> Though Robert returned to Apulia periodically, *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, n. 18 (a. 1067), 20 (a. 1069), 22 (a. 1074).

<sup>30</sup> *Amatus*, p. 323, 'et en cellui temps [que] ces II peres et seignors sagement esteinstrent la flame entre il'.

<sup>31</sup> *Libellus querulus*, pp. 1465-7. This Bernard is possibly the same as the Bernard named by Amatus as one of the Trasmund IV's supporters at Ortona, *Amatus*, p. 326.

probably June 1076.<sup>32</sup> It may be presumed that Bernard and Trasmund's attempts to raise funds to secure their release occurred soon after their capture and thus the battle may be dated to early summer 1076.<sup>33</sup>

Ortona was over 100km northwest of Robert's base at Loritello, further emphasising the successes of the Normans over the previous few years. As discussed in chapter 4, the political power of the Attonid counts had declined steadily throughout the eleventh century in the face of increasing aristocratic bellicosity and without imperial support. Despite these problems, as Amatus recorded, 'Count Trasmund [III] attempted to recover the land that he had lost' in the face of the Norman invasion.<sup>34</sup> Amatus further claimed, however, that Robert had struck a decisive blow when at an unknown time before the battle a party of his knights had captured Trasmund III while he was reconnoitring his defences.<sup>35</sup> Robert set Trasmund's ransom at 10,000 bezants, which the count was only able to pay by ransacking the treasures of an Abruzzese church of *Saint Jehan Baptiste*, probably San Giovanni in Venere.<sup>36</sup> The payment of this ransom, whether a reality or concocted by Amatus for propaganda purposes, was not enough to persuade Robert to release the count. Thus, when Robert and his brother, Drogo Tassio, began the siege of the fort of Ortona, it was Count Trasmund's cousin, Trasmund IV, who lead the Attonid forces to relieve the fortress. Amatus related that the battle itself took place after Robert had feigned a retreat from the fort and the *Libellus querulus* identified the site of the battle as *Capellinum*, an unidentifiable locale. Amatus's account of a Norman victory against overwhelming odds by use of cunning tactics leans heavily into cliché but it is

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<sup>32</sup> See above, p. 137.

<sup>33</sup> As assumed by Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. p.728 n.12

<sup>34</sup> *Amatus*, p. 324, 'et lo cont Transmonde se esfora de recovrer la terre qu'il avoit perdue'.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* See Dunbar and Loud, *History of the Normans*, p. 181 n.61. San Giovanni was founded the Attonid count, Trasmund I in 973 and re-established by his son, Trasmund II, in 1015. See *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 839.

probable that, despite their recent difficulties, the forces of the Attonids outnumbered the Normans invaders.<sup>37</sup>

### 1.5. The battle of Ortona – impact and aftermath

The impact of this defeat seems to have secured Robert's annexations and opened up large sections of the Valva-Chieti region to Norman advancement. Amatus recorded that numerous important figures in the Attonid kin-group were captured following the Attonid defeat at Ortona. Most important were obviously Count Trasmund III and Trasmund IV but the count's nephew and other supporters were also captured. The capture of numerous generations was important as it inhibited further resistance. Moreover, some important churchmen, who evidently supported the Attonid counts, were captured, such as Bishop John of Penne and Bishop Hugh of Camerino.<sup>38</sup> Robert's reaction to this decisive success illustrated that his interests lay not in plunder but in annexation and the establishment of a new stable regime in Abruzzo. Robert again demanded ransom payments from his prisoners but he now also usurped their lands.<sup>39</sup> As a concession to any lingering power that the Attonids held or intended to regain, however, Robert granted back some of these lands on condition that the recipients swore allegiance and subservience to him. Thus, as Amatus reported:

Count Trasmund, when he saw that the will of God was against him, paid Robert all the money that he could collect. He gave him his land and received some part of it back from Robert's hand and became his *chevalier*. Thus he was freed from prison.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Amatus claimed the Normans captured 4,000 horses, though such a number is untrustworthy.

<sup>38</sup> Amatus, p. 327. Hugh was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII in Feb 1079, *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, VI.17a = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 302.

<sup>39</sup> Amatus, p. 330.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330, 'et lo conte Transmunde, quand il vit que la volenté de Dieu li estoit contraire, paia à Robert tant de deniers comment il pot asembler. Delivra lui la terre, et en rechut alcune part de la main de Robert, et fu fait son chevalier. Et ensi fu delivre de prison'.

The *Libellus querulus* also recorded that to ensure their freedom, Trasmund and Bernard, 'gave a hostage and guarantors of fidelity, until they gave money with which they would free themselves'.<sup>41</sup> Robert also took some form of homage from Trasmund IV, Trasmund III's nephew and the son of Bernard. According to Amatus, they became Robert's *chevaliers*. Throughout these contracts, however, Robert ensured that he personally secured control of part of the lands of the defeated. Amatus insisted that Count Trasmund's submission only ensured that he received part of his lands back and despite Robert's contract with Trasmund IV, 'Robert kept his share of the *castella*'.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the *Libellus querulus* related that the Bernardi brothers, Bernard and Trasmund, relinquished some of their properties in order that 'other [properties] of theirs were safe and secure from any harassment by the Normans'.

The victory at Ortona and the subsequent submissions and annexations both cemented the previous Norman conquest and offered Robert the opportunity to disseminate power to his lieutenants and create a skeleton network of Norman overlords on the frontier regions of his conquests. Thus the lordships of Drogo Tassio, Nebulo of Penne and Hugh Malmouzet were constituted. As will be discussed below, Drogo Tassio, the brother of Robert of Loritello, had played an important part in the events at Ortona and subsequently founded the county of Loreto while the *Libellus querulus* claimed that Nebulo had received the confiscated lands of the Bernardi brothers in Penne. It is unknown whether Hugh Malmouzet fought at Ortona but he evidently capitalised on the battle's consequences to establish a foothold on the Chieti-Valva borderlines. With the Attonid power in retreat, it was these lieutenants who advanced the invasion beyond Robert's conquests in Chieti, cemented the Norman conquests and fundamentally reconstituted the geopolitical divisions of Abruzzo. As will be discussed below, these new lordships represented clearly defined spheres of influence,

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<sup>41</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465, 'obsidem dederunt et fidelitatis sponsores similiter, usque dum darent pecuniam, quam sibi irrogaverant'.

<sup>42</sup> *Amatus*, p. 330, 'Robert ot sa part de li chastel'.

operated with a high degree of autonomy but were based on a reliable foundation of a Norman political network of non-aggression and mutual assistance.

## 2. The Norman lordships of Abruzzo in the eleventh century

### 2.1. The county of Loritello

#### 2.1.1. Territory

The extent of Robert's lands in Abruzzo at this can be inferred from the available narrative sources and a collection of charters of the 1090s and early-twelfth century. As discussed, Robert evidently had a stable lordship in the Capitanata surrounding Loritello. In Abruzzo it seems that Robert established his centre of power in Lanciano in southern Chieti, almost 100km north-west of Loritello. The San Bartholomeo chronicle related that it was to Lanciano that a party of monks of San Bartholomeo travelled to meet Robert after the death of Drogo Tassio in c.1090.<sup>43</sup> At Lanciano, Robert received the monks and accepted their request to confirm the territorial grants that Drogo had made to the monastery. Lanciano was also the location where Robert issued a charter of donation to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti in 1095.<sup>44</sup> It is probable the Robert held control or overlordship over the lands between Loritello and Lanciano. The donation of 1095 to the bishop of Chieti included churches in Monteoderisio in southern Chieti, close to the frontier lands between Chieti and the Capitanata, and churches in Castelli di Sotto, roughly 10km southeast of Lanciano.<sup>45</sup> North of Lanciano, Robert's lands extended into the heart of Chieti and up to the frontiers of Valva and Penne and possibly beyond. Given the effort expended on the siege of Ortona and the subsequent Norman victory in the environs of the *castellum*, it would seem likely that Robert gained the submission of Ortona, situated on the Adriatic coast, after the battle. Therefore, Robert's domain in mid-Chieti seems to have ranged from Ortona to the edges of the

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<sup>43</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, pp. 48-9.

<sup>44</sup> *Regesto delle pergamene e codici del capitolo Metropolitano di Chieti*, ed. Antonio Balducci (Casalbordino, 1929), n. 9.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

Caramanico valley, where the lands of Hugh Malmouzet, the abbey of San Clemente and latterly the counts of Manoppello were situated, as in the charter of 1095, Robert donated a church of San Salvatore in Bucchianico in eastern Chieti.<sup>46</sup>

From this line Robert's demesne stretched north to the River Pescara and possibly beyond. The donation of 1095 to the bishop of Chieti included the *castellum* of Furca and numerous churches and rights in the nearby Aterno.<sup>47</sup> Control of this area provided a significant certification of Robert's power as this region was the traditional heartland of Attonid comital power. The fortress of Aterno represented the core power-base of the counts and the church of Santa Gerusalemme, mentioned as part of the donation of 1095, was closely associated with the Attonids.<sup>48</sup> The annexation of these lands would seem to be the northernmost extent of Robert's personal advancement into Abruzzo. The donation of 1095, however, included restitution by Robert to the bishop of Chieti of the *castella* of *Sculcula* and *Lastinianum*. Both these properties were described as 'beyond the Pescara' (*ultra Piscariam*) and are specifically separated in the restitution from the *castellum* of *Sancti Cesidii*, which is described as located in the county of Chieti. Thus it is likely that these *castella* were situated north of the River Pescara and outside of the county of Chieti and hence in the county of Penne. The vast extent of Robert's lands in Abruzzo indicated his status as the most powerful personage in the Norman invasion.

### **2.1.2. Robert of Loritello and the church**

#### **2.1.2.1. Robert of Loritello and Bishop Raynulf of Chieti**

Throughout his career, Robert of Loritello had numerous and important connections to churchmen and ecclesiastical institutions. As discussed above, Robert repeatedly appeared

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Modern-day S.Giovanni Teatino near Pescara and the city of Pescara.

<sup>48</sup> *Italia sacra*, VI, cols. 681-696. See Laurent Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales dans les Abruzzes adriatiques et l'épiscopat de Raynulf de Chieti (1087-1105)', in *Cavalieri alla conquista del sud*, eds, E. Cuzzo and J-M. Martin (Rome, 1998), pp. 194-216, p. 204, n. 35.



in the charters of Robert Guiscard concerning the abbey of Santissima Trinita in Venosa and kept a close connection with the abbey of Torremaggiore, near his base at Loritello. As the Montecassino chronicle recorded, Abbot Benedict of Torremaggiore and Robert were both involved in the enforced reform of Santa Maria in Tremiti.<sup>49</sup> The involvement of bishops of Dragonara, Fiorentino and Vulturara in the sale of *Sancti Pauli* by a client of Robert's may have been due to his status in the Capitanata.<sup>50</sup> Within his new lordship in Abruzzo, the most powerful churchman proved to be Raynulf, bishop of Chieti. The name Raynulf, given in various documents as *Rainulfus*, was primarily, though not exclusively Norman name.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, in 1099 Raynulf conceded lands to two of his nephews, one bearing the typically Norman name William. While local aristocrats of Abruzzo took Norman names, this process did not begin until the twelfth century and the names of Raynulf's nephews, along with his own, strongly suggest he was of Norman origin.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, given that his election to office occurred in the later 1070s or 1080s it is possible that he was associated with Robert of Loritello or was sponsored by him.<sup>53</sup> Regardless, however, Raynulf's election as bishop installed him into a powerful and wealthy patrimony in central Abruzzo.<sup>54</sup> Throughout his career Raynulf strengthened or created political and economic links between the church of Chieti and both the new Normans lords, such as Hugh Malmouzet, and the established monastic institutions of Abruzzo, such as the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria, San Salvatore a Maiella and San Giovanni in Venere.<sup>55</sup> Robert of Loritello utilised his relationship with the

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<sup>49</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.25, p. 392.

<sup>50</sup> Girolamo Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti metropoli delle provincie d'Abruzzo* (Naples, 1657), p. 130.

<sup>51</sup> A similar name, Rainald, was common in Abruzzo, though Raynulf was rare. A prominent Norman Raynulf was Raynulf Drengot, first count of Aversa. The San Bartholomeo chronicle named Raynulf as *Rainone*, though this is likely a misspelling, *Chron. Carp, Pio*, p. 49.

<sup>52</sup> Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales', p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Raynulf's predecessor, *Theuxo*, appears to have been last documented in 1076, Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti*, p. 128 = *Italia sacra*, VI, col.696.

<sup>54</sup> On Raynulf's temporalities, see Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales', p. 6-8.

<sup>55</sup> For Raynulf and San Salvatore, see Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 27r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii. For Raynulf and San Giovanni, see Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti*, p. 128-9.

bishop to promote his position of overlord of the Norman lordships of Abruzzo and to provide a stable northern frontier for his lordship.

This relationship was illustrated by Bishop Raynulf's purchase of the *castellum* of *Sancti Pauli* from Geoffrey of Vulturara, a client of Robert's. Within the terms of the sale, Raynulf acquired the *castellum* with concomitant responsibilities to provide Robert with the service of one knight for forty days each year.<sup>56</sup> Raynulf was also obliged to supply this knight with provisions of bread, wine and meat and to ensure that he was furnished with a cuirass, and a *miles dextrarius* (a squire).<sup>57</sup> The provision of this service, however, was not associated with any form of submission on Raynulf's part to Robert and the knight's service was only due to Robert if he was campaigning in Abruzzo. The arrangement was beneficial to both parties as the *castellum* of *Sancti Pauli* was situated 'beside the Pescara' (*super Piscariam*), thus strengthening Robert's position on the northern borders of his lordship, and the provision of a fully supported knight would have been obviously beneficial to Robert's military capabilities. For Raynulf, this agreement secured him a powerful ally but ensured that if he had to expend resources equipping and victualling a knight, those resources would only be deployed in Abruzzo and to enhance the security of his diocese. In short, this charter hinted at the existence of a formal or informal politico-military alliance between the bishop and Robert that advantaged both parties.

This alliance was further illustrated in the terms set down in the text of the charter of 1095 describing Robert's territorial donations to the church of Chieti.<sup>58</sup> The donation was dated at Lanciano and confirmed to the bishop numerous donations of lands and rights throughout Robert's lordship. In particular, the donation of the *castella* of *Sculcula* and *Lastinianum*, both unidentifiable but situated 'beyond the Pescara', and the *castellum* of

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<sup>56</sup> Nicolino, *Historia della città di Chieti*, p. 130.

<sup>57</sup> On *dextrarius*, see J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus: A medieval Latin-French/English dictionary* (Leiden, 1954), p. 328.

<sup>58</sup> *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 9.

*Sancti Cesidii* in the county of Chieti, is specifically described as a restitution, implying that Robert had previously usurped these properties from the church of Chieti or, at least, that the bishop believed them to have traditionally been church properties.<sup>59</sup> The crux of the charter, however, described Robert's donation of certain properties and rights in Aterno and the donation of the *castellum* of Furca. The Aterno donations gave Raynulf control over three churches, Santa Gerusalemme, San Salvatore and the *plebem* of Santi Legonziano e Domiziano, within the *castellum*, and one church, San Nicola, outside the *castellum*, with its associated appurtenances. Raynulf also received rights to ecclesiastical payments and taxes on bridges and gates. In Aterno, however, Robert retained overall lordship and military control. In contrast, the *castellum* of Furca, including its appurtenances, was wholly granted to the bishop.<sup>60</sup> Like the terms of the sale of *Sancti Pauli*, this contract did not include an associated oath of submission. The terms of the donation, however, strictly stipulate that should Robert campaign in the *provincia* near the *castellum*, Raynulf's administrator in Furca, labelled a *rector*, must open the gates to Robert's army and temporarily turn over control of the *castellum* to the count.<sup>61</sup> Thus, under these terms, Raynulf was granted economic, political and possibly judicial control of the *castellum* but ultimately Robert retained military control. As with the sale of *Sancti Pauli*, the donation of Furca solidified an alliance between Robert and Raynulf whereby Raynulf gained increasing administrative control in northern Chieti but Robert retained and ensured his military dominance and resources in the northern frontiers of his lordship.

Raynulf and Robert's relationship, however, did face various challenges. In 1086, Count Trasmund III, previously defeated by Robert of Loritello at the battle of Ortona, donated

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Ultra Piscariam vero castellum Sculculae, castellum Lastinianum, et in Teatino comitatu castellum sancti Cesidii, cum omnibus eorum pertinentiis praescripto episcopo Teatino dando restituimus, et confirmamus'.

<sup>60</sup> The *silvas* of Sambuceti were excepted from the donation, see Simonetta Longo, *Silva sambuceti (1095-1099): la conquista Normanna della bassa valle del Pescara* (Chieti, 2008).

<sup>61</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 741, believed this *rector* to be an officer of Robert.

to Bishop Raynulf the *castellum* of *Sculcula* in Penne with associated lands measuring 4,000 *modia*. As will be argued in chapter 7, these lands were probably under Norman control by 1086, most likely part of the lordship of Robert of Loritello, and this donation may have been part of a ploy by Trasmund to sow dissent between Bishop Raynulf and Robert of Loritello. If a dispute arose amongst the two men, however, the donation charter of 1095 settled the issue and reinforced the alliance between Robert and the bishop. Before or possibly after 1095, Bishop Raynulf had concluded an agreement with the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella to repopulate *Sculcula*.<sup>62</sup> Laurent Feller has viewed this compact as an anti-Norman operation which limited Norman influence on the *castellum*.<sup>63</sup> The terms of the 1095 charter, however, show that Robert had a vested interest in solidifying the power of Raynulf, provided he cooperated with Robert's military ambitions. The further cordial relationship between the bishop and count was recorded in the San Bartholomeo chronicle, which related that Bishop Raynulf was present and consented to Robert of Loritello's confirmation of Drogo Tassio's donations to the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto.<sup>64</sup>

#### **2.1.2.2. Robert of Loritello and the abbeys of Abruzzo**

Unlike many other Abruzzese Norman lords, Robert received relatively little condemnation from the monastic chroniclers of Abruzzo. Many of the lands that Robert annexed during his conquests were undoubtedly church properties and no charters survive evidencing property or commodity grants by Robert to the important monasteries of San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto. These abbeys were, however, outside of Robert's personal lordship. Instead, Robert chose to patronise the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, situated nor far from his base in Lanciano. At an unspecified date in the 1090s, Robert, 'with the passion of divine piety', donated to the monastery a portion of land in the

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<sup>62</sup> *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii

<sup>63</sup> Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 169.

<sup>64</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 49.

unidentifiable locale of *Sanctam Angelum in Trisinio*, measuring forty *modia*.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, in 1096 Robert granted to the abbey 'certain properties' which are not identified in the surviving register of the abbey.<sup>66</sup> Robert's place of burial is unknown but these donations, coming in the 1090s when Robert was advanced in age, identify San Salvatore as a likely burial-place. Robert's devotion to this abbey, however, was probably political as well as spritual. Many of the new Abruzzese Norman lords followed Robert's example in patronising San Salvatore and this process may have represented a deliberate attempt to challenge the influence of the traditionally powerful abbey of San Clemente a Casauria.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, San Salvatore was the familial mausoleum of the Attonid counts.<sup>68</sup> Robert's patronage of the abbey further emphasised the power of his new regime.

### 2.1.3. Robert of Loritello and the local aristocracy

Robert of Loritello's relations with the existing aristocracy of Abruzzo are scarcely documented. The majority of Robert's secular interactions and political associations were with men of Norman origin. Amatus of Montecassino claimed that Robert's victory at Ortona forced Count Trasmund III, Trasmund IV and others to become his *chevaliers*.<sup>69</sup> Amatus's interpretation was probably an indication of the proffering of oaths of security or fidelity by the captives to secure their freedom. Similarly, the *Libellus querulus* maintained that after their capture the Bernardi brothers gave hostages and pledges of fidelity to aid their release. Further connections between Robert and the Attonids or Bernardi are not documented, however, and unlikely given the Attonid subsequent retreat north to *Aprutium*. Within his lordship, the only man of local origin to be associated with Robert was Bambo, son of *Octavianius*, who witnessed the donation of 1095 to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti. Bambo,

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<sup>65</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 20r = *Collectionis bullarum*, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>66</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 20r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

<sup>67</sup> See Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 153.

<sup>68</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 610.

<sup>69</sup> *Amatus*, p. 330.

however, subscribed last following Robert of Loritello and five other Normans, suggesting he was a less important figure.

## 2.2. The county of Loreto

### 2.2.1. The origins and family of Drogo Tassio

To the north of Robert of Loritello's lordship the county of Loreto was constituted by his brother, Drogo Tassio – 'the badger'. Drogo is not documented in control of any lands in the Capitanata but it is probable that the brothers acted closely together both in Abruzzo and their familial lands. In 1076, Drogo was witness to a donation of Robert Guiscard to the cathedral of Melfi, which he testified as *Taxonius nepos ducis*, to which a *Robertus ducis nepos*, almost certainly Robert of Loritello, was also witness.<sup>70</sup> Drogo was also probably involved with his brother in the invasion of Abruzzo from the beginnings. Amatus of Montecassino claimed that many of the lands Robert conquered before Ortona were passed to Drogo, though this may be a confusion with the aftermath of the battle.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the *Libellus querulus* implied that Robert and Drogo acted in unison at Ortona and both received submission from those captured.<sup>72</sup> In Abruzzo, Drogo was evidently assigned lands and opportunities in northern Chieti and was titled as *comes Laureti* by the San Bartholomeo chronicler.<sup>73</sup> Laurent Feller has questioned the validity of Tassio's title of count, suggesting that the chronicler utilised this word in an informal matter to mean 'leader'.<sup>74</sup> None of Tassio's charters have survived, however, and it is entirely likely that he, like his brother, took the title count to aggrandise his status. Tassio's son William certainly assumed such as he named

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<sup>70</sup> *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, n. 23, pp. 87-9, p. 89.

<sup>71</sup> *Amatus*, p. 324.

<sup>72</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465.

<sup>73</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 47.

<sup>74</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 730, citing examples from Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 717.

himself in charter as *Guilgelmus filius quondam Taxonis comitis*.<sup>75</sup> This may be the reason why Robert took the title of *comes comitum*.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.2.2. Territory

Tassio's lordship represented the northernmost Norman annexations made after Ortona. His lordship seems to have centred on Loreto and the San Bartholomeo chronicler labelled Tassio *comes Laureti*. Loreto was situated in Penne and Drogo's lordship seems to have covered much of the old county of Penne with the exception of Robert of Loritello and Raynulf of Chieti's lands near the River Pescara and the lordship of Nebulo surrounding the city of Penne. Certainly, his son, William, held lands throughout the county by the turn of the century.<sup>77</sup> The San Bartholomeo chronicle related that Drogo had usurped the locale of *Valeczum* from the abbey but later came to a concord with San Bartholomeo concerning shared dominion and rights over the area.<sup>78</sup> The location of *Valeczum* is unknown but was presumably also situated in Penne, as the majority of San Bartholomeo's patrimony was. The final evidence concerning Drogo's territorial dominions arises from an 1115 confirmation of Pope Paschal II to the church of Chieti.<sup>79</sup> Included in this confirmation were churches in Lanciano, Atessa and Ortona and the *castella* of Chieti, *Trevillianum*, Villamaina and *Montem Filardum*. The veracity of these claims, however, is problematic. In this period, many Abruzzese ecclesiastical institutions obtained papal confirmation of donations and ownership of properties.<sup>80</sup> Many of the lands confirmed in these bulls, however, represented the aspirations of optimistic churchmen and were possibly based on forged charters. None of the donations mentioned in the 1115 bull are confirmed by other sources and these donations, if

<sup>75</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 243r.

<sup>76</sup> *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 9. This title was also used by Robert's son, Robert II of Loritello and Count Peter of Lesina and Roger I of Sicily, see De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalismo nel Molise', p. 279.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 871, 880; *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 263; Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 27, 29, 31. See also, below, p. 243.

<sup>78</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 47-8. See Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', pp. 61-2.

<sup>79</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, in San Clemente, Liber instrumentorum, fols. 245r-245v (a. 1121, Pope Calixtus II), 258v-259r (a. 1166, Alexander III) and in San Bartholomeo, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 128 (a. 1118, Paschal II).

true, were probably made by Robert of Loritello, particularly the donation of Chieti. It would seem likely, therefore, that the majority of Drogo's lands were accumulated in a lordship centred on Loreto.

### 2.2.3. Drogo Tassio and the church

Drogo presumably developed relations with certain ecclesiastics, such as Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and Bishop John of Penne, but his only documented relationship is with the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto.<sup>81</sup> Drogo was afforded a great deal of respect by Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, and was labelled a 'magnificent and most powerful man' and 'the magnificent and illustrious count'.<sup>82</sup> Alexander, however, was not shy of relating that one of Drogo's first contacts with the abbey was to usurp 'indignantly and irreverently' the *tenimentum* of *Valeczum*.<sup>83</sup> Sometime later, Drogo found it politic to return ownership of this property to the abbey. The charter of this donation has not survived but Alexander's description of the agreement showed that the transferral was accompanied by numerous terms and clauses.<sup>84</sup> The abbey was granted a tithe of the economic profits of the area and was invested with the right to freely redistribute the land of the *tenimentum*. Drogo, however, retained many rights over the population of the area, including control over judicial proceedings and profits. Much like his brother's agreement with Raynulf of Chieti concerning the *castellum* of Furca, Drogo's donation ensured that he gained an important ally on the fringes of his lordship but, nonetheless, retained ultimate control over the *tenimentum*. Drogo may also have claimed some services from the abbey for this donation, similar to what Robert

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<sup>81</sup> A purported charter of Drogo, documenting a donation to San Giovenale in Loreto of 1066 is dubious. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p.731. The text is available in Vincenzo Bindi, *Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzo* (Naples, 1889), p. 591, from a charter of the archive of San Pietro in Loreto but it is similar to a later charter, see Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 15-7. Similarly, a charter of the bishop of Chieti, now not extant, which claimed Drogo transferred all his right in Chieti to the bishop is questionable, Nicolino, *Historia della città di Chieti*, p. 130, though accepted by Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales', p.7.

<sup>82</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 47, 48, 'vir magnificus et potentissimus', 'magnificus et illustris comes'.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.



claimed from Raynulf for *Sancti Pauli*, as when Robert confirmed the donation of *Valeczum* to the monks of Carpineto after Drogo's death the chronicle related that he freed them of any services due.<sup>85</sup> The date of Drogo's death was not recorded but occurred at some time in the 1080s or 1090s.

### 2.3. The lordship of Nebulo of Penne

#### 2.3.1. The origins and associations of Nebulo of Penne

To the west of Drogo's lordship of Loreto, another Norman dominion was created after the victory at Ortona by a certain Nebulo. The origins of this Norman lord are unknown and he is the least documented of the Abruzzese Norman lords. The *Libellus querulus* described Nebulo as *nobilissimus Normangus* suggesting he was an influential figure. The *Libellus querulus* further related that the Bernardi brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, who had been captured by Robert of Loritello and Drogo Tassio at the battle of Ortona relinquished control of some of their lands to Nebulo in order to obtain their freedom and the security of their other possessions. Thus it is probable that Nebulo fought at Ortona and was assigned the forfeited properties of the Bernardi brothers.<sup>86</sup> The operations of Nebulo within his lordship are undocumented but it is clear that Nebulo maintained connections with the most important figures of the Norman invasion. In July 1086, Nebulo, subscribing as *Nebilo filius Farolfi*, was witness to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti's restoration of properties in the Caramanico valley to the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria.<sup>87</sup> This charter was also witnessed by Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>88</sup> At the same time, Nebulo was also witness to an associated land swap between the bishop and the abbey.<sup>89</sup> In both these charters, Nebulo subscribed alongside his brother, Massarius, and identified his father as Farolfus. Massarius was also witness to the third in this

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49'.

<sup>86</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1466.

<sup>87</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 235v.

<sup>89</sup> *Additamenta*, cols. 1002-3.

trio of documents of the July 1086 agreement which documented Hugh Malmouzet donating lands to the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>90</sup> These subscriptions suggest that Nebulo, his brother Massarius and his father Farolfus had some relationship with Hugh Malmouzet, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and the abbey of San Clemente. Nebulo himself evidently continued to be active in the Penne region into the twelfth century as in 1103 he was witness to a donation of Count Richard of Manoppello of the *castellum* of Fabali to the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>91</sup>

### 2.3.2. Territory

The *Libellus querulus* related that after their capture Trasmund and Bernard had appealed to the Bishop of Penne to provide sixty pounds of gold and silver ‘and a mantle and other ornaments and horses’ to pay their ransom.<sup>92</sup> Further to this, the Bernardi submission to Nebulo left him in possession of the city of Penne, the nearby *castellum* of Coll’Alto and the unidentifiable locale of *Speculum*, plus other unnamed *castella*. These lands were all to the west of Loreto and the north of Casauria and Carpineto and installed Nebulo in a lordship on the frontier of Penne-Marsia region. The *Libellus querulus*’s description of Nebulo as *nobilissimus* would suggest that his lands and influence were more extensive than those recorded in the sources, though he does not seem to have passed on his lordship onto any descendants.

## 2.4. The lordship of Hugh Malmouzet

### 2.4.1. The origins and family of Hugh Malmouzet

Little is known of Hugh’s origins or place of birth. In various documents he described himself as *de genere Francorum* or *ex natione Francorum*.<sup>93</sup> He is also listed in these

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<sup>90</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 239r-240r.

<sup>92</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1466.

<sup>93</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16; *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 120.

documents as *Ugo filius quondam Girberti*.<sup>94</sup> Unfortunately, this father, Girbertus, is unidentifiable and it is unknown whether it was Hugh or his father who first immigrated to Italy. Alexander of San Bartholomeo described Hugh as part of the *Normanni* but this cannot be firmly trusted to place Hugh's family origin to the duchy.<sup>95</sup> Hugh's sobriquet, written as *Malmozeatus* in the San Bartholomeo chronicle and as *Malmazettus* in the San Clemente chronicle, only appears in one charter, the 1093 donation to San Bartholomeo, written as *Malmozzetta*.<sup>96</sup> This name could originate from *malus mansellus* meaning 'bad land holding', similar to the name of the Norman historian Geoffrey Malaterra.<sup>97</sup> While this interpretation cannot help to geographically locate Hugh's origins, it does suggest that these origins were probably quite humble.

Given that Hugh gathered such a large lordship it is probable that he commanded a relatively large force of Normans when he entered the Chieti-Valva district. Hence, it would seem logical that Hugh was an associate of the Robert of Loritello, or his brother Drogo, from the Capitanata-Apulia region. As will be discussed below, this association was maintained after Ortona and the San Bartholomeo chronicle recorded claimed that after Drogo's death, the monks of Carpineto appealed to Robert to confirm Drogo's previous donation of *Valeczum*.<sup>98</sup> Alexander claimed that Hugh Malmouzet was present and party to this confirmation, though in what capacity is unclear. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Hugh's son, also named Hugh, was recorded as a possible client of the Norman count of Manoppello, Robert. As will be discussed in chapter 7, Hugh II, who supposedly persecuted the abbey of San Clemente, was captured by the forces of the Sansoneschi and Abbot Giso of San Clemente in an ambush in c.1110.<sup>99</sup> John Berard recorded that in order to gain freedom Hugh swore an oath,

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<sup>94</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16.

<sup>95</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 36.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. 120; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 867.

<sup>97</sup> Geoffrey related that he took his name from his 'antecessores', Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 49.

<sup>99</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 880-1.

promising not to disturb the abbey for as long as he lived.<sup>100</sup> This oath is reproduced in the San Clemente cartulary and included a clause reserving Hugh's services to the count of Manoppello.<sup>101</sup> Hugh II may have inherited these obligations of service from his father but it is more likely that Hugh II moved into the clientage of Robert of Manoppello following the defeat and death of Hugh Malmouzet at the turn of the century and the disintegration of his lordship.

#### 2.4.2. Territory

With the Chieti heartlands annexed into the county of Loritello and Penne divided between Drogo Tassio and Nebulo, Hugh Malmouzet's area of operation became the Valva-Chieti borderlands. Though the San Clemente chronicle implied that Hugh had begun operations in the area in the late-1060s, Hugh's first documented action in the region was his support for the candidature of John as abbot of San Bartholomeo in 1075.<sup>102</sup> John Berard's accusation that Hugh kidnapped Abbot Trasmund of San Clemente can probably be dated to late-1070s.<sup>103</sup> Berard also claimed that during the subsequent abbacy of Adam, from 1080-1087, San Clemente lost control of its properties in the area around Tocco, a *castellum* located only a few kilometres from the monastery.<sup>104</sup> It is possible that Hugh was behind these annexations, though it is equally likely that the inhabitants of Tocco, who Berard recorded had been harassing the abbey in the 1070s, were to blame.<sup>105</sup> Certainly, however, the region around San Clemente became the foundation of Hugh's lordship. In the charter of July 1086 detailing Hugh's donation to San Clemente, he listed his residence as Bectorrita, which was the closest *castellum* to the abbey.<sup>106</sup> The lands donated by Hugh in 1086, however, were

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r.

<sup>102</sup> See *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 37.

<sup>103</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 866.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 867.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 865.

<sup>106</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r.

located in the areas of *Sancti Syluri* and *Villamaina*, both located in central Chieti.<sup>107</sup> It is unlikely that Hugh's lordship stretched this far east and it is probable these lands had come to Hugh as plunder after Ortona. Hugh's donation of these distant lands to the abbey of San Clemente would have both increased his prestige within that abbey but also improved his relationship with Bishop Raynulf of Chieti, to whom the abbey immediately conferred the properties.

To the west of San Clemente, Hugh's patrimony had expanded to a considerable size by the 1090s. In April 1092, Hugh donated to the Bishop John of Valva, previously the abbot of San Clemente, the monastery of San Benedetto in *Colle Rotundo* and the church of Santa Maria in *Coronule*.<sup>108</sup> Also donated were associated lands in Navelli, Collepietro, Molina Aterno, Bussi, Acciano and the unidentifiable locales of *Civitate Urbona* and *Cleminianum*. These properties encompassed a large area of the Navelli plain and Laurent Feller has estimated the donation at 1,000 *modia*.<sup>109</sup> To the north of Bectorrita, but south of the lands of Nebulo of Penne, was located the *castellum* of *Follonicum*, which Hugh donated to the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto in 1093.<sup>110</sup> The lands associated with this donation measured 3,000 *modia*, making it one of the largest donations in the San Bartholomeo cartulary. These extensive donations to ecclesiastical institutions in Valva and Penne illustrate the extent of Hugh's lands as the fact that Hugh was able to donate such large tracts of land suggests that his own patrimony was of considerable size.<sup>111</sup> Hugh may also have captured the *castellum* of

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16. Most likely modern-day San Benedetto in Perillis and Santa Maria dei Cintorelli in Coporciano.

<sup>109</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 245 n. 80, 737-8.

<sup>110</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 120.

<sup>111</sup> A later confirmation of Pope Anatasius IV in August 1153 to the bishop of Valva claimed a 'Ugo filius Gerberti' had donated to the bishop an abbey in Bominaco, *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 35.

Brittoli, stronghold of the Bernardi clan, as his son, Hugh II, later controlled the *castellum*, as will be discussed in chapter 6.<sup>112</sup>

Hugh's final campaign led him south into the Peligna valley towards Sulmona. It is possible that during the 1090s Hugh gained possession of the *castellum* of Popoli which controlled the local strategic routes. No narrative sources or contemporary charters mention Hugh as lord of Popoli, however a *placitum* of 1102 seems to acknowledge that Hugh once held the *castellum* before it came into the possession of the bishop of Valva.<sup>113</sup> As the San Clemente chronicle related, the bishop later lost, or perhaps sold, Popoli to William Tassio, son of Drogo.<sup>114</sup> Further south, the mausoleum of San Alessandro in Corfinio, built in the mid-1090s by Bishop John of Valva, contains an inscription identifying it as the 'work of the strong, wise and powerful Hugh'.<sup>115</sup> As will be discussed below, Hugh had a close relationship with Bishop John but the identification of Hugh Malmouzet as the patron of San Alessandro is questionable. Thus the evidence seems to show that Hugh began his career in Abruzzo by annexing lands around the abbey of San Clemente and later extended his lordship north into Penne, west into the Navelli plain and finally south along the Peligna valley. By the end of his career Hugh was evidently attempting to advance southward to include the city of Sulmona into his lordship. His defeat and capture outside the walls of Prezza seem to have thwarted this expedition.

### **2.4.3. Hugh Malmouzet and the church**

#### **2.4.3.1. The abbey of San Clemente a Casauria**

Hugh Malmouzet's relationship with the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria can only be analysed by concurrently evaluating the opinions and prejudices of John Berard. As

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<sup>112</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 52-3.

<sup>113</sup> *Italia sacra*, I, col. 1364. See Giuseppe Celidonio, *La diocesi di Valva e Sulmona* (Casalbordino, 1909), vol. 2, p. 87.

<sup>114</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871.

<sup>115</sup> Celidonio, *La diocesi di Valva e Sulmona*, vol. 2, p. 94, vol. 3, p. 19, 'Ugonis fortis, sapientis nec ne potentis'. See also Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 32.

demonstrated in chapter 2, Berard consistently portrayed Hugh's intentions and actions as wholly negative and malicious. In his narrative, Hugh became an archetype for the various impious, voracious and irreverent secular lords who persecuted the abbey of San Clemente throughout its history. Close analysis of Berard's claims, however, demonstrates that Hugh's relationship with San Clemente was more complex, less exploitative and possibly more cordial than Berard was willing to accept. Furthermore, the supposed persecutions of Hugh were repeatedly used to excuse or contextualise the actions of contemporary abbots, who often abandoned the abbey for higher ecclesiastical office or exercised their abbacies without religious rigour.

According to the Berard, Hugh's first direct interaction with the abbey of San Clemente was his abduction of Abbot Trasmund in the late-1070s and the subsequent destruction of the abbey's complex. Berard claimed Hugh freed Trasmund 'after he demolished everything as he pleased' and Berard attributed the impetus for this assault to Hugh's anxiety at the new fortifications erected by the community of San Clemente.<sup>116</sup> Within his narrative, however, these supposed persecutions were employed to excuse Trasmund's abandonment of the abbey to concentrate on his duties as bishop of Valva.<sup>117</sup> Hugh's incursions in the region around San Clemente would have undoubtedly affected the patrimony of San Clemente but Hugh's antipathy towards Trasmund seems questionable. Unbeknown to Berard, Trasmund has previously been abbot of Santa Maria di Tremiti, a position he obtained with the assistance of Robert of Loritello.<sup>118</sup> Trasmund also had a controversial career as bishop of Valva and in 1080 Pope Gregory VII attempted to remove him from his post for usurping church properties, an incident not recorded by Berard.<sup>119</sup> Berard's further accusations of wanton destruction by Hugh against Trasmund's successor, Adam, were similarly employed to

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<sup>116</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 866, 'postquam omnia sicuti sibi placuerat demolitus est, Abbatem solvit, et liberum abire permisit'.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 866-7. See above, p. 100.

<sup>118</sup> *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.25, p. 392.

<sup>119</sup> *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, VIII.15 = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 381

excuse the abbot's behaviour as he 'allowed himself to be conquered to some degree by carnal pleasure'.<sup>120</sup>

By the mid-1080s, it is clear that Hugh had developed a complex relationship with San Clemente. A trio of connected documents from July 1086, all written at San Clemente by the same scribe, outline a complex series of land transactions between the Abbot Adam, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>121</sup> The crux of this agreement was a land swap between the abbey and the bishop in which San Clemente relinquished lands in Villamaina, in Chieti, in exchange for various properties in the Caramanico valley. As one charter shows, however, the Chieti lands were the property of Hugh, who donated them to Abbot Adam to facilitate the transaction. This donation was concluded with no stated financial reward to Hugh. John Berard was clearly uncomfortable with this act of apparent generosity and in his chronicle ambiguously attributed the donation to *Ugo, genere Francus*.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, the charter outlining Bishop Raynulf's transfer of the Caramanico properties to the abbey clearly stated that the business was conducted in the presence of Hugh 'who is at the present time the *advocatus* of the aforesaid monastery'.<sup>123</sup> San Clemente did not have a tradition of secular advocates and it is unclear what rights or responsibilities arose from this office.<sup>124</sup> Alexander, the Carpineto chronicler, related approvingly that Hugh appointed abbots in San Bartholomeo by his position as *dominus* of the abbey. Hugh's office of *advocatus* of San Clemente may have afforded him the similar rights to consultation in abbatial elections there.

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<sup>120</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868. Adam's last charter is dated July 1086, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r.

<sup>121</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 235v, 235v-236r, 236r; *Additamenta*, cols. 1002-3.

<sup>122</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 897

<sup>123</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 235v-235r, edited in Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 130-1, 'qui presenti tempore advocatus est de predicto monasterio.'

<sup>124</sup> On the complex role of the monastic *advocatus*, see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary church in the medieval west* (Oxford, 2006), p. 337. On the use of the office of *advocatus* in contemporary central Italy, see John Howe, *Church reform and social change in eleventh-century Italy* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 130 n. 27, 157.



Certainly, the next abbot of San Clemente, Adenulf, seems to have been sponsored or appointed by Hugh.<sup>125</sup> Berard criticised the appointment as Adenulf was from outside the community of San Clemente, though this was not unusual. Adenulf's successor, John, was, according to Berard, 'a monk of this same monastery, a man known for his piety and honest life' and elected without the interference of Hugh.<sup>126</sup> In fact, John was previously abbot of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and had been appointed to that position with the assistance of Hugh. As will be discussed below, Hugh continued cordial relations with John when he was later bishop of Valva and completed a large donation to the church in 1092.<sup>127</sup> The close relationship between Hugh and John also challenges Berard's assertions that Hugh persecuted the abbey during John's abbacy. In fact, in his narrative, Berard again used Hugh's supposed maliciousness to explain John's abandonment of the abbey for the bishopric of Valva. John's successor as abbot was Gilbert, whom Berard identified as Hugh's chaplain and denounced for pillaging the abbey. As John was still alive, however, and considering his relationship with Hugh, it is probable that he sanctioned the election of Gilbert. Moreover, Berard's description of the abbey's penury during the 1090s is contradicted by various examples of economic vibrancy found in the abbey's cartulary and chronicle.<sup>128</sup> Finally, the choice of Gilbert's successor, Grimoald, who came from the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno, far outside Hugh's sphere of influence, would seem to indicate that Hugh did not hold complete and malign control over abbatial elections in San Clemente, while his burial in the abbey's newly constructed crypt would suggest he was afforded a degree of respect by the monastic community.<sup>129</sup>

#### 2.4.3.2. The bishopric of Valva

<sup>125</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 868, 'quendam eiusdem Monasterii Monachum, religione et vita probabili notum'.

<sup>127</sup> Berard claimed John was elected bishop in 1094, *ibid.*, col. 868. In fact, John had been exercising the office since at least 1092, *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16.

<sup>128</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>129</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 870.

Hugh's career in Abruzzo seems to have been intertwined with that of John, abbot of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, San Clemente a Casauria and bishop of Valva. Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, reported that John was a monk of Montecassino and provost of the abbey of *Septem Fratrum* in *Aprutium* before he was elected as abbot of San Bartholomeo through the 'counsel and help' of the *dominus* of the abbey, Hugh Malmouzet, in 1075.<sup>130</sup> Alexander claimed that John was selected later as abbot of San Clemente by the brothers because of his 'prudence and commendable life'.<sup>131</sup> Considering Hugh's sponsorship of John in San Bartholomeo and his position as *advocatus* of San Clemente, however, it is probable that this transition was suggested or facilitated by Hugh. It is unclear whether John's election to the bishopric of Valva was influenced by Hugh. Alexander and John Berard recorded only that he was elevated because of his 'morals, honesty and wisdom'.<sup>132</sup> Both chroniclers related that John ignored his duties in San Clemente to concentrate on his bishopric.<sup>133</sup>

It is probable that Hugh continued his close association with John and that this relationship aided his incursions into Valva. In 1092, Hugh donated to John, as bishop of Valva, the monastery of San Benedetto in *Colle Rotundo* and the church of Santa Maria in *Coronule*.<sup>134</sup> The associated properties of this donation stretched over the Navelli plain and have been estimated at 1,000 *modia*.<sup>135</sup> Also located in this area was the church of Santa Maria Assunta e San Pellegrino in Bominaco which Pope Anastasius IV confirmed to one of John's successors as bishop, Signolf, in August 1153.<sup>136</sup> Signolf claimed that this property had originally been donated to the church by *Ugo filius Gerberti*, possibly Hugh Malmouzet, though this claim is obviously questionable. Furthermore, the mausoleum of San Alessandro in Corfinio, which contained an inscription possibly attributing its construction to Hugh, was

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<sup>130</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 37.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, 'prudentiam et vitam commendabilem'.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 868, 'mores, honestas et sapientia'

<sup>133</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 38; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 886-7.

<sup>134</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16.

<sup>135</sup> See above, p. 207.

<sup>136</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 35.

connected to John's cathedral of San Pelino in Corfinio. It is also possible that Hugh made other important donations to John during his lifetime or that the bishop was bequeathed properties as the San Clemente chronicle records that after Hugh's death, Bishop John was left in possession of two of Hugh's most important strongholds – the *castella* of Popoli and Bectorrita.<sup>137</sup> Such extensive and important donations, coupled with Hugh's support during John's burgeoning early career, suggest there existed a significant relationship between Hugh and the bishop that was mutually beneficial. Like many of the first Normans in southern Italy Hugh craved legitimacy, which could be found in recognition from ecclesiastical officials. Similarly, like many aspirational ecclesiastics of the period, John benefited from an association with a powerful secular lord.

#### 2.4.3.3. The bishopric of Chieti

Like Robert of Loritello, Hugh maintained connections with the most important Norman ecclesiastic of the region, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti, though as the lordship of Hugh was located mostly outside the diocese of Bishop Raynulf, their interactions were infrequent. Hugh's involvement in the July 1086 property transfer of Bishop Raynulf and the abbey of San Clemente seems to have been due to his position as *advocatus* of San Clemente. The lands which Raynulf received, however, were originally Hugh's, surely ingratiating him to the bishop. In 1099, Raynulf invested his nephews, William and Gilbert, with a collection of church properties including Hugh's lands in Villamaina and the *castellum* of Furca which Robert of Loritello had granted to the bishop in 1095.<sup>138</sup> Both Hugh and Raynulf were also witness to Robert of Loritello's confirmation of the donations of Drogo Tassio to the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto.

#### 2.4.3.4. The abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto

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<sup>137</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871.

<sup>138</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 12 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 10, edited in Longo, *Silva sambuceti*, p. 111-3.

The opinions of the San Bartholomeo chronicler, Alexander, regarding the Normans and, particularly, the character of Hugh Malmouzet, provide a stark contrast to the condemnations of John Berard yet Hugh's relationship with the two Abruzzese abbeys was comparable. Alexander described Hugh as a 'noble and magnificent man' who 'by the will of God subjected all these provinces to his lordship'.<sup>139</sup> Alexander's subsequent descriptions of Hugh's influence on the abbatial elections in San Bartholomeo were universally positive but followed a similar pattern to John Berard's accounts. Alexander related that after the death of Abbot Adam in 1075, the brothers 'went to Hugh Malmouzet, who full of devotion and great love was an ally to the monastery [and] they consulted him' about the election of a new abbot.<sup>140</sup> This consultation led to the election of John, who would later rise to the positions of abbot of San Clemente and bishop of Valva. John's departure for San Clemente prompted the brothers to seek the 'advice' of Malmouzet who, 'by the suggestion of his wife' but also 'as if commanded by God' nominated Sanso, a monk of San Giovanni in Venere.<sup>141</sup> Alexander's final summary was that Hugh 'advised and exhorted' the brothers to elect Sanso and attributed Hugh's involvement in the election to his position as *dominus* of the abbey. This position as *dominus* may have afforded Hugh rights similar to those arising from his position as *advocatus* of San Clemente. This position may further explain Hugh's consultation concerning Robert of Loritello's confirmation of Drogo Tassio's donation of *Valeczum*.<sup>142</sup> Certainly, Hugh himself patronised the abbey and in November 1093 he donated to San Bartholomeo the *castellum* of *Follonicum* and other properties in Penne.<sup>143</sup> In total, this donation, as the charter related, measured three thousand *modia* of land and represented a considerably large donation relative to the gifts the abbey typically received.

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<sup>139</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 36, 'vir nobilis et magnificus, Ugo Malmozeatus, omnes provincias istas, nutu divino, suo subdidit dominatui.'

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, 'adeunt fratres Ugonem Malmozeatum, qui glutino devotionis et magne dilectionis erat monasterio federatus; consulant eum de invenienda persona quae regimini monasterii esset sufficiens et ad proponendum idonea'.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 120.

Hugh's relationship with San Bartholomeo, however, was not entirely benevolent. The departure of Abbot John to San Clemente was probably encouraged by Hugh. Furthermore, the election of Sanso, portrayed by Alexander as 'inspired by God', was probably a highly political appointment. As Alexander related, Sanso was a son of Carboncellus of the Bernardi clan and hence a brother of Bernard, the *bête noire* of Alexander and supposed persecutor of the abbey during the 1070s.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, Alexander claimed that Sanso had been banished to the abbey of San Giovanni because of the 'evilness' of his brother, yet Alexander firmly identified him as the nominee of Hugh. The appointment was politically shrewd on Hugh's part. Sanso and Bernard were descendants of the tenth-century founder of San Bartholomeo, Bernard, son of Liudinus, and the family had long disputed with the abbey its exact rights over the abbey and its properties. The installation of Sanso by Hugh thus pacified or rewarded the Bernardi at the expense of the liberty of the community of San Bartholomeo. Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, clearly had difficulty explaining this process as he twice resorted to insisting that Hugh's choice of Sanso was 'inspired by God'.<sup>145</sup> The implications of this election and Hugh's further relationship with the Bernardi will be discussed below.

#### **2.4.4. Hugh Malmouzet and the local aristocracy**

##### **2.4.4.1. The resistance of the Sansoneschi**

The geographical extent of Hugh Malmouzet's lordship brought him into contact with the Sansoneschi clan. As discussed in chapter 4, the family had emerged in the late-tenth and early-eleventh century as an aggressively expansionist force who frequently came into conflict with the abbey of San Clemente. The 1028 *placitum* of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany attempted to chastise the Sansoneschi but ultimately failed to halt their annexations. The abbey was thus forced to recognise Sansoneschi control of numerous disputed properties, including strategically important bridges over the Pescara, in exchange for oaths of security and pledges

<sup>144</sup> See above, p. 134 and Laurent Feller, 'Monastères privés', p. 80.

<sup>145</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 39.

to refrain from construction of fortifications in specified areas. This detente seems to have been upheld for some decades and in the 1060s various members of the family are documented donating lands to and cooperating with the abbots of San Clemente. A younger generation of the Sansoneschi, however, evidently chose to ignore this compact and in 1061 Pope Alexander II issued a warning to three younger members of the family – Trasmund, Bernard and Berard, sons of Sanso – threatening excommunication should they continue to persecute San Clemente.<sup>146</sup> Laurent Feller and Cesare Rivera have suggested this resurgence of conflict was prompted by the invasions of the Normans.<sup>147</sup> Given the date of Alexander's letter, however, more than a decade before the battle of Ortona, it would seem unlikely that any Norman had sufficiently penetrated the region to cause such frictions. More likely, Trasmund, Bernard and Berard, as younger members of the kin-group were disgruntled by the restrictions placed upon their territorial prospects by the conciliations made by their relatives towards the abbey of San Clemente.

No members of the Sansoneschi clan are documented at the battle of Ortona yet it is probable that the Sansoneschi were disadvantaged in the aftermath of the Norman victory. John Berard claimed that upon his arrival in the region surrounding San Clemente, Hugh Malmouzet 'disinherited, routed and expelled the barons and seized their *castella* and possessions for himself'.<sup>148</sup> Certainly, the Sansoneschi lost properties to Hugh. Bectorrita, the *castellum* which Hugh identified as his domicile in 1086, was previously a Sansoneschi property.<sup>149</sup> The family also had close connections to two of the *castella* donated to Bishop John of Valva in 1092 – Collepietro and Bussi.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, this charter was witnessed by numerous members of the Sansoneschi clan – Remigius, son of Rainald, Rainald, son of

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<sup>146</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 288r-288v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 862-3.

<sup>147</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 726; Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 20.

<sup>148</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 869-70, 'barones exheredavit, fugavit, expulit, et castella eorum et possessiones sibi usurpavit'.

<sup>149</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194-195r; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 844.

<sup>150</sup> Three Sansoneschi brothers – Massarius, Rainald and Sanso – had donated land near Bussi to Montecassino as recently as 1061. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 245 n. 79, 586.

Oderisius and Rainald, son of Walterius – and other men with names characteristic of the kin-group.<sup>151</sup> These men were probably included in the proceedings due to their interests in the lands donated and Laurent Feller has concluded that this association evidences an alliance between Hugh and the Sansoneschi clan.<sup>152</sup> This conclusion, however, is contradicted by John Berard's account of Hugh's defeat and capture during an attempted siege of the *castellum* of Prezza. The lord of Prezza, though unnamed by Hugh, was probably a member of the Sansoneschi clan. Prezza was the traditional base of the Sansoneschi, from which they expanded north and east during the tenth and eleventh century.<sup>153</sup> A member of the clan, *Sanso Valvensis*, whom Berard identified as the progenitor of the entire kin-group, controlled the *castellum* as early as the late-ninth century.<sup>154</sup> Hugh's assault on Prezza can be seen as a final attempt to subdue the Sansoneschi family, whose power and patrimony had been undermined significantly by 1092 but who continued to resist Hugh's expansion of his lordship, as will be discussed further in chapter 7.

#### 2.4.4.2. The collaboration of the Bernardi

Hugh's relationship with the Bernardi clan seems to have progressed more amicably. As discussed above, Hugh's nomination of Sanso, son of Carboncellus, as abbot of San Bartholomeo was probably intended to placate the ambitions or reward the loyalty of the Bernardi. The family's cooperation with the Normans may have begun in the aftermath of the battle of Ortona. The *Libellus querulus* claimed the Bernard and Trasmund, two brothers of the Bernardi, had been captured after the battle by Robert of Loritello and Drogo Tassio. Their freedom was attained, according to the author of the *Libellus querulus*, by offering pledges of fidelity in lieu of money payment and they later 'made peace' with Nebulo of Penne to secure

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<sup>151</sup> For a genealogy of the Sansoneschi, see *ibid.*, p. 586.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 726.

<sup>153</sup> See above, p. 174.

<sup>154</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 819-20.

control of some of their lands.<sup>155</sup> Hugh seems to have had most contact with a younger generation of the Bernardi, including Bernard, son of Carboncellus. This Bernard was a nemesis of Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, who denounced him as ‘originated from the devil’ and ‘fodder of the Antichrist’ for his supposed persecution of San Bartholomeo.<sup>156</sup> The Normans, according to Alexander, were the God-given solution to the scourge of Bernard and he claimed that Bernard, defeated by the Normans, ‘died destitute and in exile’.<sup>157</sup> Although Hugh did annex the Bernardi base at Brittoli, the appointment of Sanso as abbot of San Bartholomeo contradicts this interpretation. Furthermore, Hugh’s only surviving son, Hugh II, would later sell the *castellum* of Brittoli to Bernard’s son, Gentile, a transaction which was sanctioned by William Tassio, and Hugh’s grandson, Roffredus, was associated with the same Gentile, which will be discussed in chapters 6 and 7. This continued relationship with the Bernardi evidently arose from Hugh’s associations with the family in the aftermath of the battle of Ortona. While Hugh violently pursued the defiant Sansoneschi family to their traditional base at Prezza, the Bernardi’s cooperation with the new regime necessitated the acceptance of certain Norman annexations but also secured the family important compensations, such as the appointment of Sanso as abbot of San Bartholomeo.

### **3. The political networks of the first Norman lords of Abruzzo**

The Norman conquest of southern Italy during the eleventh century left large swaths of the region under the dominion of immigrant Norman lords. The native aristocrats were variously exiled, disenfranchised or subsumed into a new political regime. The invasion of Abruzzo was an anomaly in this process. Lack of Norman immigration and manpower stunted the invasion and despite the victory at Ortona, the various sections of the aristocracy developed strategies to preserve their political and military power. As will be discussed

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<sup>155</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465.

<sup>156</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 34.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35. See above, p. 132.



further in chapter 7, the Attonid counts retreated behind a bulwark of ecclesiastical donations to re-establish a functioning lordship in the northern region of *Aprutium*, while lesser aristocratic families such as the Sansoneschi and Bernardi adapted to the new Norman regime with different strategies. The survival of these native aristocrats and their relations with the new Norman lords has led some historians to conclude that it was the Normans who were subsumed into the local political landscape. Ludovico Gatto has argued that the Normans were effectively transformed into members of the local aristocracy, while Laurent Feller has, in particular, viewed Hugh Malmouzet as ‘the head of the local aristocracy’ who held ‘weak ties’ to his fellow Normans.<sup>158</sup> As will be demonstrated below, however, it is clear that the first Norman lords of Abruzzo, while acknowledging the value of political interface with the local aristocracy, maintained lordships which primarily relied on Norman political connections and sustained a stable network of political associations with the other Norman lords of Abruzzo. This network was anchored on Robert of Loritello’s position as overlord but also included the clear delineation of autonomous Norman lordships, an absence of strict terms of service between Robert and other Norman lords and a process of political cooperation. Such connections aided the integrity of the invasion and ensured that, until the royal invasion of 1140, there were no recorded instances of warfare between two Norman parties.

### **3.1. Seigneurial autonomy and the distribution of lordships**

The central lordship of the Norman annexations in Abruzzo was the county of Loritello. Robert of Loritello’s lordship within Abruzzo was centred on Lanciano in southern Chieti. To the east, his influence ran to the coast with Ortona presumably coming into his dominion after the defeat of the Attonids forces there. To the west, Robert’s control extended to the Caramanico valley, where his properties included churches in Bucchianico, as evidenced by a 1095 charter. Beyond this valley was the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet. As discussed above,

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<sup>158</sup> Gatto, 'Roberti I, Conte di Loritello, Normanno d'Abruzzo', pp. 435-65; Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 738-9.

Hugh's lordship extended across the Navelli plain and down the Peligna valley. Hugh's dominion also included lands around the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, as outlined by his 1093 donation, but not any farther north. Indeed, to the north of these lands was founded the lordship of Nebulo of Penne who consolidated the lands forfeited by the Bernardi brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, after Ortona to create a lordship around the city of Penne. To the west of Nebulo's lordship, the county of Loreto was established by Drogo Tassio, whose son, and possibly Drogo himself, came to dominate much of the old county of Penne. The border between Drogo's lordship and the county of Loritello to the south, however, does not seem to have been based on the traditional frontier of the River Pescara as Robert's donation to Raynulf of Chieti in 1095 included two properties 'beyond the Pescara'.

This clear separation of spheres of influence militated against internecine conflict and assisted the integrity of the invasion. Military campaigns evidently continued in Abruzzo following the Norman victory at Ortona. The agreements of Robert of Loritello with Bishop Raynulf of Chieti concerning *Sculcula* and *Sancti Pauli* and Drogo Tassio's concord with the abbey of San Bartholomeo concerning *Valeczum*, suggest that these Norman lords were interested in maintaining their military capabilities. These resources, however, do not seem to have been utilised against fellow Norman lords and, where evidence survives concerning contemporary military campaigns, it was resistant local aristocrats, such as the Sansoneschi, who faced Norman military campaigns. The delineation of spheres of influences and the opportunity for expansion north and west ensured limited rivalry amongst the new Norman lords. As will be discussed in chapter 6, the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet and the creation of the county of Manoppello led to a redistribution of territorial interests but the second generation of Norman lords maintained clearly defined lordships and refrained from internecine conflict. The delineation of these lordships was also aided by the network of political connections established between the Norman lords, as will be discussed below.

### 3.2. Administration and clientage within the lordships

#### 3.2.1. Robert of Loritello

Within the Norman lordships, the Abruzzese Norman lords maintained functioning administrations anchored on Norman political connections. The comital administration of Robert of Loritello proved relatively sophisticated, as illustrated by the undated charter describing the sale of *Sancti Pauli* to the Bishop Raynulf of Chieti by Geoffrey of *Vulturara*.<sup>159</sup> Geoffrey is not identified in any other sources but the sale must have taken place before 1101, the *terminus ante quem* of Robert's death.<sup>160</sup> Geoffrey was evidently an Apulian Norman, from Volturara in northern Apulia, situated not far from Robert's base at Loritello. Thus Geoffrey was probably a comrade of Robert's who had accompanied or followed him into Abruzzo. The charter identified Geoffrey's lord as Gervais, a Norman name and implied that Geoffrey, and possibly Gervais, were also subject to the overlordship of Robert. The terms of the sale dictated that Raynulf owed no services to Geoffrey following the sale of the *castellum* but that Raynulf now owed one knight's service for forty days each year to Robert, presumably the same arrangement that had been in place between Geoffrey and Robert.<sup>161</sup> The knight that Raynulf was to arm and supply was, in fact, named as Geoffrey himself but the terms stipulated that this service was only due if Robert was campaigning in Abruzzo. This agreement, between a network of Normans including Bishop Raynulf, secured the northern frontier of Robert's lordship while limiting the performance of services to campaigns with were mutual beneficial to Geoffrey, Raynulf and Robert.

The text of Robert's donation to Raynulf and the church of Chieti in 1095 further illustrate that Robert had created a network of clients within his lordship and had installed a rudimentary administrative system. The charter, as was customary with contracts agreed in

<sup>159</sup> Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti*, p. 130 = *Italia sacra*, VII, cols. 700-1. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 742 and Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales', pp. 213-4.

<sup>160</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti* n. 11. See below, p. 230.

<sup>161</sup> Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti*, p. 130.

this region and period, included a payment or fine that Robert was liable to forfeit should he break the terms of the agreement.<sup>162</sup> This particular charter stipulated a fine of fifty pounds of gold. Another clause, however, unusually for this period, specified that if a *minister* or *vicecomes* of Robert's presented any opposition – termed *contrarietatem* or *molestationem* – to this agreement he would lose Robert's *gratia* and would be fined one hundred *solidos* of gold.<sup>163</sup> This fine was to be partly paid into Robert's *camera*. The utilisation of terms such as *vicecomes* and *camera* hark back to the region's history as part of the duchy of Spoleto and its former experience under formalised imperial administration. In the context of the charter, however, these terms most likely illustrate an informal and less codified system of administration initiated by Robert and were deployed by the author of the charter in lieu of the availability of other, more appropriate, terms. Yet an aspiration to formal administration was hinted at within the charter as the notary, *Andreas notarius*, was an agent of Robert, not the bishop, and he was authorised to attach Robert's own lead seal to the document. This seal was impressed with the image of a horse on one side and the text 'Roberti comitis sigillum' on the other.<sup>164</sup>

Furthermore, Robert's entourage and associates were also almost exclusively of Norman lineage. After the victory at Ortona, as Amatus recorded, Robert received the submission of many members and associates of the Attonid kin-group but there is no evidence to show that Robert had a cordial relationship with these counts after their humiliation at Ortona. After this only two personages of Lombard lineage were connected with Robert in the sources. A Landulf of *Languandalia*, of an unknown locale but undoubtedly a Lombard due to his name, witnessed the sale of *Sancti Pauli* to Raynulf of Chieti. The last witness of Robert's donation of 1095 to the church of Chieti was Bambo, son of *Octavianus*, another traditionally Lombard name, though Bambo's inferior position in the witness list suggests he held an

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<sup>162</sup> *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 9.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

unimportant position. Beyond these men, it is evident that Robert surrounded himself with men of Norman origin or lineage. An *Umfredus filius Radulfi*, was listed as first witness to Robert's donation of 1095 and the same personage, named as *Onfredus filius Radulphi*, witnessed the sale of *Sancti Pauli* to Raynulf of Chieti. Given his precedence in the witness list of the 1095 charter, it is probable that this Humphrey was a lieutenant of Robert's and that he acted as Robert's representative at the sale of *Sancti Pauli*. As mentioned above, the vendor of *Sancti Pauli*, Geoffrey of Volturara, was a client of Robert's from an area near Loritello. Geoffrey's lord, Gervais, also held a Norman name. Similarly, many of Robert's other associates held typically Norman names and sobriquets. Personages such as Peter *Malismanibus* and William *Balistarius*, witnesses to the sale of *Sancti Pauli*, were probably Norman.<sup>165</sup> The witness list of Robert's charter of 1095 included Robert or Bernard *Burscella*, Robert of *Merulo*, William *Scalfonis*, the possible progenitor of a lineage of Norman lords who held lands in Abruzzo into the thirteenth century and Robert *Rufini*.<sup>166</sup> This Robert *Rufini* completed a donation to San Clemente a Casauria near the turn of the century which was witnessed by a *Rao* and Asketill (*Ascectinus*).<sup>167</sup>

### 3.2.2. The entourage of Hugh Malmouzet

As discussed above, Hugh Malmouzet had close connections, both amicable and belligerent, with the local aristocracy of his lordship. Yet his closest associates were primarily men of Norman-French origin. In the witness list of Hugh's 1093 donation to the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto the subscription following those of Hugh, his sons and the abbot

<sup>165</sup> William's cognomen suggests he was an expert in tension weapons, possibly relating to siege engines, see Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, p. 79.

<sup>166</sup> On the Scalfio family, see Jamison, *Catalogus baronum*, n. 362, 263, 380, 1024 and Evelyn Mary Jamison, 'The Sicilian-Norman kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British academy* 24 (1938), pp. 237-85, p. 244. Robert *Burscella* may have been a relative of William Buscella, who identified Robert of Loritello as his lord in a donation charter to the abbey of Tremiti in 1075-7, *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 83.

<sup>167</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 238v. This Robert may have been the Robert, son of Rao, who donated to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella in 1079, *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 270. For the name Asketill in southern Italy, see Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 210.

was Robert *de montes terre* and *Asgottus* (Asgaut) both Norman names.<sup>168</sup> The following subscription, *Gonterus*, was also possibly Norman. This precedence in such an important charter was a mark of prestige and probably illustrated these men close association with Hugh. Similarly, on the witness list of the charter of Hugh's 1093 donation to the Bishop John of Valva, the name of *Arduin qui est ex genere Francorum* is found third only to Hugh's signature and that of Hugh's son, Robert.<sup>169</sup> The trio of charters of July 1086 concerning the property exchanges of Hugh, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and San Clemente were all witnessed by *Massarius* and his brother the Norman lord, *Nebulo* of Penne, witnessed two of the charters.<sup>170</sup> Hugh developed important connections to the local aristocracy, both cordial and hostile, but it was these Norman men who formed the core of his administration and power.

### 3.3. Political connections between the first Norman lords of Abruzzo

Moreover, it is evident that these lords maintained a network of political connections with secular powers outside their lordships which was restricted to fellow Normans. Certainly, Robert of Loritello had firm political ties to many of the prominent personages of the initial invasions and kept open relations with the emergent lords of the Norman Abruzzo. Chief among these allies was Robert's brother, Drogo Tassio. As discussed above, Drogo had been politically involved with his brother from an early date both in the Capitanata-Apulia lands and in Abruzzo. Following the assertions of Amatus of Montecassino, it would seem that Drogo acted as a military lieutenant for his brother during the early invasion of Abruzzo.<sup>171</sup> Likewise, as the *Libellus* implied, Drogo played an important part in the Norman victory at Ortona and received oaths of fidelity from captives.<sup>172</sup> After this decisive victory, Drogo was established in his own lordship to the north of Robert's lands. It unclear how close a political or military

<sup>168</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pion. 120. For the name Asgaut in southern Italy, see Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 212.

<sup>169</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16. Hugh used a similar phrase to identify his ethnicity in 1086, *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 236r.

<sup>170</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 235v-236r, 236r; *Addimenta*, cols. 1002-3.

<sup>171</sup> *Amatus*, p. 324.

<sup>172</sup> *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465.

connection was retained between the brothers but the deputation of the monks of San Bartholomeo to Robert after Drogo's death would seem to imply that close ties continued between the brothers.<sup>173</sup> Hugh Malmouzet's presence at this audience in Lanciano would suggest that Robert, and possibly Drogo, had maintained a connection with Hugh during the 1080s and 1090s. Furthermore, the complex property agreement concluded in 1086 between Hugh, the abbey of San Clemente and the bishop of Chieti, in which Hugh acted as *advocatus* of the abbey, was witnessed by Nebulo of Penne of Penne and his brother *Massarius*. Nebulo himself seems to have fought alongside Robert of Loritello at Ortona and the *Libellus querulus* implied that some Nebulo's lands in Penne had to been granted to him by Robert. Later Nebulo witnessed a donation of 1103 by Richard of Manoppello to the abbey of San Clemente, establishing a political connection between the first network of Norman lords and the second generation who ruled the Norman lordships in the twelfth century and maintained the network of political connections established by their predecessors, as will be discussed in chapter 6.<sup>174</sup>

## Conclusion

Unlike Norman operations in much of southern Italy, the Norman invasion of Abruzzo did not initiate with a phase of mercenary service or brigandage. Norman operations in Abruzzo, under the command of Count Robert of Loritello, began in the mid-to-late-1060s and culminated in victory at Ortona, which fatally undermined Attonid political authority in the region. Despite a marked lack of immigration in comparison to other regions of southern Italy, a network of Norman lordships was established in Abruzzo following this decisive victory. These new Norman lords rejected the traditional comital divisions of Abruzzo and established

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<sup>173</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 48.

<sup>174</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 239r-240r.

the counties of Loritello and Loreto and the lordships of Nebulo of Penne and Hugh Malmouzet. Extending from Robert of Loritello's familial lands in the Capitanata to the River Pescara, and possibly beyond, and from the Adriatic coast to the Caramanico valley, the county of Loritello operated as the fulcrum and lynchpin of the Abruzzese Norman lordships. Within this lordship, Robert developed close connections to the Bishop Raynulf of Chieti, who assisted Robert's military campaigns, yet maintained few meaningful associations with the local aristocracy. Robert's brother, Drogo Tassio, established his lordship on the *castellum* of Loreto and possibly controlled properties stretching to the frontier with the county of *Aprutium*. Like his brother, Drogo established a cooperative relationship with the local ecclesiastical authorities, most importantly San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, but no relationship with the local aristocracy was documented. Nearby, however, the Norman lord Nebulo came to a negotiated settlement with the local aristocratic clan, the Bernardi, and established a lordship around the city of Penne.

The best documented and most maligned Norman lord of Abruzzo, however, was Hugh Malmouzet, who operated in a lordship encompassing much of the western Chieti and the Navelli plain and Peligna valley. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, the narrative sources for Hugh's career contain numerous inaccuracies and prejudices. Though territorial usurpations evidently occurred, Hugh's relationship with the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria was, despite the protestations of John Berard, not wholly exploitative. In particular, his involvement in abbatial elections was not malign and much of the turmoil within the community can be attributed to factional conflicts. Conversely, his exaltation by Alexander of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto is unfounded as Hugh indulged the abbey's persistent adversaries, the Bernardi clan, by installing Abbot Sanso. Hugh's relationship with the local aristocracy was also complex. The Bernardi clan became close allies of Hugh and his descendants, as will be discussed in chapters 6 and 7. Yet the Sansoneschi clan, although initially subjugated by Hugh, ultimately brought about the disintegration of his lordship



following his defeat at Prezza. Furthermore, within his lordship Hugh's primary political associations were with men of Norman origin. This process was repeated in the other Norman lordships, where the existence of local aristocrats in Norman entourages and administrations was rare and principal clients were of Norman origin. Moreover, the first Norman lords of Abruzzo established and maintained a network of political connections amongst themselves that bolstered Norman authority in the region but militated against internecine conflict. Further south, conflicts between the Hautevilles, princes of Capua and the Norman counts of Lesina disrupted Norman annexations. The luxury of internecine strife and power-struggles was not available to the first Norman lords of Abruzzo who established a network of political connections, based on the leadership of Robert of Loritello yet without onerous obligations, which ensured Norman power in Abruzzo. The evolution of this network and the shifting nature of the Abruzzese Norman lordships in the twelfth century will be examined in the next chapter.

## Chapter 6

### Consistency and adaptation in the Norman lordships of Abruzzo, c.1100-1140

#### Introduction

The 1090s were a period of transition and tribulation within the Norman lordships of southern Italy. The death of Robert Guiscard in 1085 left his son, Roger Borsa, as duke of Apulia and Calabria yet Roger's authority was often undermined by his half-brother, Bohemond of Taranto. This period also witnessed the increasing autonomy of the Apulian cities, particularly Bari, and a revolt in Gaeta.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the death of Prince Jordan of Capua in 1090 exposed the political weakness of his heirs, who were briefly expelled from the city of Capua. These issues persisted into the twelfth century until the unification of the region under the authority of Roger II of Sicily and the foundation of the kingdom of Sicily in 1130. In Abruzzo, this period witnessed the death of Count Robert of Loritello, the collapse of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet and the ascent of a second generation of Abruzzese Norman lords. Moreover, a new Norman political authority was established in western Chieti by the counts of Manoppello. This chapter will investigate the nature and modification of the Norman lordships of Abruzzo, beginning with an examination of the extent of Count Robert II of Loritello's involvement in Abruzzo and continuing with an analysis the county of Loreto, the lordship of Hugh II Malmouzet and the county of Manoppello. These investigations will assess the alteration in the territorial boundaries of these lordships and the modification of the relationship between the local ecclesiastical powers and the Abruzzese Norman lords. The evolution of the associations of the Norman lords with the local aristocracy will also be examined. Finally, this chapter will attempt to determine whether the network of political

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<sup>1</sup> See Paul Oldfield, *City and community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2009).

connections established by the first Normans lords of Abruzzo was preserved by their successors into the twelfth century.

## 1. Count Robert II of Loritello's involvement in Abruzzo

### 1.1. The death of Robert I of Loritello

The final certain documented action of Robert of Loritello was a donation to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella in 1096.<sup>2</sup> Robert I had been active since the 1060s, suggesting that by his death he was an elderly man. The *terminus ante quem* of Robert's death is provided by his son's May 1101 donation to the bishop of Chieti which confirmed the terms of Robert I's 1095 charter.<sup>3</sup> This charter would seem to confirm that Robert II, whose date of birth is not recorded, was of age and that his father had died, necessitating the confirmation of Bishop Raynulf's rights and responsibilities in *Sculcula*. It is probable that Robert II was politically active by 1095 as Robert I's original charter noted it 'was done with the consent of my son, Robert'.<sup>4</sup> Leon-Robert Ménager has postulated that a charter of June 1100, issued in the city of Bovino in the Capitanata, by Robert 'comitis comitum de Loretello', is the earliest surviving independent charter of Robert II, thus revising the date of the death of his father.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, however, this charter may present the last action of Robert I. The text of this charter only survives in a copy from the *Italia sacra*, wherein the editors described Robert, without explanation, as *nepotis Rogerii et Guillelmi Ducum*. This identification was clearly intended to refer not to Robert I, a nephew of Roger I of Sicily and William Hauteville, only ever referred to as counts, but to Robert II, a cousin of Roger Borsa and his son, William, both dukes of Apulia. While this 1100 charter does not provide internal evidence to support or reject this identification, the advanced age of Robert I by this date and the independent political actions

<sup>2</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 26r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 'consentiente filio meo Roberto factum est'.

<sup>5</sup> See *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, p. 59. The charter settled a dispute between the abbey of Santa Maria di Banzi and Robert's *baiuli* in Bovino and Montellare.

of Robert II by May 1101 suggest this charter should be attributed to Robert II. Thus the death of Robert I of Loritello must be assigned to the years 1096-1100.

## 1.2. Robert II of Loritello's career in Apulia-Capitanata

Like his father, Robert II held control over a broad expanse of lands between Abruzzo and Apulia. Unlike his father, however, Robert focused almost exclusively on issues in the south of his lordship. The charter of June 1100, discussed above, was issued in the city of Bovino in the Capitanata and concerned a dispute between the abbot of Santa Maria di Banzi, and Robert's *baiuli* from Bovino and Montellare. In 1107, Robert donated the monastery of *Sancti Lupi*, outside the city of Fiorentino in Capitanata, to the monastery of San Lorenzo in Aversa. As with most of Robert's documents, this charter was issued in Termoli.<sup>6</sup> Two properties donated by Robert to the abbey of Santa Maria di Tremiti in December 1111, were located not far away in the area of Campomarino.<sup>7</sup> Another charter issued at Termoli, in April 1113, described Robert's petition to the abbey of Montecassino to be accepted into the abbey's confraternity.<sup>8</sup> In October 1114, Robert granted generous rights to the abbey of Santa Sophia in Benevento over churches in his lands.<sup>9</sup> These various donations demonstrate Robert's focus on his southern lands and also suggest a degree of piety in his character.<sup>10</sup> His numerous associations with the papacy may have stemmed from this piety but also brought political prestige during the weakened regency and rule of Duke William of Apulia. Falco of

<sup>6</sup> *Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta*, ed. Antonius Spinelli, *et al.* (6 vols., Naples, 1845-61), vol. 5, p. 310, n. 525; *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, ed. Martin, vol. 2, p. 736-8. See Martin, 'La Pouille et les Abruzzes (XIe-début du XIIIe siècle)', p. 81 and Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 90, pp. 262-4. Robert identified himself in this charter, as his father had, as *comes comitum*.

<sup>8</sup> Gattula, *Historiae*, pp. 344-5. See De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalismo nel Molise', p. 281 and Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 84

<sup>9</sup> See Wolfgang Jahn, *Untersuchungen zur normannischen Herrschaft in Süditalien (1040-1100)* (New York, 1989), pp. 329-341, 400-1 n. 16, Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, pp. 721-7 and Loud, 'A Lombard abbey in a Norman world: St Sophia, Benevento', pp. 273-306. Robert donated properties to Santa Sophia in 1122, *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, ed. Martin, vol. 2, pp. 736-8. See Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Though the abbot of San Nicola of Troia accused Robert and his brother William of seizing church lands, Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 81.

Benevento claimed that Robert, along with other nobles, swore to observe the truce of God in front of Pope Paschal II at Troia in 1115.<sup>11</sup> At the latter assembly, Robert, alongside the prominent dissidents Jordan of Ariano and Raynulf of Caiazzo, became papal vassals.<sup>12</sup> In 1124, Robert subscribed a charter of Pope Calixtus II, alongside Duke William, Jordan of Ariano and others, which restored properties to San Nicola of Troia.<sup>13</sup> These various interactions demonstrated Robert's status amongst the Apulian nobility during the period of disintegration of ducal power in the region in the twelfth century and also his concentration on affairs in this region over his Abruzzese lordship.

### 1.3. Robert II, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and the donation charter of 1101

Ultimately, the only evidence concerning Robert II's connection to his father's lands in Chieti comes from a donation charter of May 1101 made to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti. This charter is extant on a parchment contained in the episcopal archives in Chieti which also contains an altered copy of Robert I's 1095 donation to the church of Chieti. In the text, Robert identified himself as 'count by divine will and clemency, son of Count Robert, the above mentioned' and donated the *castellum* of *Sculcula*.<sup>14</sup> As the text expressly related, the *castellum* was granted under certain conditions, specifically those also attached to Robert I's donation of the *castellum* of Furca to Raynulf in 1095. In actuality, this was a confirmation or renegotiation of Raynulf's control of *Sculcula*, as the original charter of Robert's donation of 1095, now in Naples, stipulated numerous clauses concerning Raynulf's control of Furca yet simply related that he had restored and confirmed (*restituimus et confirmamus*) *Sculcula* to the bishop along with several other properties.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Raynulf's claims to *Sculcula* dated from 1086, when the defeated Count Trasmund III donated the *castellum* to the bishop with

<sup>11</sup> *Chronicon Beneventanum*, ed. Edoardo d'Angelo (Florence, 1998), p. 32. See De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalesimo nel Molise', p. 282.

<sup>12</sup> See Loud, 'The papacy and the rulers of southern Italy, 1058-1198', p. 165.

<sup>13</sup> *Italia pontificia*, IX, p. 214.

<sup>14</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11, 'divina annuente clementia comes, filius comitis roberti supra memorati'.

<sup>15</sup> Edited in Longo, *Silva sambuceti*, pp. 104-9.

4,000 *modia*.<sup>16</sup> By this date, however, these lands may have already been under the control of the count of Loritello and the 1095 donation thus represented a settlement of various claims.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, the bishop held administrative duties and rights over the population of the *castellum* as, at some point in his episcopate, Raynulf concluded a pact with the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella to repopulate the *castellum* with people from the nearby *Castellare*.<sup>18</sup> The conditions of the charter of 1101 suggest that despite the lack of other chronicle or charter evidence, Robert II did, albeit briefly, take an interest in his father's Abruzzese lands. Indeed, Furca, and *Sculcula*, which was described as 'beyond the Pescara', were both on the northern fringes of the lordship of Loritello and were both a significant distance from Robert II's closest known area of operation.

The text of the charter of 1101 did not record a location and thus while this charter does not definitively document Robert in Abruzzo, the previous charter's dating at Lanciano may have been implied. Furthermore, whilst the first witness listed in the text was Robert's uncle, *Radulfus*, the further names subscribed suggest that Robert had maintained some of his father's important Abruzzese connections.<sup>19</sup> William Tassio was a cousin of Robert II's, being a son of Drogo Tassio, and had inherited much of his father's lordship in the county of Loreto. Richard of Manoppello was also listed as a witness alongside his brother Geoffrey. Finally, a direct connection to Robert I's regime was provided by the subscription of William *Scalfonis*, who had also witnessed the 1095 donation charter of Robert.<sup>20</sup> This association with some of

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<sup>16</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 9 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 8 = Nicolino, *Historia della città di Chieti*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>17</sup> For further discussion of this donation, see chapter 7, section 1.1.

<sup>18</sup> *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii.

<sup>19</sup> This Rodulf was count of Catanzaro in Calabria by the late 1080s, see Evelyn Jamison, 'Note e documenti per la storia dei conti Normanni di Catanzaro', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 1 (1931), pp. 454-5. He also witnessed a number of the charters of Duke Roger Borsa, *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, n. 53, 59. On Rodulf, see also *Amatus*, p.294-5, Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 91-2 and *Regii Neapolitani archivi monumenta*, vol. 5, n. 249.

<sup>20</sup> William Scalfo was described by Orderic Vitalis as the son of Arnold of Echauffour who emigrated to southern Italy and became an associate of Robert I of Loritello. According to Orderic, Robert granted William control of thirty towns. The location of these properties is unknown but William's descendants, who also used the name Scalfo, became an important Abruzzese family during the twelfth century, *The*

the most important figures amongst the Norman political network of Abruzzo suggests that Robert may have concluded this arrangement with Raynulf in his Chieti lands and held an interest, however briefly, in the administration of the northern lands of his lordship. Yet it is obvious from the text of this charter that Robert's actions here were purely conservative and were probably as a result of a plea of Raynulf. Overall, Robert's interest lay in his southern territories and in his relations with the dukes of Apulia and the prominent abbeys of the Apulia-Capitanata region.

## 2. The Norman lordships of Abruzzo in the early-twelfth century

### 2.1. The lordship of Hugh II Malmouzet

#### 2.1.1. The death of Hugh Malmouzet

The downfall and death of Hugh Malmouzet was described with glee by the San Clemente chronicler, John Berard, in a highly fictionalised account.<sup>21</sup> As discussed in chapter 5, Hugh's campaigns into the Peligna valley by the 1090s culminated in a siege of Prezza, a traditional Sansoneschi stronghold. Berard attributed Hugh's defeat and capture during this siege to his seduction by the sister of the lord of Prezza.<sup>22</sup> It is more likely that Hugh had overextended his military abilities and was captured during a rally from the *castellum* or during an attack by a relieving force. Berard seemingly took pleasure in relating how Hugh 'was cast in prison for a long time, confined until he restored freedom to all the land he had invaded'.<sup>23</sup> This may be a simplistic interpretation but as the 1111 compact between the Sansoneschi and Abbot Alberic of San Clemente documented, the clan had by that date regained control over many of the properties which formed the core of Hugh's lordship. John Berard dated the events at Prezza and Hugh's subsequent death to the abbacy of Grimoald

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*ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1968-81), vol. 2, pp. 126-7. See Jamison, 'The Sicilian-Norman kingdom', p. 244.

<sup>21</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 869-70.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 869-70. Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 159 has highlighted the similarity of this passage to the Book of Judith.

<sup>23</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 870, 'et tamdiu ipse in carcere iacuit clausus, donec totam terram quam invaserat liberam redderet'.

but before the abbot's supposed consecration by Pope Urban II. The earliest charter of Grimoald is dated July 1097 and Berard claimed, with no supporting evidence, that Grimoald's predecessor, Gilbert, was elected in 1094.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Berard dated Grimoald's consecration by Urban II and William Tassio's operation in Hugh's former dominions to 1098-1101, though it is unclear whether he was unaware of Urban's death in 1099.<sup>25</sup> Thus while Berard's chronology is circumspect and Hugh's latest documented evidence arises from his 1093 donation to the abbey of San Bartholomeo, it is probable that the siege of Prezza and Hugh's death occurred in the final few years of the eleventh century and thus at a similar date to the death of Robert I of Loritello. Whilst the lordship of Loritello passed smoothly to Robert II, the defeat and death of Hugh Malmouzet marked the beginning of the disintegration of his lordship.

### 2.1.2. The family and heirs of Hugh Malmouzet

A number of successors to Hugh Malmouzet's lordship arise from the sources. As will be discussed below, the Sansoneschi clan succeeded in reoccupying much of Hugh's dominion. Furthermore, William Tassio and Richard of Manoppello came to control numerous properties that had been associated with Hugh. The issue of direct dynastic inheritance is complicated by a number of issues. John Berard claimed that Pope Paschal II dispatched a legate, Cardinal-deacon Augustine of Santi Quattro Coronati, to Abruzzo with orders to excommunicate Count Atto VII, who had abandoned his wife to live with Rogata, who Berard identified as the widow of Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>26</sup> Berard dated this delegation to the same year as the *inventio* of the relics of Saint Clement in 1104. Hugh was possibly married by the early-1070s, when the San Bartholomeo chronicle claimed he appointed Sanso as abbot of San Bartholomeo 'by the

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<sup>24</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 237r.

<sup>25</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 872.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 874-5. For the identification of Augustine, see Graham A. Loud, 'Monastic miracles in southern Italy c.1040-1140', *Studies in church history* 41 (2005), pp. 109-22, p. 110.



suggestion of his wife'.<sup>27</sup> This wife is later named in Hugh's 1093 donation charter to the abbey as *Rogata comitissa*.<sup>28</sup> Cesare Rivera, and latterly Berardo Pio, have claimed that this Rogata was a daughter of Geoffrey de Hauteville and hence a sister of Robert I of Loritello and Drogo Tassio.<sup>29</sup> Given the close nature of the relationship between Hugh and the Hauteville brothers, Drogo and Robert, it would seem plausible that he was granted their sister in marriage in order to confirm and strengthen their ties. There is, however, no evidence to support this assertion. Moreover, while the 1093 charter suggested Rogata was deceased – indentifying her 'qui fuit coniuge.. Ugoni' – the level of detail provided in John Berard's account indicates this may have been a scribal error in the San Bartholomeo cartulary. This conflict may be solved by the existence of two consecutive wives of Hugh Malmouzet with the same name. Whatever the exact details, Atto's association with Hugh's widow does not seem to have transferred control of any of Hugh's lordship to him. Laurent Feller has postulated that this marriage was part of a political settlement negotiated by Atto VII and the Norman lords, particularly William Tassio, though this would seem excessively magnanimous of the Norman lords.<sup>30</sup> In any case, Atto did not come to control any of Hugh's lordship and was only documented active in northern Penne and *Aprutium*.<sup>31</sup>

Thus the direct inheritance of Hugh Malmouzet fell to his sons. Both the San Clemente and San Bartholomeo chronicles record that Hugh had seven sons. John Berard stated that 'he had seven sons by his wife and declared them all counts and dukes' and the San Bartholomeo chronicle recorded that 'he had seven sons whom he established as dukes and counts'.<sup>32</sup> Six of these sons were named as witnesses and co-signatories of Hugh's donation to the abbey of

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<sup>27</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 120.

<sup>29</sup> Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 67 n. 2, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 38 n. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 637.

<sup>31</sup> See below, p. 278.

<sup>32</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 870, 'habebat septem filios de uxore, quos omnes comites et duces proposuerat'; *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 36, 'septem filios quos habebat statuit duces et comites'.

San Bartholomeo in 1093.<sup>33</sup> They are listed as Hugh, Robert, William, *Obolinus*, *Aliduca*, and Berard. Robert was also named as a son of Hugh in the 1092 donation to the bishop of Valva.<sup>34</sup> The seventh son of Hugh, who is not mentioned in any documents during Hugh's lifetime, can possibly be identified through an 1119 charter from the San Bartholomeo cartulary. This charter documented an *infantulus* Berald, son of Roffredus of *Ocneczano*, donating to San Bartholomeo the *castellum* of Follonicum and associated lands.<sup>35</sup> This gift was in fact a confirmation of the donation that Hugh made to the abbey in 1093. As the chronicle described 'Berald, son of Roffredus, confirmed to this monastery the *castellum* of Follonicum which Hugh Malmouzet, of happy memory, and afterwards, his father Roffredus had given to him'.<sup>36</sup> As another charter from the cartulary attests, Roffredus had confirmed that same donation to the abbey in 1106.<sup>37</sup> In this charter, Roffredus gave his father's name as *Malfridus*.<sup>38</sup> Given that Roffredus had the authority to confirm to the abbey the donation of Hugh it is probable that he was a descendent of Hugh and so, given the chronology, it is logical to assume that Roffredus's father, Malfridus, was the unidentified seventh son of Hugh. This branch of Hugh's family evidently became associated with the *castellum* of Oneczano, which both Roffredus and Berald identified with in charter, and, as the San Bartholomeo chronicle recorded, continued Hugh Malmouzet's policy of cooperation with the Bernardi clan, as will be discussed further in chapter 7.<sup>39</sup>

Ultimately, the primary inheritor of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet seems to have been his son, Hugh II. This Hugh was probably the eldest son of Hugh Malmouzet due to his name and his pre-eminent position over his brothers in the witness list of Hugh's 1093

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<sup>33</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 120.

<sup>34</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16.

<sup>35</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 129

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, 'Quorum unus Beraldus, filius quondam Roffredi, confirmavit huic monasterio castellum Fellonacum quod ei Ugo Malmozetus, memorie felicitis, et postmodum Roffredus pater eius dederant'.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 125.

<sup>38</sup> Roffredus also donated the church of *Sancti Laurentii martiris* to San Bartholomeo in April 1098, *ibid.*, n. 122.

<sup>39</sup> Roffredus was an ally of Gentile, son of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, *ibid.*, p. 65.

donation charter to San Bartholomeo. Moreover, John Berard twice claimed in his chronicle that five of Hugh's seven sons had predeceased their father.<sup>40</sup> This dynastic failure evidently impacted upon Hugh II's ability to maintain his father's lordship after the defeat at Prezza and the resurgence of the Sansoneschi family.

### 2.1.3. Territory

The defeat and death of Hugh Malmouzet seems to have led to the dismembering of his lordship. In the Navelli plain and the Peligna valley, the Sansoneschi reoccupied many of the lands they had lost to Hugh I.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the lands surrounding the abbey of San Clemente, which had previously formed the fulcrum of Hugh I's lordship, are not documented as part of Hugh II's domain. The San Clemente chronicle claimed that by the turn of the century the *castellum* of Popoli and the fortifications of Bectorrita came into the possession of Bishop John of Valva.<sup>42</sup> Hugh Malmouzet had previously identified Bectorrita as his domicile in his 1086 donation charter to San Clemente and it is probable that Hugh dominated Popoli before his death.<sup>43</sup> Considering the close relationship that Hugh had with Bishop John throughout his life, it is probable that these properties had been donated to the bishop before, or on the occasion, of Hugh's death. Subsequently, these properties came into the possession of William Tassio, son of Drogo Tassio.<sup>44</sup> John Berard portrayed this transaction between the bishop and William Tassio as a malicious usurpation via trickery but it was more likely a sale. These properties soon changed hands again when William Tassio sold them, along with certain other properties, to Count Richard of Manoppello in 1103.<sup>45</sup> William departed soon after for the Holy Land, using the money raised by this sale to fund his voyage. Finally, Bectorrita came into the possession of the Sansoneschi and was confirmed to the family by

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<sup>40</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 870. The other surviving son was Berard, who witnessed his brothers' oath to Abbot Giso of San Clemente, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 298.

<sup>42</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 208.

<sup>44</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 873.

the terms of the 1111 agreement between the abbey of San Clemente and the Sansoneschi.<sup>46</sup> The history of these properties, which formed the core of Hugh Malmouzet's lordship, demonstrates the limitations of Hugh II's political and military power. Ultimately, Hugh II's only documented possession is found in the area around Carpineto, where the descendants of his brother, Malfridus, operated. As will be discussed below, it is likely that Hugh II was the lord of the *castellum* of Brittoli, a Bernardi stronghold that his father had presumably wrested from that family during his initial invasions.

#### 2.1.4. San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the sale of Brittoli

Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, claimed that near the end of the reign of Abbot Sanso, 'a certain Norman', having resolved to go 'overseas' (*ultra mare*), most likely a reference to the Holy Land, attempted to sell the *castellum* of Brittoli.<sup>47</sup> Although the Norman vendor is not named, Alexander related that the sale was completed through the facilitation of William Tassio and the buyer was Gentile, son of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, of the Bernardi clan. Gentile was also the nephew of Abbot Sanso, who had been appointed by Hugh Malmouzet in the 1070s.<sup>48</sup> As Laurent Feller has suggested, this 'certain Norman', the vendor of Brittoli was probably Hugh II as the San Clemente chronicle also related that Hugh II left for Jerusalem, where he died.<sup>49</sup> The issue is complicated by the dating of these events. Alexander clearly stated that this sale of Brittoli occurred during the lifetime of Abbot Sanso who died in 1111 and John Berard recorded that it was Abbot Giso of San Clemente, who began his abbacy in 1112, who oversaw the capture of Hugh II which resulted in his departure for the East.<sup>50</sup> Berard placed the account of the capture of Hugh II in his chronicle amongst events of the early-1120s. Moreover, the purported text of the oath given by Hugh to secure his release is

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<sup>46</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 242v-243r.

<sup>47</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 52.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>49</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 737; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 880-1.

<sup>50</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 52; *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 880-1.

situated in the cartulary directly after a charter dated 1124.<sup>51</sup> This confusion, however, is probably a result of John Berard's lax chronology as Berard himself related that Giso had briefly ruled as abbot of San Clemente after the death of Abbot Grimoald but before the election of Abbot Alberic in 1110.<sup>52</sup> Thus the capture of Hugh, his sale of Brittolli and his departure to the East can be dated to c.1110. This event also suggests that Hugh II continued relations with the Bernardi until his departure.

### 2.1.5. Abbot Giso of San Clemente and the capture of Hugh II Malmouzet

As mentioned above, John Berard claimed that Hugh II, who he denounced as an 'imitator of his father's malice', was captured during an ambush by the forces of Abbot Giso of San Clemente.<sup>53</sup> Berard condemned Hugh II for persecuting the abbey but given the resurgent force of the Sansoneschi and Berard's predilection for demonizing Hugh Malmouzet, it is probable that Hugh II was attempting to regain or simply retain lands that he had inherited from his father. Moreover, while John Berard claimed that Abbot Giso had given custody of Hugh II to 'a certain of his barons' Sanso of Petrainiqua, a prominent member of the Sansoneschi, it is probably this claim was an attempt by Berard to portray Sanso as a servant of the abbey, following Berard's interpretation of the 1111 agreement between the abbey and the Sansoneschi clan, and that the operation was, in fact, spearheaded by Sanso.<sup>54</sup> The purported oath which Hugh II swore to secure his release was addressed to Abbot Giso. The oath bound Hugh II to refrain from holding 'ill will' (*malum meritum*) towards the abbot and the 'men, lands and properties of San Clemente'.<sup>55</sup> Yet Hugh was also forced to pledge to refrain from pursuing those who provided the Abbot with *consilium et adiutorium* in this matter, a possible reference to Sanso. As the text related, this oath was also taken by Hugh II's

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<sup>51</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r.

<sup>52</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 878.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 880-1.

<sup>54</sup> 'quidam Baroni suo'. See above, p. 85, and below, p. 303.

<sup>55</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r.

brother, Berard, the other surviving son of Hugh Malmouzet and three other oath-helpers.<sup>56</sup> Hugh also provided four hostages as security – Hugh, son of Atto, Trasmund of *Pretoru* and Trasmund's sons, *Raonem* and William.<sup>57</sup> The inclusion of oath-helpers and hostages in the terms of Hugh's oaths suggests a degree of trepidation from Abbot Giso and Sanso of Petrainiqua, indicating that while Hugh II had failed to maintain his father's lordship, his political and military power was still significant. The text of Hugh II's oath, however, mentioned the count of Manoppello, most likely referring to Robert of Manoppello, and reserved Hugh's services to him. Entering into the clientage of the counts of Manoppello may have provided Hugh II with security and support in a difficult period. Hugh's capture by Sanso and Giso, however, ended his attempts to reform his father's lordship and he departed on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he seemingly died.

## 2.2. The county of Loreto

### 2.2.1. The origins and family of William Tassio

Leon-Robert Ménager identified the *Willelmus filius Tassonis* of Robert II of Loritello's donation charter to the Bishop Raynulf of Chieti as a scion of Taisson family.<sup>58</sup> This Angevin family, settled in the area of Cinglais in central Normandy, produced two brothers, Raoul and *Erneis*, who were frequently referred to in mid-eleventh century Norman ducal charters with the surname *Taisson*.<sup>59</sup> William Tassio, however, was almost certainly the son of Drogo, count of Loreto and brother of Robert I of Loritello. Drogo's sobriquet of *Tassio*, 'the badger', was evidently well known. The San Bartholomeo chronicler identified him as Drogo 'qui et Tascio', Amatus of Montecassino referred to Robert of Loritello's brother by the name *Tasco* and the *Libellus Querulus* used the name *Taxio*.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Drogo used the sobriquet himself in

<sup>56</sup> Peter *Baroncellus*, Giso of *Bacro* and *Paganus*. This *Paganus* may have been the same man who witnessed three charters of Hugh's relative, Roffredus of Oneczano, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 122, 127, 129.

<sup>57</sup> *Pretoru* was possibly Pretoro in Chieti.

<sup>58</sup> Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 387.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 47; *Amatus*, p. 324; *Libellus querulus*, p. 1465.

charter, subscribing the 1076 charter of Robert Guiscard to the cathedral of Melfi as 'Taxonius nepos ducis'.<sup>61</sup> Finally, and most convincingly, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, Alexander, whose abbey had amiable ties to the comital family of Loreto, was certain that Drogo Tassio was succeeded by his son named William –'the aforesaid Drogo died, his son William *Tasconis* succeeded him'.<sup>62</sup>

Alexander's identification of William as Drogo's heir and John Berard's claim that William inherited the *castellum* of Loreto in Penne, Drogo's most important stronghold, suggests that William was the primary heir of Drogo and probably his eldest son. William's 1101 donation charter to San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, however, related that the transaction was made 'through the permission of my lord, Roger'.<sup>63</sup> This Roger was probably the same 'Count Roger' who witnessed William's donation charter to San Giovanni in Venere in c.1102 and who, in 1122, donated to the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano, again using the title count.<sup>64</sup> This personage may also be identified with the Roger, whose wife, Constantine, donated lands to the church of San Stefano in Montopoli in 1095.<sup>65</sup> The relationship between William and Roger is not documented in any of these charters. The San Salvatore cartulary, however, recorded a donation in 1141 by a *Tasso comes comitis Rogerii filius*.<sup>66</sup> This Tasso, son of Count Roger, may also have been the *Thomas* who submitted to Emperor Lothar III near the River Tronto in 1137.<sup>67</sup> The name of Roger's son, obviously taken from Drogo Tassio's sobriquet, suggests he was a descendant of Drogo and hence it is likely that Roger was a son of Drogo and a brother of William Tassio. The identification of Roger as *dominus meus* by William in his 1101 donation charter may suggest that he was the junior of the two despite

<sup>61</sup> *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, n. 23.

<sup>62</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 49, 'iam dictus Drogo satis concessit, filius eius Guilielmus Tasconis ei successit'.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 123, 'per commiato Rogeri domino meo'.

<sup>64</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 27, 34.

<sup>65</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 10 = *Regesto delle pergamene e codici del capitolo Metropolitano di Chieti*, n. 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 16v = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xx. See Feller, 'Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes', p. 165.

<sup>67</sup> *Annalista Saxo*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores* 6 (Hanover, 1844), pp. 542-777, p. 772. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 764 and Cesare Rivera, 'L'Annessione', pp. 215-7.

inheriting his father's most important *castellum* of Loreto. William Tassio, who is last documented in 1114, left no heirs and it was the descendants of Roger who continued as counts of Loreto into the thirteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

### 2.2.2. Territory

William's lordship seems to have been the largest of the second generation of Abruzzese Norman lords, excepting the county of Loritello. William's most important stronghold would seem to have been the *castellum* of Loreto, which had also formed the fulcrum of his father's lordship. William, unlike his father, was never labelled 'count of Loreto' in any of the narrative or documentary sources but the San Clemente chronicle recorded that William controlled the *castellum* and Alexander of San Bartholomeo identified William as the heir of Drogo Tassio, whom he labelled *comes Laureti*.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, of the charters which can be confidently attributed to William, most were either dated at the *castellum* of Loreto, such the charters of c.1102 and 1109 documenting William's transactions with the abbeys of Santa Maria di Picciano and San Giovanni in Venere, or specifically concerned properties in or around Loreto, such as the 1101 charter of donation to San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the 1102 and 1106 *convenientia* with Santa Maria di Picciano.<sup>70</sup> To the north was the church of San Pietro in Collecervino in Penne which William donated to Santa Maria di Picciano in 1106.<sup>71</sup> Less than 10km west of Collecervino was the area of *Colle Freddo*, which William donated to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella in 1108.<sup>72</sup> William's most northerly documented property, however, was the *castellum* of Elice in Penne which William donated to the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere in c.1102.<sup>73</sup> To the east of these properties, William's lordship probably ran to the coast. The same c.1102 charter concerning the donation of Elice

<sup>68</sup> Roger had possibly taken control of Loreto by 1122, Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 34. On Roger's descendants, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 776.

<sup>69</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, pp. 47, 49.

<sup>70</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 27, 28, 29, 32, 34; *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 263.

<sup>71</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 29.

<sup>72</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 13r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix.

<sup>73</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 27



included clauses to compensate the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano, who held properties in Elice, with the church of San Panfilo and other churches in Spoltore.<sup>74</sup> William later extended this compensation to include 400 *modia*, suggesting William controlled a significant portion of the region surrounding the *castellum*.<sup>75</sup> The *castellum* of San Mauro, which William donated in penitence to the abbey of San Clemente in 1114, was also located in this region.<sup>76</sup>

To the west it would seem that William greatly expanded on his father's conquests and extended his influence into the region surrounding the abbeys of San Bartholomeo and San Clemente, and thus into Hugh Malmouzet's crumbling lordship. William's donation to the abbey of San Bartholomeo in 1101 concerned unidentifiable lands in *Herbia*.<sup>77</sup> The lands were described in the charter as situated near *Locretano*, near Cordano in Penne, roughly 10km south of Loreto. South and west of this point, it is possible that William controlled numerous properties surrounding the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto. Certainly, Alexander viewed him as an important local figure and referred to William as *vir fortissimus*.<sup>78</sup> Alexander also identified William as a facilitator of Hugh II's sale of Brittolli, a nearby *castellum* that had long been important to the congregation, to Gentile of the Bernardi clan. Finally, the *castellum* of *Monte Somato*, which the San Bartholomeo chronicle claimed that William had appropriated from the abbey by deceit, can possibly be identified with the hill of Pietra Rossa to the north of the abbey.<sup>79</sup>

To the south, the evidence of the San Clemente chronicle suggests that William came to control much of Hugh Malmouzet's lordship, either in the aftermath of Hugh's defeat during the siege of Prezza or after his death in the final years of the eleventh century.

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<sup>74</sup> A later 1108 donation to San Salvatore a Maiella also included a property near Spoltore, Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 13r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix.

<sup>75</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 30 (a. 1109).

<sup>76</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 243v-244r, edited in Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 131.

<sup>77</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 124.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 115, described the abbey of San Vitale, in *monte de Somati*, in the *vocabulo* of *Pietra Scripta*, beside river *Gambarios*.

Certainly, Berard viewed William as the spiritual successor of Hugh – ‘after the death of the most evil Hugh... there arose another more wretched than him, William Tassio’.<sup>80</sup> Berard also related that William had control of the *castellum* of Popoli. Possession of this *castellum* came to William, according to Berard, after he had ‘fraudulently deceived’ Bishop John of Valva.<sup>81</sup> As discussed above, it is more likely that this transaction was a simple sale or land swap.<sup>82</sup> Berard later recorded that William sold Popoli, along with rights over San Clemente and the bishopric of Valva, to Count Richard of Manoppello in 1103, to fund an expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Berard accused William of obtaining the fortifications of Bectorrita by trickery from the bishop of Valva. Hugh Malmouzet had identified Bectorrita as his domicile in his 1086 donation charter to San Clemente and it is possible that the property had been donated to Bishop John of Valva, who sold it to William. Berard maintained that William coveted Bectorrita as it provided a base for his campaigns against ‘his neighbours, especially the Marsians’.<sup>84</sup> This vague nomenclature may have referred to the Sansoneschi, who led the campaigns against the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet and were in control of Bectorrita by 1111. Finally, the 1115 confirmation of Pope Paschal II to Bishop William of Chieti claimed William Tassio had granted the *castella* of Montopoli, Guiliano and Orni, all in Chieti, to the church.<sup>85</sup> While this papal confirmation seems authentic, these claims may represent the aspirations of Bishop William.

### 2.2.3. William Tassio and the church

#### 2.2.3.1. The abbey of San Clemente a Casauria

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<sup>80</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871, ‘post mortem nequissimi Ugonis... surrexit alter nequior illo Willielmus, Tassio vero nomine dictus’.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 871.

<sup>82</sup> An entry from the *Italia sacra* also documented William in control of Popoli in contravention of Bishop John’s wishes, though this entry seems to have been informed by Berard’s account, *Italia sacra*, I, col. 1364

<sup>83</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 873.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 871, ‘suis vicinis et maxime cum Marsicanis’.

<sup>85</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 15 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 13, App IV. The charter is dated at Benevento, 18 July.

The claims of John Berard, that William Tassio was ‘more wretched’ than Hugh Malmouzet and ‘a hammer of the whole land’, suggest that William became the most important power in the region around San Clemente after the death of Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>86</sup> William’s control of Popoli and Bectorrita, both attained from the bishop of Valva, certainly established William as an important military force in the area. Unlike Hugh Malmouzet and Count Robert of Manoppello, William was not accused of interfering in the abbatial elections of San Clemente, probably because his influence over the abbey occurred during Abbot Grimoald’s lengthy reign. Berard did not record the exact rights that William had over the abbey but claimed that William included San Clemente in the properties sold to Richard of Manoppello in 1103 to raise funds for an expedition to the Holy Land. In his donation charter of 1114, William admitted to this misdemeanour and the text of the charter related that William hoped ‘that omnipotent God would deign to lessen and forgive the sin that I have from selling the monastery of San Clemente’.<sup>87</sup> It may be more accurately deduced that William had sold certain rights over the abbeys, not its properties, and that he thus held the position of *advocatus* that Hugh Malmouzet had exercised during the 1080s. William’s associations with the abbey seem to have halted upon departure for the Holy Land. Although no evidence survives concerning William’s actions in the Levant, William is absent from the documentation until 1106.<sup>88</sup> William’s final documented act was his 1114 donation of *castellum* of San Mauro to San Clemente, presumably undertaken as he was nearing death.

### 2.2.3.2. The bishopric of Valva

William’s relationship with Bishop John of Valva was portrayed by John Berard in exclusively negative terms. Berard believed that John had relinquished the *castellum* of Popoli after being ‘fraudulently deceived’ by William. Given the clear prejudices of Berard against

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<sup>86</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871, ‘malleus universae terrae’.

<sup>87</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 244r, ‘ut omnipotens Deus dignitur minuere et dimittere peccatum quod ego habeo de venditionem monasterii Sancti Clementis de insula que Casa Aurea vocitatur’.

<sup>88</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 26 (a. 1106).

William, it is possible that this transaction had been a simple sale. Furthermore, Berard claimed that Bishop John and William concluded an agreement whereby John would grant William custody of the fortifications of Bectorrita and San Clemente and rights over the bishopric of Valva to enable William to campaign successfully through the region and against the 'Marsians'.<sup>89</sup> William pledged to return these fortifications to the bishop after the completion of his campaign along with the entire *castellum* of Popoli. The terms of this agreement between bishop and lord bear comparison with the terms of the bishop of Chieti's control of the *castella* of Furca and *Sculcula*, outlined by the charters of Robert I and Robert II of Loritello in 1095 and 1101.<sup>90</sup> In this alliance, William appears to have been following the precedent established by Hugh Malmouzet, who formed a close alliance with the bishop of Valva during his career, as discussed in chapter 5.

### 2.2.3.3. The abbeys of Santa Maria di Picciano and San Giovanni in Venere

William's best documented relationship with an ecclesiastical institution was with the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano, located north of William's base at Loreto. William's numerous interconnected transactions with the abbey were triggered by his donation of the *castellum* of Elice to the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere.<sup>91</sup> The dating of this first donation is problematic. The date given by Antonio Antinori, the eighteenth-century editor of the abbey's now lost charters, was July 1084 at Loreto. Based on the witness list, including Bishop Berard of Chieti, Bishop Herbert of Penne and John, prior of San Salvatore a Maiella, a revised date of c.1102 is more likely.<sup>92</sup> The donation of Elice elicited an objection from Alberic, the abbot of Santa Maria di Picciano, who had territorial interests in the area of the *castellum*. William thus

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<sup>89</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 871.

<sup>90</sup> William Tassio was one of the witnesses of Robert II's charter of 1101, Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11.

<sup>91</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n.27, William and his wife, Anatolia, received 100 bezants, a silver chest, a horse and mantle in return. These gifts were not of commensurate value to the properties relinquished by William and Feller has suggested that they were part of a *launegild* (counter-gift), Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 811.

<sup>92</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 811 n. 93.

organised compensation for Santa Maria and Alberic was granted control of numerous churches in Spoltore.<sup>93</sup> The witness list of this charter, including the bishops of Chieti and Penne, Count Richard of Manoppello and John, prior of San Salvatore a Maiella, indicated the importance of this compact and also the status of William Tassio. Furthermore, the charter was dated at William's base in Loreto and was written by Baro, identified as William's chaplain and notary. William's relationship with the abbey of Santa Maria evidently continued and in 1102 William, alongside Bishop Herbert of Penne, assisted the abbey in completing a census of the church of San Andrea di Freiano, a dependency of a church in Loreto.<sup>94</sup> Four years later William granted the abbey various properties in the area of Loreto which mainly comprised the lands of some of his clients.<sup>95</sup> This relationship was tested in 1109 when Alberic of Santa Maria again complained about the Elice settlement. To rectify this situation, William organised a compact between San Giovanni and Santa Maria whereby Santa Maria relinquished control of its properties in Elice and received further properties in Spoltore.<sup>96</sup> A donation made by William in the same month and year, and thus presumably intended as further compensation, documented his donation to Santa Maria of lands in the area of Carpineto.<sup>97</sup> These various transactions were again witnessed by an important group of ecclesiastics, including Bishop Herbert of Penne and the provost of San Liberatore alla Maiella.<sup>98</sup> This series of transactions demonstrated William's status within Abruzzo and his connections to many of the most prominent ecclesiastics of the region.

#### **2.2.3.4. The abbeys of San Salvatore a Maiella and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto**

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<sup>93</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n.27. The most important of which was San Panfilo in Spoltore.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 28.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 29.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 32.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 30, 31.

<sup>98</sup> These issues continued and probably formed the basis of Count Roger of Loreto's donation to Santa Maria in 1122, *ibid.*, n. 34.

William's first appearance in the San Bartholomeo chronicle concerned his attempted usurpation of the *castellum* of *Monte Somato*.<sup>99</sup> According to the Alexander, Abbot Sanso swiftly regained control of the *castellum* and demolished it. This enmity, however, was short-lived and in 1101 William donated to San Bartholomeo the church of Santa Maria in Plano with lands in *Herbia*, near Loreto.<sup>100</sup> William evidently held lands in the region around San Bartholomeo, as he donated properties in the *vocabulo* of Carpineto to Santa Maria di Picciano in 1109.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, William Tassio was one of the prospective purchasers of Brittoli when Hugh II Malmouzet came to sell the *castellum* before departure to the Holy Land.<sup>102</sup> Though on this occasion, Abbot Sanso put forward 100lbs of gold to ensure his nephew, Gentile of the Bernardi, gained control of the Brittoli. William's involvement with the abbey does not seem to have been as direct as that of Hugh Malmouzet and, though Alexander, the San Bartholomeo chronicler, labelled William *vir fortissimus*, he did not refer to him as the *dominus* or *advocatus* of the abbey. Similarly, William acted as a patron of the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, which was also supported by many contemporary Norman lords such as Robert I of Loritello, Richard of Manoppello and Robert of Manoppello. In 1108, William donated numerous properties to San Salvatore, including lands in Spoltore and *Colle Freddo*, near Collecervino.<sup>103</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Administration and the local aristocracy in the county of Loreto

Within his lordship, William Tassio maintained a sophisticated administration and interacted with local men of varying status and political powers. The scribe of William's c.1102 donation charter to the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere was named Baro, presumably a local,

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<sup>99</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 49.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 124. William was given 10 bezants in return, a relatively small sum, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 823.

<sup>101</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 31.

<sup>102</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 53.

<sup>103</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 13r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix.

who identified himself as William's chaplain and notary.<sup>104</sup> William also established some system of clientage as his 1106 donation to Santa Maria di Picciano of properties in the area of Loreto included the lands of three men – Mainard, son of Lupo, Peter of Dragonara and Rainard, son of Azzo.<sup>105</sup> It is unclear whether these men owed services or rents for these lands or were granted to the abbey along with their lands, but it is clear that William had full right to dispose of these men's properties. Similarly, William's donation to San Clemente in 1114 included the properties and rights associated with the *castellum* of San Mauro, including four unnamed and probably low status men.<sup>106</sup> William also seems to have utilised a network of *vicecomites* to administer his lordship. One witness to William's donation of San Mauro was a *Rusticus vicecomes*. Judging by his name it is probable this man was a local, though his role within the transaction is unclear. Another *vicecomes* was involved in William's 1109 exchange with the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano concerning properties in Spoltore and Elice.<sup>107</sup> As the text related, the agreement was made in the presence of a delegation of the inhabitants of Spoltore, included a viscount named Giso. This Giso also witnessed the charter alongside William. Here it would seem that Giso was acting as representative of the inhabitants of Spoltore and possibly as a medium between the inhabitants and William. Given this context, it is possible that Giso was William's viscount in the *castellum* of Spoltore. Ultimately, however, though these viscounts had the right to witness arrangements made concerning their *castella*, their roles seem to have been advisory and subordinate in nature.

### 2.3. The county of Manoppello

#### 2.3.1. The origins and family of Richard of Manoppello

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<sup>104</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 27. The remaining charters concerning Santa Maria di Picciano and William were drafted by a Mainard, 'judge and notary', possibly a monk of the abbey.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 29. Antinori referred to these lands as 'benefici', though it unclear what term was used in the original Latin.

<sup>106</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 244r, 'et quattuor hominibus'.

<sup>107</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 30.

The origins of the first comital family of Manoppello are obscure. In three charters, Richard of Manoppello identified his father as Peter, whom he titled count.<sup>108</sup> It is possible that this Peter was Count Peter of Lesina, who controlled a lordship on the Gargano peninsula, not far from Robert I's base at Loritello.<sup>109</sup> In 1086, Peter, identifying himself as count of Civitate and Lesina, issued a charter at Civitate which documented a donation to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella, situated in Chieti, which was later patronised by Count Robert of Manoppello, the son of Richard.<sup>110</sup> The donation included a mill in the area of *Sanctam Cantinam*, on the river *qui vocatur Forum*. This river was described in Peter's charter as situated in Chieti. This river may be identified with the River Foro which rises near Pretoro, not far from Manoppello. The association of Peter of Lesina with an abbey and property in eastern Chieti may suggest that Peter of Lesina was involved in the invasion of Abruzzo, acquired properties in the area near Manoppello and was thus the father of Richard of Manoppello. A brother of Richard's, Geoffrey, is also documented as a witness to the 1101 charter of Robert II of Loritello to the bishop of Chieti, which was also witnessed by Richard.<sup>111</sup> This Geoffrey also witnessed the October 1104 charter of donation of the underage Robert of Manoppello to San Liberatore alla Maiella.<sup>112</sup> In the text of this charter, Geoffrey was identified by Robert as Count Geoffrey *patruelis meus*, probably meaning paternal uncle. The charter also related that the donation was made through the 'consensus et voluntas' of Count Geoffrey, whose subscription was given precedence over Robert's. Thus, it is clear that Godfrey was acting as guardian of the young Robert in 1104 and had possibly taken the title of count after the death of his brother, though Robert was also afforded a comital title in this charter.

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<sup>108</sup> *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11, 'Geffredus atque Riccardus filiorum comitis Petronis'; Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 27r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii, 'Riccardus comes comitis Petri filius'; Liber instrumentorum, fols. 239r-240r, 'Riccardus comes filius quondam Petroni comitis'.

<sup>109</sup> Peter was alongside Robert of Loritello, and many other Norman lords, including Robert Guiscard, at Venosa in 1063, *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, n. 12. This identification has also been suggested by Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 121 n. 87

<sup>110</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore alla Maiella*, n. 272. The donation included a net at the mouth of the River Lesina. Roberts's donations are n. 275, 276.

<sup>111</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11.

<sup>112</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore alla Maiella*, n. 275 = Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 121.



Three sons of Richard of Manoppello are documented. Robert, presumably the eldest of these sons, was described and condemned at length by the San Clemente chronicle and, as will be discussed, below, governed as count of Manoppello until the family's expulsion following the royal invasion of Abruzzo in 1140. Richard's other sons are known only through subscriptions. The 1103 donation charter to San Clemente was subscribed by Robert and Peter who subscribed *a superscripto genitore eorum*.<sup>113</sup> This Robert was probably the later Robert of Manoppello, while Peter was named for his grandfather. Furthermore, Robert of Manoppello's 1104 donation charter to San Liberatore was subscribed by a Peter and William, both described as the *germani* of Robert.<sup>114</sup>

### 2.3.2. Territory

The possible identification of Peter of Lesina as the father of Richard of Manoppello and the location of the Chieti lands donated by Peter to San Liberatore in 1086 to the region near Manoppello may suggest that Richard inherited his dominion in Abruzzo, located between the county of Loritello and the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet, from his father. Without further clarifications, however, it can only be deduced that the lordship of Richard of Manoppello existed by 1098, the date of Richard's donation to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella.<sup>115</sup> This dominion had presumably existed before the death of Hugh Malmouzet, which occurred in the late-1090s, but was extended after the disintegration of Hugh's lordship. The focal point of Richard's lordship was evidently the *castellum* of Manoppello, which Richard was associated with in all the narrative sources, which he identified as his domicile in a charter of 1103 and which presumably acted as his base.<sup>116</sup> Not far from this stronghold was located the two properties donated by Richard in 1098 to San Salvatore a Maiella. The donated lands included twelve *modia* in *Falasceto*, situated near Pretoro, not far from the site of San

<sup>113</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 240r. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 773.

<sup>114</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore alla Maiella*, n. 275.

<sup>115</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 27r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

<sup>116</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 239r, 'habitor in castellum ubi Manuplello vocatur'.

Liberatore alla Maiella, and a vineyard known as *Adaraldi*, near Fara, close to Casauria. From this centre Richard's lordship extended northward but not significantly. In 1104, Richard's young son Robert, acting under the guardianship of his uncle, Geoffrey, donated the *castellum* of Ripacorbaria to San Liberatore alla Maiella.<sup>117</sup> Considering the youth of Robert, it must be assumed that this *castellum* formed part of his inheritance and was thus part of Richard's lordship. To the west of was the *castellum* of *Fabali*, which Richard donated to San Clemente in March 1103. As the charter described, *Fabali* was situated near Collemezzano in Chieti, and is probably identifiable as Piano Favale near Alanno.<sup>118</sup> These two properties seemingly represented the northern frontier of Richard's lordship.

Richard's reluctance to expand his lordship into Penne was probably due to William Tassio, who dominated much of the region north of these properties. As the San Clemente chronicle related, however, William Tassio, desiring to raise monies to fund an expedition to the Holy Land, sold to Richard of Manoppello the *castellum* of Popoli and, so John Berard claimed, the abbey of San Clemente and the bishopric of Valva for a sum total of 1,000 bezants.<sup>119</sup> It is unclear from this report what were the exact terms of sale and it may be more reasonable to assume that Richard purchased certain rights over the abbey and bishopric, rather than the ecclesiastical patrimonies themselves. According to Berard's narrative, Richard arrived at the abbey soon after this transaction to exact tribute from the abbey and promptly departed with the majority of the monks' herds of cattle and oxen.<sup>120</sup> Thus it is probable that Richard had purchased a right of tribute from the abbey, or possibly the office of *advocatus*, from William Tassio and not direct control of the abbey's properties. It is probable that these provisions were similarly repeated concerning the bishopric of Valva and that Richard did not

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<sup>117</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore alla Maiella*, n. 275.

<sup>118</sup> See Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 146 n. 105.

<sup>119</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 873.

<sup>120</sup> See above, p. 106.

come into full control of the bishop's seat at Corfinio. Thus it would seem that the *castellum* of Popoli represented the westernmost frontier of Richard's lordship by the time of his death.

### 2.3.3. Richard of Manoppello and the church

#### 2.3.3.1. The abbey of San Clemente a Casauria

In the opinion of John Berard, the San Clemente chronicler, Richard of Manoppello was a impious 'tyrant' who threatened to destroy the abbey and whose 'mind was aflame with the fire of avarice'.<sup>121</sup> This malicious character, in Berard's view, was thus fully deserving of his premature death via the 'divine vengeance' of Saint Clement.<sup>122</sup> As discussed in chapter 2, however, this interpretation of Richard's character is questionable and heavily influenced by John Berard's prejudices and beliefs. The reality of Richard's relationship with the abbey was more complicated. As discussed above, Richard had bought some rights over San Clemente from William Tassio, after the latter had decided to depart for the Holy Land. Berard claimed that soon after, Richard attempted to extort resources from the abbey in order repay certain *mercatores*, who had loaned him the funds necessary to complete the purchase from William Tassio.<sup>123</sup> According to Berard, Richard subsequently stripped the abbey of its herds of cattle and oxen and other unnamed treasures. This process may indicate that Richard had in fact purchased a right of tribute, or the position of *advocatus*, which Hugh Malmouzet had previously held, from William Tassio and his appropriation of some of the abbey's resources was connected to this right.

Richard's portrayal as a persecutor of San Clemente is also challenged by his March 1103 donation of the *castellum* of *Fabali* with its appurtenances, which according to the chronology of Berard, occurred at the same time as Richard's supposed usurpations.<sup>124</sup> Although the text of the charter described this transaction as a grant, John Berard claimed

<sup>121</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 874, 'cuius animus igne succensus erat avaritiae'.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* On Richard's 'miraculous' death, see Loud, 'Monastic miracles in southern Italy', p. 118.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 873.

<sup>124</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 239r-240r.

that Richard had, in fact, ‘returned’ the *castellum* to the patrimony of San Clemente, highlighting the 1055 and 1058 donations made to San Clemente concerning properties in the area of the *castellum*.<sup>125</sup> Berard also placed these two donation charters, alongside a smaller donation concerning *Fabali* in 1065, in his cartulary immediately before Richard’s donation charter of 1103.<sup>126</sup> Thus it is unclear how Richard came into possession of *Fabali* and its environs but the extent of the donations of the 1050s, both measuring 300 *modia*, suggest that his 1103 donation was significant. Berard also claimed that after Richard’s death, his widow returned to the abbey ‘part of those things that her husband had usurped’, though there is no extant charter to support this claim.<sup>127</sup> Ultimately, Richard’s interactions with San Clemente do not seem to have been excessively detrimental to the abbey or driven by maliciousness. As his predecessors, William Tassio and Hugh Malmouzet, had done, Richard interested himself in the business of the most important abbey within his lordship.

### 2.3.3.2. San Salvatore a Maiella

The abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella was located just to the south of Richard’s lordship and as other contemporary Normans lords, such as Robert I of Loritello and William Tassio, had, Richard patronised the relatively small institution. In 1098, Richard donated to San Salvatore a vineyard in *Fara*, a mill and twelve *modia* of land in *Falasceto*. In total, this donation was not large but was comparable to the donations made by other Normans to the abbey. Richard’s son, Robert, would continue his father’s connection with the abbey of San Salvatore, donating to the abbey in 1106 and 1122.<sup>128</sup>

### 2.3.4. The death of Richard of Manoppello and the minority of Robert of

#### Manoppello

<sup>125</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 872-3.

<sup>126</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 238v-239r, 239r.

<sup>127</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 874, ‘uxor eius, quae vidua remanserat, quamdam partem de his, quae maritus eius abstulerat, reddidit Grimoaldo Abbati’.

<sup>128</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fol. 26r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii (1106); *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fols. 11r-11v = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix (1122).

Richard of Manoppello's final documented action was his March 1103 donation to San Clemente. The chronology of the San Clemente chronicle placed the death of Richard, at the hands of Saint Clement, just before the account of the arrival of the papal legate, Cardinal Augustine, and the *inventio* of the relics of Saint Clement, which Berard dated to November 1104.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, Robert of Manoppello's earliest surviving charter issued independently of his father, the donation to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella, was dated October 1104. Thus the death of Richard of Manoppello probably occurred between March 1103 and October 1104. As his first documented action occurred in 1098 it is possible that Richard's death came prematurely and that his son Robert was of a young age by 1104. This assertion is supported by the text of Robert's donation to San Liberatore in 1104, which made reference to the *edictum Langobardorum* concerning a person's right to alienate property to a 'holy place or hospital'.<sup>130</sup> This assertion is an obvious reference to eight-century laws of King Liutprand and, in particular, a section concerning the legal age permissible to alienate land.<sup>131</sup> This edict legislated that minors who were believed to be dying were allowed to grant property to churches or hospitals, suggesting that Robert was a minor in 1104 and possibly of ill health. The text of the 1104 charter also repeatedly asserted that the donation was made through the 'consensus et voluntas' of Count Geoffrey, Robert's uncle. As discussed above, this Geoffrey was the brother of Richard of Manoppello, who had witnessed the 1101 charter of Robert II of Loritello alongside Richard. In 1104, it is obvious that Geoffrey was acting as a guardian for his underage nephew.

Before the death of his father, however, Robert seems to have been involved, however nominally, in the administration of the lordship of Manoppello. Robert, alongside his brother Peter, subscribed Richard's donation charter to San Clemente of March 1103. This

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<sup>129</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 876.

<sup>130</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 275 = Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 221.

<sup>131</sup> *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. Freidrich Bluhme, *MGH, Leges 4* (Hanover, 1686), p. 117. See Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 153.

subscription, however, need not suggest that these brothers were actively involved in the politics of their father. Their involvement was most likely nominal in nature. Robert was also recorded by Antinori as a witness to William Tassio's donation charter concerning the abbeys of San Giovanni in Venere and Santa Maria di Picciano and the *castellum* of Elice.<sup>132</sup> As discussed above, though this charter was dated by Antinori to 1084, the internal textual evidence revises this date to c.1102. Considering Robert's young age at this date, it would seem unlikely that he could have acted independently of his father or another guardian. It would seem more logical, therefore, the count of Manoppello who witnessed this charter was Richard and that a scribal error or an error on the part of Antinori led to the name Richard being misread as Robert, a mistake which would have been easy to make had the name been heavily abbreviated or the parchment damaged.

### 2.3.5. Territory

Robert's lordship seems to have closely resembled the extent of his father's lands. To the east of Manoppello, Robert held the *castellum* of Ripacorbaria. It was this *castellum* that Robert donated to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella in 1104 and he subsequently extended this donation in 1107 with property in the environs of the *castellum*.<sup>133</sup> These properties represented the border lands with the lordship of the counts of Loritello further east. To the west of Ripacorbaria, it is certain that Robert controlled the *castellum* of Manoppello and the surrounding areas. Robert identified himself as *Robertus Dei gratia comes Manopelli* in his 1122 donation charter to San Salvatore a Maiella and it was at Manoppello that, if John Berard is to be believed, Robert met with Abbot Oldrius of San Clemente in the 1130s.<sup>134</sup> To the south of this heartland, Robert's lordship extended into the fringes of the Caramanico valley. A charter of 1140 from the San Clemente cartulary, which supposedly

<sup>132</sup> Clementi, *San Maria di Picciano*, n. 29.

<sup>133</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 275, 276.

<sup>134</sup> *Liber Sancti Salvatoris*, fols. 11r-11v = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 887.

detailed a judgement issued by King Roger II, mentioned a Richard *Turgisii*, who, amongst other possessions, held the *castellum* of Abbateggio, which 'he received into to his hands after the counts of Manoppello had fled'.<sup>135</sup> Evidently, Richard had capitalised on the removal of the counts of Manoppello in 1140 by King Roger to usurp Abbateggio.<sup>136</sup> Only a few kilometres south of this *castellum* was the area of Roccamorice, in which was located the three churches of San Nicola, Santa Maria and San Cristoforo, which Robert donated to the abbey of San Liberatore in 1122.

From this region, the lordship stretched west towards the lands of the abbey of San Clemente. According the John Berard, after the defeat and exile of the counts of Manoppello, Abbot Oldrius was criticised for earlier receiving the *castellum* of Bolognano from the counts.<sup>137</sup> This *castellum* was located only four kilometres from the abbey itself. Even closer to the abbey was the area of Fara, within which was located the property of *Sanctam Cantianam*, which Robert donated to the abbey of San Salvatore in 1106.<sup>138</sup> Robert had evidently inherited control of this region from his father, who had made donations in the area to San Salvatore in 1098. Robert's involvement in the areas of Bolognano and Fara certainly suggest that he controlled much of the region east of San Clemente. John Berard's numerous accusations suggest that this proximity led to conflict and that that during his persecutions of the 1130s Robert occupied the tower of the *castellum* of *Insula*, located opposite the abbey.<sup>139</sup> These properties represented the westernmost limits of Robert's evidenced lordship. Moreover, no evidence survives to show Robert in control, or operating in the region of, Popoli, which Richard's father had supposedly acquired by purchase from William Tassio. As will be discussed

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<sup>135</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 249r = *Additamenta*, cols. 1008-9, 'ad manus suas recepit, fugientibus comitibus de Manuplello'.

<sup>136</sup> Richard may also have occupied the nearby *castellum* of San Valentino in this way, though the text is ambiguous on this point.

<sup>137</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 888.

<sup>138</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 26r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii.

<sup>139</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 886. Built by Abbot Trasmund of San Clemente in 1074 to protect the abbey and the local populations from punitive raids by the inhabitants of the nearby *castellum* of Tocco, col. 865.

in chapter 7, these lands may have already come under the control of the resurgent Sansoneschi family, who had successfully occupied much of the old lordship of Hugh Malmouzet by 1111, in particular the Navelli plain.

### 2.3.6. Robert of Manoppello and the church

#### 2.3.6.1. The abbey of San Clemente a Casauria

Despite the loss of influence west of Casauria, Robert of Manoppello continued his father's interest in the abbey of San Clemente. Like his father, Robert was condemned as an impious, avaricious usurper by John Berard. The chronicler claimed that Robert's 'wickedness surpassed his father's', that 'his malice surpassed his father's malice' and that he harassed the abbey 'with manifest hostility'.<sup>140</sup> These condemnations arose from numerous interactions that Robert had with the abbey, though Berard's interpretation of these events is often questionable. Firstly, Berard accused Robert of interfering in the abbatial election after the death of Abbot Grimoald in c.1110. This accusation had been previously levelled at Hugh Malmouzet and Berard claimed that the newly elected abbot, Giso, 'was seen to have been imposed by the violence of the counts of Manoppello'.<sup>141</sup> As discussed above, however, Robert was of a young age at this date and furthermore, as Berard reported, Giso was re-elected to the position of abbot only a few years later by 'the monks and all the people of San Clemente' and subsequently consecrated by Pope Paschal II. It is possible that Robert involved himself in the first election of Giso due to his rights over the abbey that he had presumably inherited from his father but it is more likely that Giso's election and re-election can be attributed to an outburst of factionalism within the abbey.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 874, 'ad mores patris revertens genitorem suum, malitia superavit', 886, 'malitiam paternam sua malitia superavit'.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 878, 'quia videbatur violentia Comitum Manuplellensium impositus'.

<sup>142</sup> Possibly related to Giso's successor/predecessor, Alberic, who Berard claimed had previously been bishop of Chieti but had driven out of the episcopate by his enemies, *ibid.*, col. 878.



Robert's primary interaction with the abbey of San Clemente seems to have occurred in the 1130s. During this decade, John Berard outlined the apparently fraught relationship that Robert had with Abbot Oldrius of San Clemente. Robert was accused, as his father had been, of appropriating the abbey's resources and feasting within the abbey, while his soldiers seized the abbey's crops.<sup>143</sup> Robert also, according to Berard, extorted from the abbot by threat of violence control of the fortifications of the *castellum* of *Insula*, opposite the abbey. Finally, Robert was accused of threatening to decapitate Abbot Oldrius for not treating him with due 'reverence'. This picture of depravity is contrasted by Berard's report that before his deposition during the royal invasion of 1140, Robert had donated to the abbey the *castellum* of Bolognano. Also, Robert's appropriation of some of the abbey's resources may have been connected to rights of tribute that he had inherited from his father. Ultimately, the reality of Robert's relationship with San Clemente is obscured by John Berard's interpretation of the royal invasion of 1140 as a righteous campaign launched by King Roger II after a petition from the monks of San Clemente and intended primarily to punish the 'enemies of San Clemente', the counts of Manoppello.<sup>144</sup>

#### **2.3.6.2. The abbeys of San Salvatore a Maiella and San Liberatore alla Maiella**

Like his father, Robert seemingly had no relationship with the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, which maintained important links with William Tassio. Instead, Robert's patronage was directed towards two abbeys near the southern edge of his lordship – San Salvatore a Maiella and San Liberatore alla Maiella. As discussed above, the counts of Manoppello's connection with San Liberatore may have begun with the 1086 donation of Count Peter of Lesina, possibly Robert's grandfather.<sup>145</sup> Certainly, the abbey was important to

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 886.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 888. See above, p. 94.

<sup>145</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 272.

Robert. His October 1104 donation of the *castellum* of Ripacorbaria and the church of San Callisto to the monastery, made under the tutelage of his uncle Geoffrey, was possibly made under the assumption that Robert was close to death.<sup>146</sup> San Liberatore, therefore, may have been intended as Robert's burial place. Robert survived, however, and went on to extend this donation in March 1107 with further properties in the region of Ripacorbaria. These donations were matched by Robert's generosity to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, which had previously received patronage from Robert's father. Indeed, Robert's donation of 1106 to the abbey of the property of *Sanctam Cantianam* near Fara was probably an extension of Richard's 1098 grant to the abbey of properties in the same area.<sup>147</sup> Robert's relationship with San Salvatore continued throughout his career and in 1122 he completed a donation of three churches near Roccamorice to the abbey. The extent of these donations to San Liberatore and San Salvatore were limited yet represented the count's interest in patronising these small abbeys.

### 3. The political networks of the early-twelfth-century lords of Abruzzo

As discussed in chapter 5, the first Norman lords of Abruzzo, using the power vacuum created by their victory at the battle of Ortona, established a network of autonomous lordships that were based on Norman political connections. This collection of lordships was supported by a stable network of political associations between all the important Norman lords of Abruzzo. It was this coordination that secured the opportunities created by the defeat of the Attonid counts and also ensured that instances of conflict amongst the new Norman lords were minimised. The second generation of Norman lords who continued these lordships into the twelfth century maintained this system of seigneurial distribution and political associations. This strategy helped ensure that, until the royal invasion of 1140 and the expulsion of the family of the counts of Manoppello, no instances of conflict were recorded

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<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 275.

<sup>147</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 26r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

amongst the Norman lords of Abruzzo. The second generation of Norman lords, however, faced different challenges than their predecessors and adapted their strategies accordingly. The clear lack of Norman immigration led to an increasing importance of local men amongst the entourages and administrations of these Norman lords. Also, the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet, probably exacerbated by the resurgent Sansoneschi clan, led to a redistribution of spheres of influence.

### **3.1. Seigneurial autonomy and the re-distribution of lordships**

Overall, the second generation of Abruzzese Norman lords maintained the territorial divisions that had been established by their predecessors after the victory at Ortona. William Tassio may have expanded the county of Loreto northwards, though his holdings in this region may have been inherited from his father. The greatest threat to the stability of Norman power in Abruzzo was the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet and the concurrent resurgence of the Sansoneschi clan. This power vacuum created following the defeat of Hugh at Prezza could have led to tensions among the surviving Abruzzese Norman lords. Norman power in the former heartland of Hugh Malmouzet's lordship, surrounding Casauria, however, seems to have been maintained methodically and cooperatively by the remaining Norman authorities. In this first instance, it was William Tassio of Loreto who expanded his authority into the region. As discussed above, William established a working relationship with the bishop of Valva, previously a close ally of Hugh, and maintained a relationship with the abbeys of San Bartholomeo and San Clemente that somewhat mirrored the association that Hugh had developed with the abbeys during the 1080s and 1090s. William also aided Hugh II Malmouzet's sale of the *castellum* of Brittoli to fund his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When William wished to relinquish his control west of Casauria, his sale of Popoli and rights over San Clemente and the bishopric of Valva to Count Richard of Manoppello in 1103 seems to have been concluded amicably. Richard similarly adopted the strategies used by Hugh Malmouzet

in the region and also seems to have taken Hugh II Malmouzet into his clientage. This transferral of power in this region helped ensure that the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet did not precipitate a wider collapse of Norman power or internecine warfare. This cooperation was likely to have been significantly aided by the network of political connections that had been created by the first Norman lords of Abruzzo and that was maintained by their successors, as will be discussed below.

### 3.2. Administration and clientage within the lordships

#### 3.2.1. Robert II of Loritello

As discussed above, Robert II of Loritello's primary political focus was on the southern region of his lordship. Thus the majority of the men which he associated with were from the Capitanata-Apulia region. Robert's 1100 charter concerning the conflict between the abbey of Santa Maria di Banzi and the inhabitants of Bovino and Montellere was subscribed by the bishops of Dragonara and Larino, Count Geoffrey of Civitate, and Count Heribert *de Apicij*, possibly Heribert of Ariano, the father of Jordan of Ariano.<sup>148</sup> Similarly, Robert's 1111 donation to the abbey of Santa Maria di Tremiti was completed with the consent of his *fideles homines* of Campomarino and his petition to the abbey of Montecassino in 1113 was supported by men from Molise, Castropignano and Froselone.<sup>149</sup> Robert's only documented action concerning Abruzzo, however, the 1101 donation to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti, demonstrated that he intended to maintain both his father's northern lordship and his political connections in Abruzzo. The charter renegotiated Robert I's 1095 donation to the important ecclesiastic, Raynulf of Chieti, and was subscribed by Rolf, Robert II's uncle, William Tassio, Richard of Manoppello and his brother Geoffrey and two other personages probably of Norman-French

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<sup>148</sup> *Italia sacra*, VIII, pp. 250-1. See *Recueil des actes des ducs Normands d'Italie*, ed. Ménager, p. 59.

<sup>149</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 90.

origin, William *Scalfonis* and Fulk of *Maisoncella*.<sup>150</sup> These witnesses illustrated Robert's connections in the most important lords of Abruzzo but also the continuity with the administration of his father.

### 3.2.2. William Tassio

As discussed above, William Tassio developed important relations with some local men within his lordship. His network of *vicecomites*, such as Giso of Spoltore and *Rusticus* of San Mauro, represented the interests of the inhabitants of their *castella* and possibly acted as intermediaries between William and the communities. While they were afforded a role in William's transactions, however, their positions seem to have been advisory and subordinate in nature. Similarly, William's 1106 donation to Santa Maria di Picciano included the properties of three men – Mainard, Peter and Rainard – who were presumably clients of William. The status of the four unnamed men granted alongside the *castellum* of San Mauro to the abbey of San Clemente in 1114 is unknown, though they were probably servile. Two witnesses to this 1114 donation, *Alpherius* and Hildebrand, were probably locals and subscribed as *milites*, suggesting they were clients of William's.<sup>151</sup> It is also possible that the witnesses of William's 1101 donation to San Bartholomeo – Atenolf, *Dedo*, *Macsolinus*, Gerard and Hildebrand – were clients of local origin, though they may have been monks of the abbey.<sup>152</sup> Finally, Alexander of San Bartholomeo's account of the sale of Brittoli by Hugh II Malmouzet implied that William Tassio had also expressed interest in purchasing the *castellum* before it was sold to Gentile of the Bernardi. The lack of conflict following this sale may suggest that William had an amiable relationship, as had Hugh Malmouzet, with the Bernardi. These numerous connections suggest that William Tassio had adapted the

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<sup>150</sup> Fulk may be associated with Maisoncelle in Pas-de-Calais. For William Scalfio, see above, pp. 224, 234.

<sup>151</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 243v-244r.

<sup>152</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 124.

administration of his lordship and developed important associations with local notables within his domain.

Men of Norman-French origin, however, still played an important role in the political strategy of William Tassio. William's earliest charter, his c.1102 donation charter to San Giovanni, which involved the abbey of Santa Maria di Picciano, was witnessed by only two secular figures – William's brother, Roger, and Count Richard of Manoppello. Roger was also involved in William's donation to San Bartholomeo in 1101. This donation was completed with his 'permission' and William identified Roger as *dominus meus*. In the same year, William subscribed Robert II of Loritello's donation to the bishop of Chieti and soon after William sold the *castellum* of Popoli to Richard of Manoppello. Furthermore, the first secular witness to William's 1114 donation to San Clemente was listed as *Fulcerius*, probably a variation of Fulk, a traditionally French and particularly Angevin name. Finally, it is possible that one of William's clients mentioned in his 1106 charter donation to Santa Maria di Picciano – Peter of Dragonara – can be associated with Dragonara in the Capitanata, suggesting Peter was an émigré and possibly of Norman origin.

### 3.2.3. Hugh II Malmouzet

Hugh II Malmouzet inherited a crumbling lordship and problematic military situation from his father. The victory of the Sansoneschi over Hugh Malmouzet at the siege of Prezza demonstrated the resurgence of the Sansoneschi as a military force and the capture of Hugh II by Sanso of Petrainiqua, a prominent member of the clan, represented another victory for the family.<sup>153</sup> Despite losing control over the Sansoneschi, Hugh II evidently maintained his father's connections with the Bernardi clan and, as the San Bartholomeo chronicle reported, sold the *castellum* of Brittoli to Gentile of the Bernardi in 1110. Evidence of Hugh II's other political associations only arise from the text of his oath to Abbot Giso of San Clemente, and possibly

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<sup>153</sup> On the capture of Hugh II, see below, p. 303.

Sanso of Petrainiqua, given after his capture.<sup>154</sup> This oath was also taken by Hugh II's brother, Berard, and Peter *Baroncelli*, Giso of *Bacro* and *Paganus*. These men were all probably of local origin, with Giso identifying with Vacri in central Chieti.<sup>155</sup> Hugh also provided hostages to ensure his oath. Their names – Hugh, son of Atto, Trasmund of Pretoro and his sons, Rao and William – suggest they were local men but had been influenced by Norman naming patterns. Hugh's most important connection, however, was with Robert of Manoppello, who he identified as his lord.

#### 3.2.4. Richard of Manoppello

Richard of Manoppello maintained important links with the other Norman lords of Abruzzo, witnessing Robert II of Loritello's charter of 1101 and purchasing the *castellum* of Popoli from William Tassio in 1103. Inside his lordship, however, Robert developed some connections with men of local origin but Norman-French personages were most prominent in his political associations. Richard's earliest surviving charter, his 1098 donation to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, was witnessed by two unknown men, probably of native origin, Albert and Trasmund, yet the first subscription was that of Hugh *Gallonella*.<sup>156</sup> Though the name Hugh was evident in Abruzzo before the Norman invasion this by-name may refer to Gaul, identifying Hugh as Norman-French. Richard's 1103 donation charter to the abbey of San Clemente provides a much fuller picture of Richard's entourage. The first subscriptions to the charter were made by Robert and Peter, Richard's sons. These were followed by the subscriptions of Aimeric, probably Norman-French, and Peter. Another witness was listed as *Nebulus*, who was almost certainly Nebulo of Penne, a previous associate of Robert of Loritello and an important figure in the initial invasion of Abruzzo.<sup>157</sup> The final subscription was

<sup>154</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r.

<sup>155</sup> On *Paganus*, see above, p. 56. Vacri may have been under Norman control by 1077, when a William of Vacri donated to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella, Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 17r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvi.

<sup>156</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 27r = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xvii.

<sup>157</sup> On Nebulo, see chapter 5, section 2.3.

by a certain *Sergi Malferani* who witnessed *a superscripto comite*. The by-name of this Sergius, *Malferani*, was a possible toponymic referencing Amalfi and as the name Sergius was a typically Amalfian name, it is possible that Sergius had entered Abruzzo in the entourage of one of the invading Normans, probably Richard or his father.<sup>158</sup>

### 3.2.5. Robert of Manoppello

The political associations of Robert of Manoppello are scarcely documented. His 1104 donation to the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella was issued with the assistance of his uncle, Geoffrey, and was witnessed by two of his brothers, Peter and William. While the other subscribers of this charter were probably monks of the San Liberatore, an *Ascarius*, presumably of local origin, signed the charter *a superscripto comite*. Similarly, Robert's donation to the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella in 1122 was witnessed by several men of unknown origin.<sup>159</sup> This evidence suggests that Robert assumed many local men into his cliental but, as discussed above, Hugh II Malmouzet named himself as a client of Robert in his oath taken to the abbot of San Clemente and mentioned the services that he owed to Robert.

## 3.3. Consistencies and alterations of the political networks of the early-twelfth-century

### Norman lords of Abruzzo

The political network utilised by the second generation of Norman lords of Abruzzo, who were tasked with maintaining these new lordships into the twelfth century, were subtly different yet fundamentally similar to the network of political connections created by their predecessors. It is clear that these Norman lords modified the administrations they inherited from their predecessors. William Tassio utilised a system of *vicecomites* within his lordship that connected him to the inhabitants of some of his *castella* and probably reduced the opportunity for sedition while retaining primary control in William's hands. These men were

<sup>158</sup> Amalfi had been under Norman authority since the 1070s.

<sup>159</sup> Liber Sancti Salvatoris, fol. 11r-11v = *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xix, their names were Wido, John, Andreas and Elisha.



of local origin, as were numerous clients of William's and the two of the *milites* who witnessed his 1114 donation to San Clemente. Hugh II Malmouzet also operated in conjunction with numerous men of local origin. In the case of Gentile of the Bernardi, Hugh II's connections were inherited from his father's political network, while the names of the hostages provided by Hugh to Abbot Giso of San Clemente – Hugh, son of Atto, Trasmund and his sons, Rao and William – demonstrate his connections with men of local origin but also the increasing influence of Normans, and their naming patterns, on the local population. Finally, the associations of the counts of Manoppello illustrate how these Norman lords increasingly came to rely on men of local origin. Richard of Manoppello's non-familial associates, such as Hugh *Gallonella* and Aimeric, were primarily of Norman origin yet his son Robert's connections to men of Norman origin became limited.

Despite this flux, however, it is clear that the network of political connections amongst the important Norman lords, created by the first generation of Norman invaders, was retained by the twelfth-century lords. Robert II of Loritello's donation charter to the important ecclesiastic, Bishop Raynulf of Chieti, was subscribed by both William Tassio and Richard of Manoppello. Another witness to this donation, William *Scalfonis*, was the progenitor of an important family of twelfth-century Abruzzese Norman lords. Richard of Manoppello was one of the few secular witnesses to William Tassio's c.1102 donation charter to the abbey of San Giovanni in Venere. The relationship between Richard and William was probably important given William's willingness to sell the strategically important *castellum* of Popoli and rights over the bishopric of Valva and abbey of San Clemente to Richard in 1103. Richard also maintained connections with Nebulo of Penne, an important lord in the initial invasion of Abruzzo, and Nebulo subscribed Richard's donation charter to San Clemente in 1103. Finally, an important connection was created between Robert of Manoppello and Hugh II Malmouzet, possibly based on Hugh's role as a client of Richard, before Hugh II's capture and exile in c.1110. This network of political connections helped strengthen Norman power in region,

ensuring the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet did not undermine Norman authority in Abruzzo, and limit the chance of quarrels between the Norman lordships before the 1140 royal invasion.

### **Conclusion**

The impetus of the eleventh-century Norman invasion of Abruzzo, which had annexed large areas of Abruzzese territory into Norman control, abated in the twelfth century. Just as the deaths of Robert Guiscard, Jordan of Capua and Roger I of Sicily ushered in a new generation of Norman lords further south, in Abruzzo the deaths of Robert I of Loritello, Drogo Tassio and Hugh Malmouzet necessitated the creation of a new network of Abruzzese Norman lords. The successors of these men and the new Norman counts of Manoppello adapted to the shifting political conditions of Abruzzo in the early-twelfth century but also maintained many of the strategies and political connections established by their precursors. Count Robert I of Loritello, whose primary interest lay in his Apulia-Capitanata lands, was largely interested in conservative policies intended to maintain the status quo established by his father. Thus his 1101 charters renewed his political and military bond with Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and reinforced his connections with the region's most prominent Norman lords, including Count William Tassio of Loreto and Count Richard of Manoppello. To the west, the defeat of Hugh Malmouzet at Prezza and his death in the late-1090s ensured that his eldest son and successor, Hugh II Malmouzet, inherited a lordship in decline. Hugh's authority in the Navelli plain was usurped by the Sansoneschi and his lordship was restricted to an area south of Carpineto, probably centred on the *castellum* of Brittoli. Hugh did not continue his father's relationship with the abbey of San Clemente but did maintain an alliance with the Bernardi family, who purchased the *castellum* of Brittoli from Hugh before his departure to the Holy

Land. Hugh, however, also inherited the enmity of the Sansoneschi clan, who ultimately brought about his capture and the termination of the Malmouzet lordship.

The power vacuum created by the defeat of Hugh II Malmouzet was briefly filled by William Tassio of Loreto. William continued Hugh I's policies by involving himself with the abbey of San Clemente, donating to San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and developing a working alliance with the bishop of Valva. These campaigns, however, may have overstretched his resources and he transferred control of the area to the counts of Manoppello in 1103. Further north, William seems to have expanded the dominion of his father and became a patron of the abbeys of Santa Maria di Picciano and San Giovanni in Venere. Within his lordship William also developed a more complex relationship with the local aristocracy of his lordship, utilising a series of *vicecomites* who operated as representatives of certain of the major *castella* of his lordships but were ultimately subject to his command. Finally, the county of Manoppello, which possibly originated from the campaigns of the counts of Lesina, was firmly established by the late-1090s and expanded following the purchase of 1103. As his predecessors in the area had done, Richard developed a relationship with the abbey of San Clemente, possibly purchasing the rights of tribute from William Tassio and, though demonised by the abbey's later chronicler, John Berard, Richard of Manoppello became a patron of San Clemente and San Salvatore a Maiella. Richard's premature death left his son, Richard, a minor, as count, initially under the tutelage of his uncle, Geoffrey. During his career, Robert favoured the ecclesiastical institutions of the western regions of his lordships, such as San Liberatore alla Maiella and San Salvatore a Maiella, and possibly lost control of his properties east of Casauria to the resurgent Sansoneschi.

Within the Norman lordships of the early-twelfth century the political connections maintained by the Abruzzese Norman lords evolved somewhat. The associations of Robert II of Loritello were the most conservative. The sustained relationship with the bishop of Chieti

was paramount and the majority of the men who witnessed his 1101 charter were descendants of men who had subscribed his father's 1095 charter. William Tassio expanded and developed the administration of the county of Loreto by the utilisation of a system of local *vicecomites* yet his entourage continued to contain men of Norman origin. The diverse associations of Hugh II Malmouzet best illustrated the changing nature of the political connections of Abruzzo. His documented associates included men of Norman and local origin, including local men with Norman names. Similarly, although Richard of Manoppello's primary political connections were with men of Norman origin, his son, Robert, incorporated more local aristocrats in his administration. Most significantly, however, despite challenging political modifications, it is clear that this second generation of Abruzzese Norman lords maintained the network of political connections established between the eleventh-century Norman lords of Abruzzo. This system strengthened the Abruzzese Norman lords in the face of a resurgent threat from the local aristocracy, most notably the Sansoneschi, and ensured the survival of Norman authority in the region until the incorporation of Abruzzo into the *Regno* in 1140.

## Chapter 7

### The political strategies of the local aristocracy in Abruzzo, c.1060-1140

#### Introduction

As discussed in chapter 4, Abruzzo in the eleventh century, like much of southern Italy, had experienced a marked decrease in the authority of centralised power and concomitant increase in aristocratic autonomy. The Norman conquests thus provoked a variety of political strategies. Established major powers – such as the princes of Capua and the Byzantine administration – presented concerted resistance to Norman campaigns and suffered defeat. Other polities – such as the cities of Amalfi, Gaeta and Bari – negotiated conditional surrenders and succeeded in retaining a degree of autonomy from Norman authority.<sup>1</sup> Collaboration was also common and the fortresses of Castronuovo and Castrogiovanni were betrayed to Roger I of Sicily.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, some aristocratic families allied themselves with the invading Normans, such as the Borrelli clan of Sangro, accepted subjection to Norman lords, such as the lords of Fasanella and intermarried with Norman families, such as the Capaccio branch of the princely family of Salerno.<sup>3</sup> This diverse pattern of aristocratic political strategies was replicated in Abruzzo. This chapter will examine the impact of the Norman annexations upon the local aristocrats of Abruzzo and the varied strategies they employed to ensure their political survival. Section 1 will investigate the political activities of the Attonid family following their defeat at the battle of Ortona and the strategies which resulted in the restoration of their comital authority, in a diminished form, in *Aprutium*.

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<sup>1</sup> See Patricia Skinner, 'The Tyrrhenian coastal cities under the Normans' in *The society of Norman Italy*, eds, Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 75-96 and Richard Bünemann, 'L'assedio di Bari, 1068-71. Una difficile vittoria per Roberto il Guiscardo', *Quaderni medievali* 27 (1989), pp. 39-66.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, p. 88. See Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 168, 172.

<sup>3</sup> See Rivera, 'Per la storia delle origini dei Borelli conti di Sangro', pp. 48-92, Loud, *The age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 279 and Loud, 'Continuity and change in Norman Italy', p. 324.

Section 2 will analyse the impact of the Norman invasion on the lesser aristocracy of Abruzzo and examine in detail the varying political strategies of two important native aristocratic kin-groups – the Bernardi and the Sansoneschi.

### 1. The fall and rise of the Attonid counts

The deployment of a considerable force – 10,000 according to Amatus of Montecassino – by Trasmund IV, cousin of the ruling Count Trasmund III, at the battle of Ortona in 1076 marked a unusual demonstration of power and prestige by the Attonid family.<sup>4</sup> Yet the defeat of the comital army fatally undermined the political and military power of the Attonids. The rout of the Attonid forces led to the capture of Trasmund IV, Trasmund's nephew, a selection of allies and at least two bishops, John of Penne and Hugh of Camerino.<sup>5</sup> The detainees represented the support base that Trasmund had mobilised but their capture severely limited any chance of continued resistance in the immediate aftermath of the battle. If the account of Amatus is to be believed, however, even before the decisive military confrontation at Ortona, the capture of Count Trasmund III had resulted in a ransom payment of 10,000 bezants to Robert of Loritello.<sup>6</sup> This significant sum was attained by appropriating the treasures of the church of *Saint Jehan Baptiste*, probably San Giovanni in Venere, thus sullyng the count's relationship with that important abbey.<sup>7</sup> This marked only the beginning of the count's financial and economic deprivations during the last quarter of the eleventh century. After Ortona, Robert of Loritello procured oaths of fidelity from many of his captives, including Trasmund III and Trasmund IV, and returned to them some of their previous possessions. As Amatus recorded, however, these concessions were limited and Robert 'kept his share of the

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<sup>4</sup> *Amatus*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327. Hugh was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII in Feb 1079, *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Caspar, VI.17a = Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> *Amatus*, p. 325.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326. San Giovanni was founded by Count Trasmund II, *Heinrici III. Diplomata*, eds Bresslau and Kehr, n. 185. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 610, n. 160.

*castella*'.<sup>8</sup> The establishment of a network of Norman lordships across Chieti, Penne and Valva, as discussed in chapter 5, terminated Attonid power in the region.

### 1.1. The 1085-6 donations of Count Trasmund III

No narrative source described any organised Attonid resistance to the Norman invasion after the battle of Ortona. Trasmund III continued to use the title *comes* but he is nowhere documented dispensing justice or raising comital forces. In the mid-1080s, presumably after struggling to retain his patrimony but realising his prospects were bleak, Trasmund completed three large donations to ecclesiastical foundations that officially ended Attonid territorial control in central Abruzzo. These donations were all completed within a year of each other and bestowed exceptionally large tracts of land relative to other contemporary donations.<sup>9</sup> The first two were completed in the same month and year, October 1085 and subscribed by the same two witnesses, Gerard and Lupus. One, a donation to the abbey of Farfa concerned the *castella* of *Caphajo*, Pretetulo, Atri and *Mariano*.<sup>10</sup> The *castella* came with associated lands measuring 10,000 *modia*. The second, a donation to the abbey of Montecassino, surrendered the *castella* of *Arsito*, *Bacucco* and *Bisenti*, also with associated lands measuring 10,000 *modia*.<sup>11</sup> Together these lands stretched over a vast area of the *Penne-Aprutium* frontier from the coast to the San Grasso mountains, with the Montecassino lands located to the west of those of the Farfa donation. Neither charter related the payment of any sum or the transfer of any lands to Trasmund for these donations.

Numerous possible motivations thus arise from these donations. Trasmund had been politically active since the 1020s and by 1085 would most likely have been nearing death.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, although two wives of Trasmund were documented in the mid-eleventh century,

<sup>8</sup> *Amatus*, p. 330.

<sup>9</sup> The largest contemporary recorded donation was 3000 *modia*, given by Hugh Malmouzet to the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto in 1093, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 120.

<sup>10</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1091. See also *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Balzani, vol. 2, p. 170.

<sup>11</sup> Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 191. See also *Chron. mon. Cas.*, III.56, p. 437

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 155, and *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.52, p. 264.

no surviving sons of Trasmund are recorded in any source.<sup>13</sup> The 1085 donations were made without the consent of any sons or relatives and were completed only 'for my soul and the souls of my father and mother'.<sup>14</sup> These donations, therefore, may have represented the attempts of a dying man with no heirs to attain spiritual exemptions and ensure the survival of his patrimony, if only under administration of ecclesiastical institutions. Laurent Feller has suggested that Trasmund's donations represent the 'the attitude of a defeated man without descendants'.<sup>15</sup> More prosaically, however, the distribution of these donated lands, located as they were just north of Loreto and Penne, suggests that they were intentionally chosen to present a buffer to the expansion of Nebulo of Penne and Drogo Tassio. The choice of the abbeys of Montecassino and Farfa as recipients, over any Abruzzese monasteries, seems particularly pertinent in this context as their great prestige and, in the case of Montecassino, close relationship with the Normans of southern Italy, provided spiritual and political protection to the transferred lands. As many contemporary Lombard lords of southern Italy did, Trasmund surrendered his properties to important ecclesiastical institutions rather than see them annexed by invading Normans.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, this policy seems to have been successful as these lands represented the most northerly limits of Norman expansion before the 1140 royal invasion and it was behind this new frontier that the descendants of Trasmund IV, Count Trasmund III's cousin, resurrected the Attonid legacy and re-established themselves as functioning counts.<sup>17</sup>

This policy of defensive donations to important ecclesiastics was developed further by Trasmund in October 1086 when he completed a significant donation to Bishop Raynulf of

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<sup>13</sup> Maria in 1046, Gattula, *Historiae*, p. 240, and Antiocha in 1049, *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 40.

<sup>14</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1091 and Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 191, 'pro anima mea, et de genitore meo, et de genitrice mea'.

<sup>15</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 618, 'l'attitude d'un homme vaincu et sans descendance'.

<sup>16</sup> See Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy*, p. 112-4 and De Francesco, 'Origini e sviluppo del feudalesimo nel Molise', p. 274 n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> See chapter 7, section 1.



Chieti.<sup>18</sup> This donation centred on the *castella* of *Sculcula* 'in the Pescara valley', with associated lands measuring 4,000 modia. The boundaries for these lands given in the 1086 charter – Lastignano, Spoltore and the River Pescara – locate these lands near Aterno. As such, these lands were significantly south of the properties donated to the abbeys of Farfa and Montecassino a year earlier. Moreover, by the mid-1080s the lands in the Pescara valley had most likely come under the control of Norman forces. Hugh Malmouzet's activities centred on the upper valley and Drogo Tassio's lordship was created north of the Pescara. *Sculcula* itself had possibly come under the control of Robert of Loritello and, as Laurent Feller has suggested, Trasmund's donation may have been intended as an anti-Norman move.<sup>19</sup> In fact, it does seem likely that Trasmund was attempting to sow seeds of conflict between the Normans and the emergent political power of Bishop Raynulf.<sup>20</sup> In the same year as Trasmund's donation, Raynulf had concluded a complex territorial transaction with Hugh Malmouzet and the abbey of San Clemente, displaying his willingness to deal with the new Norman lords.<sup>21</sup> Trasmund's donation may have been intended to disrupt this relationship, specifically between Raynulf and Robert of Loritello. Indeed, it is possible that this plan was in some way successful. Robert of Loritello's charter to Raynulf of 1095 mentioned the *castellum* of *Sculcula*, which Robert declared 'restored and confirmed' to the bishop.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, when re-issuing this charter Robert II of Loritello felt compelled to include a clause renegotiating and confirming the bishop's control of *Sculcula*.<sup>23</sup> Evidently, the *castellum* had become a contentious issue between Raynulf and the counts of Loritello, necessitating the bishop's insistence on receiving confirmation from both father and son of his rights over

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<sup>18</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 9 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Though Feller presumed it was aimed against Hugh Malmouzet, not Robert of Loritello, Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 169.

<sup>20</sup> On Bishop Raynulf and Robert of Loritello, see above, p.194, and Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales'.

<sup>21</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 235r, 235v-236r, 236r.

<sup>22</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 11 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 9, 'restituimus et confirmamus'.

<sup>23</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 13 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 11.

*Sculcula*.<sup>24</sup> In this context, Trasmund III's strategy of tactical donations seems to have paid dividends.

### 1.2. Atto VIII and the marriage of Rogata, widow of Hugh Malmouzet

These donations may have terminated Trasmund's influence in Penne and Chieti but over the last quarter of the eleventh century, possibly due to the efforts of Trasmund III, the descendants of Trasmund IV, the count's cousin, were able to ensure Attonid power continued in the county of *Aprutium*.<sup>25</sup> The activities of Trasmund IV after the defeat at Ortona are not documented, though like his cousin, Trasmund would have been elderly by the 1070s. He had been politically active since at least 1038, when he engaged in a property exchange with the abbey of Santa Maria di Tremiti.<sup>26</sup> Thus it would be unlikely that he survived long after the battle. Trasmund had at least one son, Atto VI, who was documented in 1067 donating the *castellum* of *Pizo Corburio* to Bishop Atto of Chieti.<sup>27</sup> Nothing else is known of Atto VI yet his son, Atto VII, emerges prominently from the early-twelfth century charters concerning *Aprutium* and evidently managed to reinforce his status as count and claim many comital rights. The early actions of Atto VII are unknown. He is first documented in 1101 making a small donation to the abbey of Farfa of half the church of *Sancti Martini* in Morro.<sup>28</sup> In this charter Atto titled himself *comes* and the charter was dated in the forty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry of Germany, possibly to reinforce Atto's claim to power based on his imperial heritage, though this was also a Farfa custom. This donation marked the first documented action by any Attonid since Trasmund III's large donations of the mid-1080s and

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<sup>24</sup> The importance of *Sculcula* to Bishop Raynulf may be inferred from an undated agreement with the abbey of San Salvatore a Maiella which led to the repopulation of *castellum*, *Collectionis bullarum*, p. xviii. See Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', pp. 168-9 and Feller, 'Le développement des institutions féodales', pp. 7-8.

<sup>25</sup> See below, p. 280, Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 747-752 and Savini, *La contea di Apruzio e i suoi conti*, pp. 100-4.

<sup>26</sup> *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 8 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1219. Atto also gave up his right to the *launigild* of these lands. This charter was witnessed by a 'Count Bonus', possibly a brother of Atto's.

coincided with the lapse in Norman activity at the turn of the century following the death of Hugh Malmouzet and Robert of Loritello.

It is possible that Atto capitalised on Hugh's death as, according to John Berard, he married Malmouzet's widow, Rogata.<sup>29</sup> This move seems to have been a calculated political move as Atto abandoned his previous wife to marry Rogata. Laurent Feller has postulated that this marriage was part of a political settlement negotiated by Atto VII and the Norman lords, particularly William Tassio.<sup>30</sup> Such a concession, however, would seem distinctly magnanimous on the part of the Norman lords, particularly William Tassio, who controlled a powerful lordship and expanded his patrimony after the death of Hugh. If Atto intended to lay any claim to Hugh's lands based on his marriage to Rogata, however, there is no evidence to show that Atto succeeded in reclaiming any lands in Chieti or Valva.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, this action had some consequences, as Berard claimed that it brought the ire of Pope Paschal II, who dispatched a legate, Cardinal-deacon Augustine of Santi Quattro Coronati, in c.1104 to pronounce excommunication on Atto.<sup>32</sup> Though Berard reported that Augustine accepted Atto's penitence and 'restored [him] to the church', he does not specifically state that Atto repudiated his marriage to Rogata to free himself of excommunication.<sup>33</sup> In fact, it would seem that Atto continued his relationship with Rogata as four of his attested sons bear characteristically Norman-French names – Henry, Robert, William and Tancred.<sup>34</sup> Although the name Rogata is documented in central Italy before the arrival of the Normans it is likely that she was of Norman origin and that it was her influence that dominated over the naming

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<sup>29</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 874-5. Berard dated this event to c.1104 and did not deem the union a marriage, instead claiming that Atto 'left his lawful wife and brought another to live with him', 'propria ac legitima uxore relicta, et ea vivente sibi alteram duxerat'.

<sup>30</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 637.

<sup>31</sup> Hugh Malmouzet's 1093 donation charter to San Bartholomeo di Carpineto seems to suggest Rogata pre-deceased Hugh, 'pro anima Rogate Comitissa, qui fuit coniuge predicti Ugoni', *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 120, though this is probably a scribal error, see above, p. 236.

<sup>32</sup> See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 110.

<sup>33</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 875, 'poenitentem recepit, ecclesiae reddidit'.

<sup>34</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 41, 44. A son fifth was named Matthew, which was probably a Norman name though was found in southern Italy, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 637.

patterns in Atto's family.<sup>35</sup> Atto's only son bearing a distinctly local name was his namesake, Atto.

### 1.3. The Attonids in the county of *Aprutium*

The withdrawal of the Attonid family from central and southern Abruzzo was reflected in the varying titles that Atto VII and his sons adopted in the twelfth century. Atto's father, Atto VI, and grandfather, Trasmund IV, both used the title *comes* without an associated locative.<sup>36</sup> The other branch of the family, represented by Atto IV and Trasmund III, also used the simple title *comes* in most of their charters of the eleventh century but were recognised by chroniclers as *comes Teatinus*.<sup>37</sup> This title, however, belied the extent of their territorial possessions and jurisdictional and military power which, before the Norman invasion, could be enforced in Valva, Penne and *Aprutium*.<sup>38</sup> In the aftermath of the defeat of Trasmund III and the creation of the counties of Loritello, Loreto and Manoppello the title of *comes Teatinus* became redundant. Atto VII continued to use the simple title *comes* used by his father and grandfather but soon began to utilise the more specific title of *comes Aprutinus* in charter.<sup>39</sup> The first recorded instance was in a confirmation charter to the bishop of *Aprutium* in 1116.<sup>40</sup> Atto's sons, Henry and Matthew, would later identify themselves in charter as *comes Aprutino*.<sup>41</sup> This was a new title which mirrored that used by the local bishop, *episcopus Aprutinus*, and had its only recent antecedent in the title used by Gerard, count of Ascoli, who while acting as *missus* of Pope Victor II had presided over a *placitum* in Grasciano in 1058 in

<sup>35</sup> On the name Rogata in southern Italy, see Patricia Skinner, "'And her name was ...?'" Gender and naming in medieval southern Italy', *Medieval prosopography* 20 (1999), pp. 23-49, pp. 34, 36 and Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, p. 1277 n. 4. A wife of the count of Marsia in 1090s was named Rogata, *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Balzani, p. xxiii.

<sup>36</sup> Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, n. 8 = *Reg. arc. Chieti*, n. 7. *Cod. dip. Tremiti*, n. 22.

<sup>37</sup> For example, *Chron. mon. Cas.*, II.85, p. 334.

<sup>38</sup> See chapter 4, section 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Il regesto di Farfa*, ed. Balzani, n. 1312. See *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Balzani, vol. 2, p. 278.

<sup>40</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 39.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 44.

which he designated himself *comes de comitatu Asculano et Aprutiensi*.<sup>42</sup> As such, the use of this new title by Atto VII represented a clear renunciation of any claim over the Attonid comital rights outside *Aprutium* yet reinforced Atto's claim to authority in *Aprutium* against the incursions of the papacy and the increasing influence of the bishop.

Laurent Feller has succinctly analysed the limits of the new count's jurisdictional and political power within the county of *Aprutium* before the royal invasion of 1140.<sup>43</sup> Despite successfully establishing themselves as counts of *Aprutium*, Atto and his sons had to contend with, and were gradually surpassed by, the increasing wealth, political power and territorial acquisitions of successive bishops of *Aprutium*. Only one comital *placitum* is documented during this time, presided over by Atto VII in 1108, demonstrating their diminishing judicial power.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the decision of this *placitum* was not accepted by the bishop as it was unfavourable to episcopal interests. Furthermore, as Feller has elucidated, the bishops engaged in a series of purchases, mainly of *castella*, in which the count's consent was solicited, his rights to any service reserved and the bishop received oaths of fidelity from the *milites* of the properties.<sup>45</sup> The count took no active role in these transactions and often these agreements included the return of the lands acquired, resulting in the creation of a network of powerful episcopal *fideles* available for service to the bishop.<sup>46</sup> This process culminated in the early-1120s in a succession of territorial investitures made by Bishops Berard and Wido to Atto VII's sons, Henry and Matthew, which included the proffering of oaths to the bishops.<sup>47</sup> Count Matthew later surrendered to the bishop his right to services due from the *castellum* of

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 20 = *I placiti*, n. 404.

<sup>43</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 747-752.

<sup>44</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 9. Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 85 asserted that Atto VII travelled to the East and left his wealth to the Order of the Hospitaliers. This assertion, however, is based on a forgery of 1119, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem (1100-1310)*, ed., Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris, 1893-1906), vol.1, n. 56. See Anthony Luttrell and Francesco Tommasi, 'Una falsa donazione per l'Ordine dell'Ospedale (1120)', in *Religiones militares*, ed., Anthon Luttrell and Francesco Tommasi (Città di Castello, 2008), pp. 265-77.

<sup>45</sup> For example, see *Cart. Teramana*, n. 35, 38, 39, 42. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 748.

<sup>46</sup> Atto himself sold the *castellum* of Lucus, in Penne, including the services of the *milies* of the *castellum*, to Bishop Berard in 1116, *Cart. Teramana*, n. 39.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 42, 44. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 750.

Forcella and Matthew's brothers, William and Robert, explicitly recognised their submission to the bishop and their services due to him.<sup>48</sup> The root of this degradation of the status and power of the counts seems to have been their relative poverty during the early-twelfth century caused by the loss of their traditional patrimony in Penne and Chieti. The oaths given to the bishop by Henry and Matthew were made to ensure confirmation of their control of two *castella* that their father had earlier received from the bishop.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, the charter outlining Count Matthew's surrender of the services of Forcella detailed that Bishop Wido was responsible for providing arms to certain men in time of war, suggesting the count could not provide such equipment.<sup>50</sup> Thus the resurrection of Attonid power in *Aprutium* before the royal invasion of 1140, while a significant achievement by Atto VII and his sons, was severely limited by the deprivations imposed upon their political and economic power by the Norman invasion.

## 2. The lesser aristocracy of Abruzzo after the Norman invasion

### 2.1. Aristocratic militarisation in the county of *Aprutium*

The process of impoverishment suffered by the Attonid counts was also evident among other members of the *Aprutium* aristocracy during the early-twelfth century. The documents of the region also contained a distinct increase in stipulations concerning preparation for warfare. As the Norman lords failed to penetrate *Aprutium* permanently, these developments may represent the most important influence the Norman invasion had on the Abruzzese lands north of Penne. The only evidence documenting direct Norman control of lands in *Aprutium* arises from Atto VII's *placitum* of 1108, held in the church of Santa Maria *iuxta mare* in the *suburbium* of San Flaviano.<sup>51</sup> Upon hearing the accusations of the plaintiff,

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<sup>48</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 61, 43, 45.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 44.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 61.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 9. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 750 identified this town as modern-day Guilianova. The *placitum* is dated in the reign of Pope Paschall II

Bishop Humbert of *Aprutium*, concerning land usurpations, the defendant's advocates responded that 'they had restored to the church the aforesaid *Antisianum*... and [other lands] of the church, [seized] by the most evil power of the Normans and on their withdrawal, they had again each seized a property restored to the church'.<sup>52</sup> Given the involvement of the bishop of *Aprutium* and the location of the other lands referenced in the *placitum* within *Aprutium*, it seems sound to assume these contested properties were on the southern frontier of *Aprutium*. There is no evidence for Norman annexations north of this point and neither is there documentation detailing large donations to prestigious ecclesiastical institutions, similar to Trasmund III's donations of 1085-6, which imply Norman incursion.<sup>53</sup>

The available charters of the bishop of *Aprutium* during this period, however, present a distinct picture of aristocratic society dealing with decreasing wealth and a continued threat of warfare. In November 1101, three brothers, Odemundus, Tresidius and Rimus, made a large donation of properties, totalling 2,000 *modia*, to the bishop.<sup>54</sup> A charter of the same date related that the brothers swore an oath of 'commendation and fidelity' to the bishop and undertook to provide service and rent (*incensus*) in exchange for 150 *modia* of land and the services of the sons of Atto *Castalli*.<sup>55</sup> In a similar transaction, Berard *Mutus* surrendered all his properties to Bishop Humbert in 1114 and pledged the services of himself and his heirs to the bishops.<sup>56</sup> This transaction presumably involved the taking of oaths and provision of a retainer, similar to that of 1101, charter evidence of which has not survived. This process was exemplified by a charter of 1123 which documented Bishop Wido's investiture of a large collection of men of the Teutoneschi kin-group with an unspecified amount of land.<sup>57</sup> The

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<sup>52</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 9, 'per nequissimam potestatem Normannorum predictum Antisianum et quatuor homines in Scatiano et campum de Solata et campum de Pratari eos ecclesie restituisse et ipsa recedente unumquemque eorum possessionem ecclesie restitutam iterum apprehendisse.'

<sup>53</sup> See above, p. 276.

<sup>54</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 53.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 54, 'commendationem et fidelitatem'.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 35.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 49. Other examples include *Cart. Teramana*, n. 12 (c. 1121), a list of the men who owed services to the bishops, and n. 58 (1134). On the Teutoneschi family, see chapter 4, section 4.2.

recipients were required to provide service and adhere to strict terms, while six were chosen to swear an oath of fidelity on behalf of the group.<sup>58</sup> The contrast with the situation in the eleventh century, when these kin-groups, particularly the Teutoneschi, profited from usurping the lands of the bishops, was clear. In a new political climate, these families turned to the bishop, whose resources evidently remained strong, for patronage and protection.

These contracts of aristocratic submission also clearly displayed a society concerned with defence and preparation for warfare. In 1116, Rainald, son of Elperimus, completed a territorial donation to Bishop-elect Berard of *Aprutium*, for which Rainald received compensation including a cuirass (*lorica*), a shield (*scutum*) and a lance (*lancea*).<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the terms of Count Matthew's donation of the *servitium* of Forcella to Bishop Wido in 1128 stipulated that the bishop must provide a named soldier with a mantle (*mantelum*), palfrey horse (*palafrenum*), war-horse (*dextrarium*) and cuirass (*lorica*) in times of war.<sup>60</sup> Issues of security seemed particularly pertinent to Bishop Wido's investiture of the men of the Teutoneschi in 1123. As condition for the properties obtained, the bishop insisted that the men would receive the bishop into the safety of their fortifications and defend him against any enemies.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the bishop demonstrated his cautious regard for these men by further insisting on a guarantee against the construction of *castella* in certain named areas without his consent.<sup>62</sup> It would be a simplification to presume that these aristocratic financial difficulties and preoccupation with security arose wholly due to the impact of Norman incursion. As outlined in chapter 4, the society of *Aprutium*, similar to the rest of Abruzzo, had become increasingly violent due to the emergence of new dynamic and belligerent kin-groups.

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<sup>58</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 49.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 38. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 749, identified Rainald as Norman, though there is no firm evidence for this.

<sup>60</sup> *Cart. Teramana*, n. 61.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 49, 'recipietis nos et res ecclesie nostre in castris vestris et contra omnes homines sine aliqua fraude adiuvabitis et defendetis'.

<sup>62</sup> Savini in *ibid.*, p. 87 n. 1, identified these areas as Colle Caruno, Castegneto and others places just west of city of modern-day Teramo.



Yet certain Norman adventurers had penetrated into the *Aprutium* region, as confirmed by the 1108 *placitum* of Atto VII, and the increased militarisation of society was no doubt exacerbated by the Norman threat, whether permanent or waning.

## 2.2. Localised warfare in western Chieti

On the frontiers of the Normans lordships in Chieti and Penne, the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente also recorded various instances of warfare amongst the lesser aristocracy, particularly after the disintegration of the Malmouzet lordship following the defeat of Hugh I and the departure of Hugh II to the Holy Land. Sometime in the mid-1110s, according to the chronology of John Berard, Robert *Trogisii* and Gerard of Cugnoli, with their brothers, occupied the properties of San Clemente in the *castellum* of Alanno.<sup>63</sup> Berard claimed that Abbot Giso 'expelled them and returned to the monastery the land that they had seized', suggesting there was a military confrontation.<sup>64</sup> The identification of Robert is relatively straightforward as Torgisius was a Norman, and in fact, typically Scandinavian name.<sup>65</sup> Gerard can possibly be identified as the Gerard, son of Transaricus, who was involved in an agreement concerning lands in Cugnoli and Alanno with the abbey of San Clemente in 1124.<sup>66</sup> In this charter, Gerard named his nephews as Tancred and Richard, whose father was identified as Hugh, suggesting if not Norman origins then certainly significant Norman connections. Given Robert's certain, and Gerard's likely, Norman origins and the geographical position of Alanno on the borderlands with the lordship of Manoppello, it is possible that this annexation was promoted by the count of Manoppello. John Berard claimed that Robert and Gerard 'falsely claimed to hold [Alanno] from the church'.<sup>67</sup> Hence, it is possible that both men had previously been granted or rented certain lands by the abbey but were deemed to have

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<sup>63</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 880.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 880, 'quos expulit, et terram, quam invaserant... monasterio reddidit'.

<sup>65</sup> See Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 196.

<sup>66</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fols. 245v-246r, edited in Feller, 'Une guerre vicinale dans les Abruzzes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le fonctionnement de la seigneurie', pp. 170-2.

<sup>67</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 880, 'de ecclesia se tenere mendaciter assererent'.

exceeded their endowment by occupying Alanno. The expulsion of Gerard and Robert from Alanno by Abbot Giso did not end the conflict in the area and, as Gerard's 1124 charter recorded, opportunist raiding continued before a settlement was reached.<sup>68</sup>

Alanno was also at the heart of another outbreak of conflict between San Clemente and its neighbours in the early-twelfth century. In the late-1120s, Abbot Oldrius of San Clemente travelled to *Aprutium*, leaving a certain *fidelis* of his, William of Castiglione, to protect the abbey in his absence.<sup>69</sup> As Berard recorded, Oldrius 'ordered his men that they should obey [William] as they would himself. And if an emergency occurred they would obey his command'.<sup>70</sup> William, however, used his new-found position of power to capture Alanno and plundered the livestock of its inhabitants. Berard lamented that William, 'collecting a multitude of followers, an armed mob of knights, came to the place, and truly a most wicked enemy, who ought to have been a most loyal defender, he seized herds of cows and flocks of sheep, and took them with him and so scattered them, that he did not wish to surrender a tail of them'.<sup>71</sup> Abbot Oldrius, Berard admitted, was not able to avenge this incident and William was only chastised when he was defeated by his own, unidentified, enemies, an event that Berard attributes to the intervention of Saint Clement.<sup>72</sup> The abbey could call on military resources, however, as when Oldrius's predecessor, Giso, responding to usurpations of the abbey's properties in the *castellum* of Tocco, had raised an army and assaulted the *castellum*.<sup>73</sup> Berard claimed that this army constituted 4,000 'men at arms' (*armati*) and 'were it not for the mercy of Abbot Giso, on that day the pride of Tocco would have been completely

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<sup>68</sup> See Feller, 'Une guerre vicinale dans les Abruzzes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le fonctionnement de la seigneurie', p. 163, who suggested Gerard of Cugnoli was of the family of the lords of Tocco.

<sup>69</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 884-5.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 884, 'Oldrius praecepit hominibus suis, ut ei [William] obtemperarent, sicut et sibi, et si necessitas ingrueret eius omnes ob secundarent mandatis'.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 885, 'mane facto coadunata satellitum multitudine, armata militum turba... venit ad loca et revera hostis nequissimus, qui deberet esse tutor fidelissimus, armenta boum, et greges ovium rapuit, et duxit secum, et ita dissipavit, quod nec unam caudam ex omnibus reddere voluerit'.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 885.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 882-3. The abbey's conflict with the inhabitants of Tocco was long-running, see *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 862, 866.

destroyed and annihilated'.<sup>74</sup> These instances of aristocratic warfare conformed to the developments of the eleventh century, now encouraged and exacerbated by the Abruzzese Normand lords.

### 2.3. The Bernardi family

The Bernardi kin-group, descended from Bernard, founder the abbey of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto, had expanded their patrimony in southern Penne during the course of the eleventh century.<sup>75</sup> One of their members, Berard, rose to become bishop of Penne in the middle of the century, though as the *Libellus querulus* recounted, this led to internecine conflict between Berard and his brothers, Trasmund and Bernard, which resulted in Berard's death in battle.<sup>76</sup> The family's patrimony, however, does not seem to have been diminished by this warfare and, in fact, Trasmund and Bernard were successful in usurping many of the episcopal properties their brother had controlled.<sup>77</sup> Trasmund and Bernard's capture after the battle of Ortona led to the surrender of these properties to Bishop John of Penne in return for the funds needed to buy their freedom. According the *Libellus querulus*, however, the brothers deceived the bishop and retained these properties, in favour of making a compact with the new Norman lord, Nebulo, whereby the Bernardi brothers relinquished the *castella* of Penne, Coll'Alto and *Speculum* in order to remain in control of their patrimony.<sup>78</sup> The subsequent actions of Trasmund and Bernard are not documented but this policy of collaboration with the Norman lords set the tone for their family's strategy in the new political climate created by the Norman annexations.

#### 2.3.1. The alliance with Hugh Malmouzet

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<sup>74</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 822, 'ni esset clementia Gisonis Abbatis, illa die funditus destructa esset, et annihilata superbia Tocci'. See Loud, 'Monastic chronicles in the twelfth-century Abruzzi', p. 123.

<sup>75</sup> On the Bernardi in the eleventh century, see chapter 4, section 4.3.

<sup>76</sup> *Libellus querulus*, pp. 1464-5.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1465.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1466.

Alexander, the chronicler of San Bartholomeo, presented a particular interpretation of the Bernardi relationship with the new Norman lords.<sup>79</sup> Specifically, Alexander viewed Hugh Malmouzet as a God-given saviour who liberated the abbey from the persecution of Bernard, son of Carboncellus, of the Bernardi, who harassed the abbey in the 1070s.<sup>80</sup> Alexander denounced Bernard as the ‘fodder of Antichrist [and] bread of demons’ who ‘began to vent his insanity against the monastery, with an envious soul, and ... removed and, by any method he could, devastated and destroyed the goods of the monastery’.<sup>81</sup> This persecution, however, was rectified by ‘omnipotent God... [who] called forth the Normans to destroy this wicked man. This Bernard... was outlawed from his paternal inheritance [and] died destitute and in exile’.<sup>82</sup> After the defeat of Bernard, Alexander claimed, Hugh Malmouzet established dominion over the region and restored the abbey to its previous glory. This simplified and highly prejudiced account belied the complex relationship that Hugh Malmouzet created with the Bernardi and the abbey of San Bartholomeo. Alexander’s further testimony reveals how the Bernardi of the area surrounding San Bartholomeo, initially displaced by the Norman invasions, came to develop an accommodation with Hugh Malmouzet, just as their relatives, Trasmund and Bernard, had with Nebulo of Penne.

Alexander related that, apparently because the abbey was still recovering from the ‘calamity and misery introduced by the wicked Bernard’, the community of San Bartholomeo allowed Hugh Malmouzet to appoint a new abbot in 1075.<sup>83</sup> When this abbot abandoned San Bartholomeo, Hugh was again consulted on the appointment of an abbot. Hugh’s choice was Sanso, son of Carboncellus and the brother of Bernard, the *bête-noire* of Alexander. This

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<sup>79</sup> See above, p. 133.

<sup>80</sup> This view of Hugh as an enemy of the Bernardi was followed by Magistrale, ‘Per una nuova edizione della cronaca del monastero di San Bartolomeo da Carpineto’, p. 292 and Rivera, ‘Conquiste’, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 34, ‘pababulum Anticristi, massa demonis’, ‘cepit contra monasterium istud liventi animo insanire et... bona monasterii lacerare, detrahere et modis quibus poterat devastare et annullare’.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, ‘Sed Deus omnipotens... ad abolendam huius viri nequitiam, excitavit Normannos, est hic Bernardus... proscriptus ab hereditate paterna, qui egenus et exul gravi post detentus infirmitate spiritum exalavit’.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, ‘calamitate squalebat et miseria per iniquum Bernardum inlata’.

decision was entirely incongruous with Alexander's interpretation of the Bernardi-Malmouzet relationship and the chronicler was forced to employ numerous arguments to justify Sanso's appointment retroactively. According to Alexander, Sanso had been exiled by the Normans because of the *iniquitas* of his brother but 'as through divine prophecy' Hugh recalled him.<sup>84</sup> Alexander similarly invoked divine inspiration to account for the brothers' acceptance of Sanso's appointment, claiming that the community was convinced by Hugh's exhortations but also 'the inspiration of God'.<sup>85</sup> Alexander's evident nervousness at the acceptance of Sanso is understandable. It is likely that Hugh promoted Sanso to the abbacy to satiate the ambitions of the Bernardi clan, who were a significant force in the area. Though they had suffered reverses at the hands of the Normans, they had not been fully subjugated and thus it was in Hugh's best interests to indulge their long-held ambitions to dominate the abbey of San Bartholomeo, which was founded by their ancestor and was still considered a familial monastery.<sup>86</sup>

This capitulation to the ambitions of the Bernardi was most likely motivated by Hugh's annexation of the family's traditional centre at the *castellum* of Brittoli. Although there is no direct evidence documenting Hugh's control of the *castellum* during his lifetime, Brittoli was later at the centre of a disagreement between Abbot Sanso, his nephew Gentile, William Tassio of Loreto and an unnamed Norman who controlled the *castellum*. As Alexander recorded, this issue arose when 'a certain Norman, who because he had resolved to go overseas, wished to sell the *castellum* of Brittoli'.<sup>87</sup> The San Clemente chronicle recorded that about this time William Tassio 'intended to go the regions beyond the sea' but Alexander is

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, 'Quod ut comperit prefatus Ugo misit et eum ad monasterium istud fecit venire, credens, immo quasi divino presagio, illum imitatione boni patri monasterio huic profuturum praevidit'.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, 'Cepit [Hugh] igitur fratres monere ac exorando rogare ut illum in abbatem eligerent, ad cuius siquidem exortationem, immo ad Dei inspirationem, fratrum communis electio eum monasterio istud rectorem prefectit'.

<sup>86</sup> For further discussion see above, p. 134, Feller, 'Monastères privés', and Roberto Paciocco, 'I Rapporti tra autorità regia', pp. 334-374.

<sup>87</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 52, 'quidam Normannorum, eo quod ire disposuerat ultra mare, vendere volebat castellum Britulum'.

clear that this Norman lord of Brittolli was not William.<sup>88</sup> The other prominent Norman lord of Abruzzo who is recorded as departing to the Holy Land is the son of Hugh Malmouzet, Hugh II. John Berard recorded that Hugh II was captured during a skirmish with the forces loyal to the abbey of San Clemente, after which he proffered an oath of security to Giso, abbot of San Clemente, and ‘not long after he set out for Jerusalem, where he ended his life’.<sup>89</sup> Laurent Feller has concluded that thus Hugh II was *sans doute* the lord of Brittolli.<sup>90</sup> The dating of the abbatial reigns of the Sanso and Giso, however, complicates this issue. Sanso of San Bartholomeo died in November 1110 or 1111, while Giso of San Clemente was elected abbot in 1112.<sup>91</sup> John Berard placed the account of the capture of Hugh II in his chronicle amongst events of the early-1120s.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the purported text of Hugh’s oath is situated in the cartulary directly after a charter dated 1124.<sup>93</sup> As Berard himself recounts earlier in his chronicle, however, Giso had briefly been abbot of San Clemente after the death of Abbot Grimoald and before the election of Abbot Alberic in 1110.<sup>94</sup> Berard does not record how long this first abbacy of Giso lasted and if the date of Hugh’s capture is revised to this period the sale of Brittolli and Hugh’s departure for the Jerusalem would be contemporary. It is likely, therefore, that the ‘certain Norman’ whom Alexander identified as the lord of Brittolli was Hugh II and that he either annexed it himself or, more likely, that he received this *castellum* as inheritance from his father, who had captured it from the Bernardi in the previous decade.

The Bernardi loss of Brittolli does not seem to have terminally soured relations between the family and the new Norman lords. Hugh Malmouzet was obviously pandering to their wishes by installing Sanso as abbot and it is significant that when Hugh II came to sell

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<sup>88</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 873, ‘transmarinas partes adire voluit’.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 881, ‘non multo post tempore Hierosolymam petiit, ibique finem vitae suae invenit’.

<sup>90</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 737.

<sup>91</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 54; *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 879.

<sup>92</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 880-1.

<sup>93</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 245r.

<sup>94</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 878. Berard claimed Giso was appointed by the count of Manoppello, though this is probably a misinterpretation of a fractious election, see above, p. 109.

Brittoli, William Tassio was happy to accept Bernardi control of the *castellum*.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, the family of Hugh II also continued to uphold amicable relations with the Bernardi, to the detriment of the abbey of San Bartholomeo. As Alexander recorded, Sanso had magnanimously provided the funds necessary for his nephew, Gentile's purchase of Brittoli and on his deathbed Sanso extracted from Gentile a vow to return Brittoli to the possession of the abbey.<sup>96</sup> After the death of Sanso in 1111, however, Gentile broke this pledge and began 'to harass the monastery with many persecutions'.<sup>97</sup> In the course of describing the deprivations that Gentile visited upon the abbey at this time, Alexander claimed that when Gentile took ill, 'he established Roffredus of Oneczano as protector of his orphan sons, both in the *castella* of the church and in his own properties'.<sup>98</sup> This Roffredus, evidently a trusted ally of Gentile, is most likely Roffredus, son of Malfridus and grandson of Hugh Malmouzet.<sup>99</sup> This Roffredus had donated the church of *Sancti Laurentii Martiris*, located in the *castellum* of Oneczano, to the abbey of San Bartholomeo in April 1098, thus identifying himself, as Alexander did, with Oneczano.<sup>100</sup>

This connection between a descendant of Hugh Malmouzet and a Bernardi member is typical of the relationship that the Bernardi forged with the new Norman lords. As the evidence suggests, the Bernardi recognised the importance of the new Norman power and allied to its cause to attain concessions. This necessitated the acceptance of some Norman annexations, such as the loss of the *castellum* of Brittoli to Hugh Malmouzet and other

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<sup>95</sup> *Chron. Carp*, Pio, p. 52.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54. Alexander claimed a charter detailing this pledge was drafted, though it is not found in his cartulary.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, 'monasterium multis insectationibus fatigare'.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, 'qui [Gentile] nimirum, dum quodam tempore ictu gravis quateretur confirmatitas, Rofredum de Oneczano tam in castellis huius ecclesiae quam in suis propriis statuit tutorem pupillorum filiorum suorum'.

<sup>99</sup> For Malfridus, see above, p. 237. In 1106, Roffredus had confirmed *Fellonicum* to the abbey, which Hugh had donated to San Bartholomeo in 1093, *ibid.*, n. 125.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65 and n. 122. Another possible connection is Lothar, who appeared as a witness in Roffredus's charters of 1098 (n. 122) and 1106 (n. 125) and, given how unusual this name is in the region, is possibly identifiable with the Lothar, who Alexander identified as one of the *milites Carpineti* who petitioned Abbot John of San Bartholomeo on behalf of Gentile when he was struck dumb by divine intervention

properties to Nebulo of Penne, but also ensured the family received important rewards, such as the appointment of Sanso as abbot of San Bartholomeo and the opportunity to purchase Brittoli from Hugh II. This policy of collaboration sustained the Bernardi patrimony and political power into the twelfth century and, as described by the later books of the San Bartholomeo chronicle, the family prospered after the 1140 annexation, allying themselves with Robert of Bassunvilla, count of Loritello, and the counts of *Aprutium*.<sup>101</sup>

#### 2.4. The Sansoneschi family

Throughout the eleventh century, as described in chapter 4, the Sansoneschi of the Chieti-Valva region had aggressively expanded their landholdings, often at the expense of the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>102</sup> By the middle of the century, the most powerful members of the group had negotiated a working detente with the abbey while other, more junior, members of the family continued to persecute the abbey and usurp its properties. This persistent conflict inspired the abbey of San Clemente to petition the papacy for aid and in 1061 Pope Alexander II issued a letter, addressed to the sons of Sanso – *nobiles viri* Trasmund, Bernard and Berard – imploring them to cease their alleged persecutions.<sup>103</sup> Laurent Feller and Cesare Rivera have suggested this resurgence of conflict was prompted by the first incursions of the Normans.<sup>104</sup> Given the date of Alexander's letter, however, more than a decade before the battle of Ortona, it would seem unlikely that any Normans had sufficiently penetrated the region to cause such frictions. More likely, Trasmund, Bernard and Berard, as younger members of the kin-group were disgruntled by the restrictions placed upon their territorial prospects by the conciliations made by their relatives towards the abbey of San Clemente. When Norman incursions into the western Chieti began to have a decisive effect, spearheaded by the

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<sup>101</sup> See above, p. 116, Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 351 and Fuselli, *Il chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, pp. 53-7.

<sup>102</sup> See chapter 4, section 4.4.

<sup>103</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 228r-228v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 862-3.

<sup>104</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 726; Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 20.



annexations of Hugh Malmouzet, the reaction of the Sansoneschi and the strategies employed by the family marked them out as persistent opponents of the emergent Norman power. Though the Sansoneschi have often been portrayed as allies of the new Normans lords, particularly Hugh Malmouzet, the evidence suggests that the family, while initially subjugated, continued to present resistance to the Norman authority and were instrumental in the defeat of Hugh I, the capture of Hugh II and the disintegration of the Malmouzet lordship.<sup>105</sup>

#### 2.4.1. The Sansoneschi and the arrival of the Normans

John Berard of San Clemente claimed that Hugh Malmouzet's invasion of the region surrounding the abbey had a profound effect on the aristocracy of the area: '[Hugh] disinherited, routed and expelled the barons and seized their *castella* and possessions for himself'.<sup>106</sup> Given the creation of Hugh's new lordship, this statement would seem self-evident. Certainly, Hugh annexed many properties that the Sansoneschi possessed or had traditionally controlled. In his 1086 donation to the abbey of San Clemente, Hugh related that he resided 'in the land of Penne, in the *castellum* called Bectorrita'.<sup>107</sup> Over the preceding century, the *castellum* of Bectorrita, located approximately one kilometre from the abbey of San Clemente, had been included in numerous donations and territorial agreements between the abbey and various members of the Sansoneschi.<sup>108</sup> In fact, the most recent agreement concerning Bectorrita, a precarial rental of 1035 granted by Abbot Wido to Walter, son of

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<sup>105</sup> The family were portrayed as allies of the Normans by Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 739; Rivera, 'Valva e i suoi conti', pp. 126-7 and Feller, 'Une guerre vicinale dans les Abruzzes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le fonctionnement de la seigneurie', p. 163.

<sup>106</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 869-70, 'barones exheredavit, fugavit, expulit, et castella eorum et possessiones sibi usurpavit.

<sup>107</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r, 'in terra Pinnense in ipsum castellum quod nominatur Bectorrita'.

<sup>108</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 833, 836-7, 842; Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194v-195r A purported letter of Abbot Wido, copied into the San Clemente cartulary, addressed to King Henry II, claimed that the Sansoneschi had illegally occupied Bectorrita, though Laurent Feller has convincingly questioned the authenticity of this document, Liber instrumentorum, fols. 181r = *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 840-3. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 82.

Rainald, showed that the abbey had agreed to Sansoneschi possession of certain properties in the Bectorrita area, though not specifically the *castellum* itself.<sup>109</sup>

Further west, a donation charter of 1092, granting to the bishop of Valva the monastery of San Benedetto *in Colle Rotundo* and its associated properties, confirmed Hugh in control of numerous properties in and around the Navelli plain, an area in which the Sansoneschi had previously been active.<sup>110</sup> In particular, Hugh was shown to control lands in Collepietro and Bussi. Collepietro had been a base of the Sansoneschi since the turn of the eleventh century.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, members of the Sansoneschi – Massarius, Rainald and Sanso, sons of John – had donated lands in Bussi as recently as 1061 to the abbey of Montecassino.<sup>112</sup> The charter of 1092, however, while ostensibly confirming Hugh's annexations of lands traditionally controlled by the Sansoneschi clan, was witnessed by numerous members of the Sansoneschi. Remedius, son of Rainald, Rainald, son of Oderisius and Rainald, son of Walter, signatories of the charter, were members of the Sansoneschi.<sup>113</sup> Other witnesses, such as Oderisius, son of Rainald and Feraldus, son of Sanso, bore names characteristic of the kin-group. In this context, it would seem that these men were party to this transaction because of their connections with the lands donated. This involvement may serve as evidence for the existence of an amiable relationship between Hugh and the Sansoneschi, as Feller has argued, prompting Hugh to consult with members of the clan before alienating lands which were located within their sphere of influence.<sup>114</sup> Conversely, however, the situation may confirm the supremacy of Hugh, who was able to force these men to confirm the donation of lands which had traditionally been associated with their family.

#### 2.4.2. The defeat of Hugh Malmouzet

<sup>109</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 194v-195r, edited in Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 918-9.

<sup>110</sup> *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 16. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 586-7.

<sup>111</sup> See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 585-7.

<sup>112</sup> *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 257. See Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 245 n. 79, 301 and Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, p. 834.

<sup>113</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 229v; *Le carte di San Liberatore*, n. 257.

<sup>114</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 726.

The answer to this ambiguity may lie in the events surrounding the defeat of Hugh at an attempted siege of Prezza, in the late-1090s, shortly before his death. In typically derogatory fashion, John Berard claimed that ‘Hugh Malmouzet... striving for greater things, decided to seize a certain heavily fortified *castellum*, called Prezza, any way he could. For he had taken away other fortifications from the lord of that aforesaid fortress, and he still laboured to banish him entirely, as he had done to a many others’.<sup>115</sup> After contriving an elaborate story involving Hugh’s lustful liaison with the sister of the lord of Prezza, Berard claimed that Hugh was captured by the lord’s forces after which ‘the barons, hearing that the enemy of men and God had been captured, each one hurried to those places which Malmouzet had violently and deceitfully seized, besieged [and] occupied [them] and [Hugh] was confined in prison, until he restored to freedom all the land that he had seized’.<sup>116</sup> The details of Berard’s account are, of course, questionable but it is plausible that Hugh was captured by local forces while engaged in a siege of the *castellum* of Prezza and that this defeat precipitated the disintegration of Hugh’s lordship. In fact, the lord of Prezza and the forces who captured Hugh, were most likely members of the Sansoneschi clan. Prezza was the traditional base of the Sansoneschi, from which they expanded north and east during the tenth and eleventh century. A member of the clan, Sanso *Valvensis*, whom Berard identified as the progenitor of the entire kin-group, controlled the *castellum* as early as the late-ninth century.<sup>117</sup> After subjugating much of the Sansoneschi’s patrimony, the siege of Prezza can be seen as Hugh’s attempt to undermine fundamentally the power of the Sansoneschi clan

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<sup>115</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 869-70, ‘Ugo Malmazettus, quem superbitemem immoderatum, et pervasorem supra notavimus (cui non sufficeret, si in manu haberet, etiam totus mundus ... ad altiora tendens, quoddam castellum munitissimum, Preze vocitatum, qua posset arte rapere disposuit. Abstulerat enim domino praenominati castris quasdam alias munitiones, et laborabat adhuc sicut de pluribus fecerat, ut eum omnino prosciberet’.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 870, ‘Barones audientes quia captus esse Dei et hominum adversarius, unusquisque ad ea loca, quae Malmazettus violenter ac fraudulenter rapuerat, cucurrit, obsedit, obtinuit, et tamdiu ipse in carcere iacuit clausus, donec totam terram quam invaserat liberam redderet’.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 819-20. See Castiglione, ‘Le terra sansonesca tra l’eta tardo-antica e il medioevo’, p. 142.

and subdue its members fully to his authority. The victory at Prezza freed the Sansoneschi from the dominance of Hugh and prefigured the resurgence of their power in the region.

### 2.4.3. The Sansoneschi, the abbey of San Clemente and the settlement of 1111

The Sansoneschi were pivotal in the downfall of Hugh Malmouzet and the capture of his son, Hugh II, which will be discussed below. In the aftermath of the disintegration of the Malmouzet lordship the most significant political undertaking was the 1111 settlement which regulated the relationship between the family and the abbey of San Clemente.<sup>118</sup> Five men – Gentile, son of Teodinus of Collepietro; Sanso and Rainald, sons of Remedius; Temmarius, son of Temmarius and Sanso, son of Teodinus, of Petrainiqua – presented themselves at the abbey and, before an audience of notable ecclesiastic and secular lords, formally surrendered control of certain *castella* – Bectorrita, Castiglione, Rocca di Soti, Corvara, Petrainiqua, Pesconsansonesco and *Olivula* – to Abbot Alberic of San Clemente.<sup>119</sup> After providing an oath to the abbot, the men then received the properties in precarial tenure for ten bezants annually for three generations.<sup>120</sup> The importance of this charter was recognised implicitly by John Berard.<sup>121</sup> As well as having the charter copied into his cartulary, he provided a long synopsis of the document in his chronicle and commissioned or created a miniature illustrating the Sansoneschi kneeling before Abbot Alberic, which was placed directly after the charter in the cartulary.<sup>122</sup> The miniature depicted Alberic seated with seven figures knelt before him, one of whom was identified as Walter, son of Gentile of Collepietro, while the others were labelled *Sansonesci*. Berard also copied, immediately after the charter, a

<sup>118</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fols. 242v-243v = *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 1005-6 = Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, pp. 919-20. Feller's edition omitted a short phrase, 'absque fraude ulla vel mala ingenio conservarent', see below n. 133.

<sup>119</sup> Further discussion of this charter can be found in: Rivera, 'Conquiste', p. 76; Rivera, 'Valva e i suoi conti', p. 144; Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'età tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 143; Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, pp. 575; Paciocco, 'I rapporti tra autorità regia', p. 362.

<sup>120</sup> The purported text of this oath is copied into the cartulary immediately after the charter, Liber instrumentorum, fol. 243r.

<sup>121</sup> Berard's account of the settlement totalled almost 350 words.

<sup>122</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 243.

purported text of the oath taken by the Sansoneschi men. This charter has been interpreted by Feller as a feudal submission which left the Sansoneschi in the service of the abbey.<sup>123</sup> This was also the understanding presented by John Bernard in his chronicle-cartulary. The context, content and results of this settlement, however, demonstrate that this compact was more complex and was focused primarily on pledges of non-aggression in the face of the continuing power of the Norman counts of Loreto and the rising threat of the counts of Manoppello.

With the exception of the family's involvement in the capture of Hugh II, the 1111 charter represented the first documentary evidence concerning the Sansoneschi clan since Hugh Malmouzet's donation charter to the bishop of Valva in 1092. Clear documentary context is thus unavailable to illustrate the political and territorial power of the Sansoneschi in 1111. John Berard, however, was certain of the motivations behind this agreement. He condemned the men involved in this agreement as 'enemies' (*adversarii*) of San Clemente and attributed their willingness to submit themselves to the Abbot to their nervousness at the supposedly imminent arrival of King Henry V of Germany:

Hearing of the coming of Emperor Henry, knowing that the mind of Abbot Alberic was resolute to defend them as much as he could, they convened their kinsmen from near and far and having a general conference, taking counsel, they came to Abbot Alberic, and those *castella*, that they held of that church, they peacefully returned to his compassionate keeping without retaining any.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 253. See also Feller, 'The northern frontier of Norman Italy, 1060-1140', p. 63 and Feller, 'Casaux et *castra* dans les Abruzzes', p. 160.

<sup>124</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 878, 'ut audierunt adventum Henrici Imperatoris, cognoscentes animum Alberici Abbatis promptum in quantum posset ad sese vendicandum de eis, convocavere finitimos et longe remotos de sua cognatione, et habentes commune colloquium, ex consilio venerunt ad Abbatem Albericum, et illa castella, quae illi de Ecclesia tenebant, quietam ei reddiderunt in sua miseratione sine ulla retentione'.

This interpretation of events is possible. The charter was dated in February, the same month that Henry V was in Rome attempting to gain coronation as emperor from Pope Paschal II.<sup>125</sup> Berard's opinion, however, must be viewed with scepticism as, in common with many of his other testimonies concerning imperial actions, he may have been over-emphasising imperial interest in the abbey of San Clemente and imperial influence on Abruzzo.<sup>126</sup> Thus Berard's interpretation most likely ascribed motivations to the Sansoneschi, based on the fraudulent notion that Henry would take a keen interest in the affairs of San Clemente, which should be more properly found in local affairs.

Of the five men, four are readily identifiable as Sansoneschi and, furthermore, are identifiable as sons of men who had appeared as witnesses to Hugh Malmouzet's 1092 donation to the bishop of Valva. As such, they represented a generation of Sansoneschi who were free of the lordship of Hugh and, in the aftermath of his defeat and death, had recovered lands which their family had previously controlled or utilised the disorder following Hugh's downfall to appropriate new properties. Of the *castella* returned to San Clemente by the 1111 charter, only Bectorrita can be firmly established as previously belonging to Hugh. He had identified that *castellum* as his residence in his donation-charter of 1086 to San Clemente.<sup>127</sup> As discussed above, the Sansoneschi had held properties and influence in the area of Bectorrita for much of the eleventh century. This pattern, of the Sansoneschi reoccupying properties that Hugh had annexed, may also apply to the other *castella* of the 1111 charter. Pesconsansonesco and Rocca di Soti had been Sansoneschi possessions since at least the turn of the eleventh century.<sup>128</sup> The abbey of San Clemente, however, also held a persistent claim to ownership of many of these *castella*. Bectorrita had been sold to the abbey by Bernard, son of Liudinus, in c.1000 and both Rocca di Soti and Corvara had been constructed by the abbey

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<sup>125</sup> See Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198*, p. 26.

<sup>126</sup> See chapter 2, section 3.2.2.

<sup>127</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 236r.

<sup>128</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 844; Liber instrumentorum, fol. 155v. See Castiglione, 'Le terra sansonesca tra l'eta tardo-antica e il medioevo', p. 142.

in the late-tenth century.<sup>129</sup> The agreement of 1111 thus dealt with numerous issues of ownership, rights and power which had been developing over the past century and had recently been brought into sharp focus by the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet.

John Berard was convinced of his interpretation of the charter and its stipulations. He maintained that the five men proffered an oath of *fidelitas* to the Abbot Alberic. This, Berard continued, was followed by a pledge to protect the lands and properties of the abbey should they come under attack by outside enemies:

so they swore an oath to [Alberic] and promised fidelity, so that never by themselves, or by others, would they be able to retake those *castella* or other possessions from San Clemente, and what he would have or could acquire, (if) he lost them in future, and if the enemies attacked, they would be his most faithful supporters by suppressing them.<sup>130</sup>

Berard thus presented the agreement as one of submission, whereby the Sansoneschi men became faithful subjects of the abbot. The miniature presented in the manuscript after the charter also depicted the event in such terms.<sup>131</sup> The abbot is depicted with his arms outstretched with hands opened, ready to receive the submission of the Sansoneschi men, who are presented with their arms outstretched and hands closed. The miniature is obviously

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<sup>129</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 832-3, 836-7.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 878, 'ipsi iurarent et fidelitatem promitterent, ut nunquam per se, neque per aliquem, quem possent repellere, ecclesia Sancti Clementis eadem castella, vel alias possessiones, et moda possideret, vel acquirere posset, ulterius perderet, et si insurgerent adversarii, ipsi essent ad comprimendum adiutores fidelissimi'.

<sup>131</sup> A detailed examination of the polemical use of miniatures throughout the cartulary can be found in Markus Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung: Bildproduktion und Geschichtsschreibung im Kloster San Clemente a Casauria während des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2007)

intended to present the agreement made between the men and the abbot as one of formal vassalage.<sup>132</sup>

The terms of the charter, however, and of the purported oath which the Sansoneschi men took as part of the agreement, are very clear on the responsibilities of the men. Both relate that the men were to become *fideles* of the abbey. Furthermore, the charter stipulates:

they would, without deception or malice, preserve that land that the church holds at present or is able to acquire subsequently, upholding and defending it against all men who try to steal it away.<sup>133</sup>

Similarly, in almost the same language, the oath given in the cartulary claims the men swore:

I will not (act) in deed or in counsel so that they [the monks] might lose life or limb or be held in false imprisonment and the land that the aforesaid church now holds or is able to acquire, I will help to defend and guard against all men that might try to seize it. This I will preserve without deceit and malice.<sup>134</sup>

Though Berard's summary of these terms was mostly correct, his rigid interpretation that the oath-taking distorted the complexities of the agreement that centred on an oath of security and strictly limited the Sansoneschi men to defending the properties of the abbey should they be usurped by outside parties. This condition, in a more ambiguous wording, was

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<sup>132</sup> As Sennis, 'Tradizione monastica e racconto delle origini in Italia centrale', p. 198, has highlighted, cartulary miniatures were as much a representation of contemporary aspirations as historical fact.

<sup>133</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 242v = *Addimenta*, col. 1005, 'terram quam iam dicta ecclesia ad presens tenere videretur uel deinceps acquirere potuerit retinendum et defendendum contra omnes homines qui ei tollere conabuntur absque fraude ulla vel mala ingenio conservarent'.

<sup>134</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 243r, 'non ero in facto aut in consilio ut perdant vitam aut membrum aut capiantur mala captione et terram quam prephata ecclesia nunc tenet aut a modo acquirere potuerit defendere et retinere adiuuabo aduersus omnes homines qui ei tollere conabuntur. hoc conservabo absque fraude et malo ingenio'.



commonplace throughout charters of donation in Abruzzo during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>135</sup>

A pertinent example is found in the conditions of the 1065 donation of Sanso, son of Rainald, the ancestor of many of the men of 1111, to the abbey of San Clemente. This 1065 charter included a pledge by Sanso to protect the abbey against its enemies and intruders: 'If anyone wishes to attack [you], I bind myself and my heirs by promises and pledges to protect and defend you from every man'.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, a 1035 rental agreement between San Clemente and Walter, son of Rainald, most likely the brother of the above Sanso, included a pledge reminiscent of that of 1111: 'We will be your helper and defender through your proper fidelity, and we will not break this fidelity through malice'.<sup>137</sup> There is no evidence to show that these and other similar promises were upheld. Abbot Alberic's attempt to detail the exact responsibilities of the Sansoneschi in 1111 may have been an attempt to gain some advantage from a traditionally empty promise, though in comparison with the detailed conditions of service found in Bishop Raynulf of Chieti's agreement with Robert of Loritello concerning the services of Geoffrey of Vulturara and the charters of the bishops of *Aprutium* in the early-twelfth century, the terms of the 1111 charter were still ambiguous.<sup>138</sup> Also, as discussed in chapter 4, many of the precarial tenancies granted by San Clemente to the Sansoneschi in the eleventh century were probably *ex post facto* attempts by various abbots to gain legal rights to properties that the family had already usurped. The charter of 1111 specifically recorded that the relevant properties were controlled by the Sansoneschi before the settlement and were returned to the family at low rent for an extended term. Alberic's insistence on a more complex oath of fidelity and the restriction of the inheritance of the named properties to

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<sup>135</sup> See, for example, *Chron. Carp*, Pio, n. 120; Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 191; *Il chronicon Vulturense*, ed. Federici, vol. 3, p. 36; *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. Faraglia, n. 32.

<sup>136</sup> *Liber instrumentorum*, fol. 229v, 'Siquis vero concire voluerit, repromittibus et obligationibus me uel meos heredes, ut ab omni homine antistare et defendere debeamus uobis'.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 194v, 'erimus adiutor et defensor per vestram et rectam fidem, et per malum ingenium hanc vestram fidem non frangimus'.

<sup>138</sup> Nicolino, *Historia della citta di Chieti*, p. 130; *Cart. Teramana*, n. 35, 42, 49, App n. 12.

three generations, including fraternal inheritance, rather the traditional three or five generations through direct inheritance, represented an advance in the abbey's legal strategies but also demonstrated the limitations of the abbot's control over the *castella*.

Furthermore, the long list of witnesses recorded in the charter, and the status and origin of these witnesses, suggested that Abbot Alberic viewed this concord as important yet appreciated the likelihood of the Sansoneschi men abjuring the terms of the agreement. Four of the most eminent churchmen of the region – Bishop Walter of Valva, Bishop William of Chieti, Bishop Herbert of Penne and Berard, provost of the abbey of San Liberatore alla Maiella – were present and were given priority on the witness list. It was unusual for bishops to be involved in the affairs of San Clemente and though it is possible that William and Herbert in particular had territorial interests that would be affected by the agreement, it is probable that these ecclesiastics were engaged by the abbot to add further sanctity to the proceedings and the pledges undertaken by the Sansoneschi men. Similarly, the secular men present at the proceedings seem to have been selected to give weight to the decisions reached. With the exception of Walter and Berard of Collepietro, who were possibly Sansoneschi, none of the secular witnesses can be connected to the Sansoneschi by family ties or political alliances. Unusually, almost all these witnesses are identified with associated *castella* – Secenari, Abbateggio, Musellaro, Cugnoli and Civitaquana. Significantly, these locales were not among the *castella* granted to the Sansoneschi, or surrounded by them. In fact, the secular witnesses originated from areas which formed a circular boundary around the properties granted by the abbot to the Sansoneschi. Again, it would seem that Abbot Alberic intentionally involved these men in the process to encourage the Sansoneschi to respect the terms of the agreement by ensuring a wide base of independent witnesses that could be called on to support the claims of the abbot in future disputes regarding these properties.

Alberic's involvement of a broad selection of witnesses, both ecclesiastical and secular, and the ambiguity of the terms of service offered by the Sansoneschi illustrated the trepidation of both parties. The charter exhibited the perennial conflicts between the abbey and the Sansoneschi concerning property right and local authority. Numerous agreements had been concluded during the eleventh century to resolve particular issues but the conflict had persisted. After the deprivations visited upon them by the Norman invasion, however, neither party could afford to antagonise the other and risk open conflict, particularly when the threat from William Tassio of Loreto or the emergent counts of Manoppello was still real. In this context cooperation between the Sansoneschi and the abbey of San Clemente was mutually beneficial when they maintained a common enemy. The utilisation of a precarial tenancy agreement, a contract understood by both parties, allowed the Sansoneschi to satiate any ambitions that the abbey held concerning the properties while retaining control of these strategic fortifications and granted the abbey fundamental legal rights to the *castella* while also securing oaths of non-aggression from potential persecutors. The basis of the settlement of 1111 was not submission but political expediency and cooperation.

#### **2.4.4. Sanso of Petrainiqua and the capture of Hugh II Malmouzet**

This system of assistance was exemplified by the ambush and capture of Hugh II Malmouzet. John Berard claimed that it was Abbot Giso who masterminded the arrest of Hugh, 'who was admonished by the abbot again and again to abstain from evil and wished in no way to acquiesce; so, the prudent Abbot, having hidden with a small force, attempted a secret ambush as he was riding through the land of San Clemente, [and] captured [and] bound him'.<sup>139</sup> After this, according to Berard, the abbot gave custody of Hugh to a certain Sanso of

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<sup>139</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, cols. 880-1, 'qui admonitus ab Abbate secundo et tertio, ut a male quiesceret, et ipse nullo modo quiescere vellet: Abbas sicut prudens ei cum parvo comitatu per terram Sancti Clementis equitanti occultas tetendit insidias, comprehendit, ligavit'.

Petrainiqua, 'one of his barons'.<sup>140</sup> This Sanso of Petrainiqua was probably the Sanso, son of Teodinus, who was involved the 1111 settlement, which concerned the *castellum* of Petrainiqua, and Berard later identified him as such.<sup>141</sup> As discussed above, however, the capture of Hugh II can be dated to the first reign of Abbot Giso, c.1110, and thus predates the agreement of 1111.<sup>142</sup> Berard, who placed his account of the capture of Hugh II after the settlement of 1111, portrayed Sanso as a servant of the abbey, fulfilling the terms of the 1111 oath. In fact, the involvement of Sanso was most likely more significant than Berard allowed him credit for, as Hugh posed as much a threat to the recently re-conquered Sansoneschi lands than to the patrimony of San Clemente. Here Sanso was not acting as a *fidelis* of the abbey but in his own self-interest. The capitulation of Hugh II benefitted the Sansoneschi and the oath which Hugh proffered to Abbot Giso included a pledge not to hold 'ill will' against those who provided the abbot with 'counsel and help' in the matter, a probable reference to Sanso and his associates.<sup>143</sup>

This policy of cordiality was evidently continued by Sanso. Three charters from the San Clemente cartulary – dated 1117, 1119 and 1121 respectively – record how Sanso engaged in a series of land donations to the abbey.<sup>144</sup> The three donations are clearly related: all three parcels of land are located in the environs of the *castellum* of *Peteliano*, located just to the north of Pesconsansonesco.<sup>145</sup> All three documents also record a pledge made by Sanso to defend the abbey against its enemies. Berard related in his chronicle that Sanso gave, 'partly for his soul, partly for money', 230 *modia* of land in the same area for which Abbot Giso paid, in two instalments, eighty *solidos* and fifteen bezants and one horse.<sup>146</sup> It is unclear, however,

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<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 881.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 880.

<sup>142</sup> See above, p. 240.

<sup>143</sup> Liber instrumentorum, fol. 246r, 'consilium et adiutorium'.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 244r (1117), 244v (1119), 244v-245r (1121).

<sup>145</sup> Moreover, all three charters were drafted by the same scribe, Liotoflus and bore similar witness lists – Walter (1119, 1121), Carbonus (1117, 1121), John (1117, 1119, 1121).

<sup>146</sup> *Chronicon Casauriense*, col. 880.

whether this passage represents a confused account of the three donations of Sanso already mentioned or new information concerning further land transactions between Sanso and the abbey. In any case, these charters confirm an amicable relationship between the two. This policy, however, was not universal or consistent amongst the family. William of Castiglione, discussed above as the usurper of Alanno in the 1120s, can probably be identified as William, son of Rainald, one of the younger generation of Sansoneschi who partook in the 1111 settlement, which included the *castellum* of Castiglione. John Berard identified William as a *fidelis* of San Clemente, who had been entrusted with guardianship of the abbey in the abbot's absence but instead plundered the abbey's properties in Alanno.<sup>147</sup> William's transgressions went unpunished and this episode demonstrated the fragility of the 1111 settlement and the political pragmatism of the Sansoneschi family. Ultimately, by overcoming the power of Hugh Malmouzet and reaching an entente with the abbey of San Clemente, the Sansoneschi ensured their independence in the first decades of the twelfth century. This independence and their dogged resistance to Norman authority, however, left them vulnerable during the royal invasion of 1140 and the Sansoneschi were displaced by rival pro-Norman kin-groups.<sup>148</sup>

## Conclusion

As in the other regions of the southern Italy, the Norman invasion and annexations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries elicited from the local aristocracy a plethora of contrasting political strategies, from persistent resistance to opportunistic collaboration. The tactical retreat employed by the Attonid counts, however, was a strategic option unavailable to the majority of the southern Italian aristocracy. The defeat at Ortona temporarily terminated Attonid military capabilities and heralded the establishment of the Abruzzese Norman

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 884-5.

<sup>148</sup> On the fall of the Sansoneschi after 1140, see Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 781.

lordships. The donations of Count Trasmund III in 1085-6, however, provided an effective rearguard action for the Attonid withdrawal by establishing an ecclesiastically controlled buffer to Norman expansion and disrupting the important relationship between Count Robert of Loritello and Bishop Raynulf of Chieti. The 1095 and 1101 charters of the counts of Loritello illustrated the efficacy of Trasmund's strategy. In *Aprutium*, however, the Attonid's limited power was illustrated by their increasing subordination to the bishop of *Aprutium*. Moreover, throughout the county, the Norman incursion exacerbated the significant issue of increasing aristocratic militarisation and autonomy, which had developing during the eleventh century, as discussed in chapter 4.

Within and on the fringes of the Norman lordships, the local aristocracy directly experienced and responded to the new Norman authority. The opportunist strategy of the Bernardi family, centred on a policy of negotiated collaboration, was established by the brothers, Bernard and Trasmund, who ceded control of certain properties to Nebulo of Penne to ensure the security of their patrimony. The policy was sustained by later generations of the family, who accepted the authority of Hugh Malmouzet and the loss of their traditional base of Brittoli in exchange for security and political compensation. Hugh satiated the ambitions of the family by installing a member, Sanso, as abbot of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the family was allowed to regain Brittoli when Hugh II Malmouzet wished to sell the *castellum* before his departure to the Holy Land. This transaction was sanctioned by another significant Norman power, William Tassio, demonstrating the family's close relationship with Norman authority. This alliance, which was maintained by the Bernardi and the descendants of Hugh Malmouzet, later facilitated the family's transition into the new political system established after the 1140 annexation.

In contrast, the political strategy of the Sansoneschi clan was founded on determined resistance to Norman authority and, though initially subjugated, the family triumphed over

Hugh Malmouzet at the siege of Prezza. The family capitalised on this defeat, and the subsequent political weakness of Hugh II Malmouzet, to reoccupy their properties on the Navelli plain. The disintegration of the Malmouzet lordship, however, renewed the tension between the Sansoneschi and the abbey of San Clemente a Casauria, which had developed during the eleventh century, as discussed in chapter 4. The increasing power of the counts of Manoppello necessitated a solution of this conflict and the 1111 settlement agreed between San Clemente and the Sansoneschi renegotiated the political detente established in the mid-eleventh century by formalising San Clemente's nominal legal rights over Sansoneschi properties while instituting a mutually beneficial political alliance. The capture of Hugh II Malmouzet, actually completed before the detente of 1111, demonstrated the benefits of this policy of cooperation for both parties. This concord, coupled with the Sansoneschi's tenacious military resistance to Norman authority, ensured the family's liberty in the early-twelfth century but, ultimately, could not sustain their autonomy after the royal invasion of 1140.

## Conclusion

The 1140 royal annexation of Abruzzo – initiated by Prince Anfusius of Capua and completed by his father, King Roger II – affirmed the Norman lordships of Abruzzo, extended Norman power into the county of *Aprutium* and incorporated the entire province into the recently established kingdom of Sicily. Thus the province, once a northern-orientated region of the duchy of Spoleto, was incorporated into the *Mezzogiorno*. This assimilation was confirmed by the treaty of Benevento in 1156 and endured until the unification of Italy in the mid-nineteenth century. The events which precipitated this transition – political developments within Abruzzo during the tenth and early-eleventh centuries and the establishment of the Norman lordships in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries – has rarely received the historical research necessary to elucidate this important development. Medieval Abruzzo has, for the most part, existed in an historiographical limbo. Historians of northern and central Italy have ignored Abruzzo as an extraneous southern periphery.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the region's supposed political, cultural and religious homogeneity has led historians of southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries to ignore Abruzzo in favour of research into the dynamic and contrasting polities of the south, while historians of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, guided by the dominant narrative sources, have overlooked Abruzzo in favour of analysing developments in Capua, Apulia or Sicily.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, though the simplifications of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Abruzzese historians have been expunged by modern historical research, the fallacies of John Berard and Alexander of San Bartholomeo continue to distort interpretations of the aristocratic society of medieval Abruzzo. This thesis has addressed these deficiencies of modern historical investigations by analysing the

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Abruzzo is not mentioned in Giovanni Tabacco, 'Northern and central Italy in the eleventh century', in *The new Cambridge medieval history IV, c.1024-c.1198, part II*, eds, David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 72-93.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Introduction, section 4.



aristocracy of Abruzzo from the tenth to the twelfth centuries to elucidate the political fragmentation apparent in the region before the Norman invasion, the establishment and administration of the Abruzzese Norman lordships and their network of political connections and the divergent political strategies employed by the local aristocracy in response to the Norman conquest.

Critical analysis of the idiosyncratic local narrative and documentary sources is fundamental to the understanding of the aristocratic society of medieval Abruzzo. As the traditional narrative sources for the history of eleventh – and twelfth-century southern Italy provide little information concerning Abruzzo, local Abruzzese sources – most notably the chronicle-cartularies of San Clemente a Casauria and San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the *Libellus querulus di miseriis Pennensis* – form the foundation of historical research into medieval Abruzzo. These sources, however, display clear signs of ideological prejudice and must be analysed within their particular context. The most important of these sources, the chronicle-cartulary of San Clemente a Casauria, although clearly influenced by the methodology of the contemporary tradition of chronicle-cartulary production in central and southern Italy – most notably at Farfa, Montecassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno – was primarily based on the principles of its author, John Berard, and his abbot, Leonas. This ideology was informed by the tribulations that beset their abbey during their careers. The obstinate opposition of Count Bohemond of Tarsia, the continued support of the papacy and the developing relationship with the Norman royal court dominated the history of San Clemente in the late-twelfth century. As illustrated further by the figures and inscriptions of the tympanum of the abbey-chapel, these events informed the ideology of San Clemente, which centred on the eminence of the abbey of San Clemente, the obstinate belief in the importance of the abbey to royal and imperial authorities, a conviction in the authority of the papacy and a belief in the iniquity of the aristocrats who failed to submit piously to the authority of San Clemente.

Within this ideological framework, John Berard created his chronicle-cartulary primarily as an historical work, intended to propagate the interpretation of history inculcated by Berard and Abbot Leonas. By presenting San Clemente's charters chronologically, accompanied by Berard's polemical chronicle, this work represented the history of the abbey as a descent from the 'golden age' of imperially-sponsored prosperity in the ninth-century to contemporary penury. Although John Berard refrained from documentary forgery, his ideological conviction considerably modulated his historical accounts. This thesis has demonstrated how Berard's consistent declarations concerning imperial interest in the abbey of San Clemente were unfounded and masked a degeneration of imperial authority in Abruzzo during the eleventh century. In particular, Berard's claims that imperial authority precipitated the supposed subjugation of the Sansoneschi in 1028 and 1111 were misguided. Furthermore, Berard's explicit condemnation of the local aristocracy of the tenth and eleventh century, likely to have been influenced by his abbey's contemporary conflict with secular lords such as Bohemond of Tarsia, coloured his accounts of the politics of the local aristocracy. This contempt for the secular aristocracy, coupled with Berard's belief in the iniquity of the Norman *gens*, similarly influenced Berard's presentation of numerous Norman lords of Abruzzo as impious, voracious persecutors of San Clemente. These simplifications belied the nuanced relationship that many Norman lords, especially Hugh Malmouzet, established with the abbey and misinterpreted the relationship that these Norman lords maintained with the local aristocracy.

Similar issues affected the chronicle-cartulary of San Bartholomeo di Carpineto and the *Libellus querulus de miseriis Pennensis*. Alexander of San Bartholomeo's ideology was informed by his abbey's late-twelfth-century conflicts with the Bernardi clan of Brittolli and the bishops of Penne in which San Bartholomeo was supported by the Norman royal court and the papal curia. Moreover, Alexander's close relationship with his abbot, Bohemond, and the latter's expulsion by the community of San Bartholomeo, destabilized Alexander's position in

the abbey. Taking direct inspiration from John Berard, Alexander thus formulated his chronicle-cartulary primarily as an historical and polemical work, intended to emphasise the abbey's liberty from aristocratic or episcopal domination, while simultaneously strengthening Alexander's status within his community. This objective, and Alexander's direct experiences of the Bernardi clan, influenced his historical accounts and, having falsely established Bernard, son of Liudinus, founder of San Bartholomeo, as the paradigmatic pious patron and protector of monastic liberties, Alexander portrayed Bernard's descendants in a wholly negative fashion. This antipathy towards the Bernardi further influenced Alexander's account of the Norman lords of Abruzzo, particularly Hugh Malmouzet, whom he presented as divinely-sanctioned adversaries of the Bernardi. These simplifications belied the political accommodation that the Bernardi had established with the Normans. The *Libellus querulus*, as a near-contemporary historical source for the Norman invasion of Abruzzo, can be utilised to revise Alexander's accounts. Though composed as a propaganda tract intended to denigrate the Bernardi clan, the *Libellus querulus* exposed the political accommodation that the family reached with the new Norman lords of Abruzzo. Such comparisons, and a thorough understanding of the ideological motivations of these sources, provide a foundation of critical source analysis that permits the balanced interpretation of the history of aristocratic society in medieval Abruzzo.

Although Abruzzo lacked the cultural and religious divisions common in the *Mezzogiorno*, the political situation in the region during the tenth and eleventh centuries bore numerous comparisons to contemporary political developments in southern Italy. Despite the protestations of John Berard of San Clemente, imperial interest and intervention in Abruzzo was limited and declining during the eleventh century. Moreover, the judicial and political authority of the Attonid counts waned during the century before the arrival of the Normans, exacerbated by and facilitating a growth in aristocratic political autonomy and aggressive expansionism. The Teutoneschi of *Aprutium* and the Bernardi of Penne profited from usurpations of episcopal properties, while disregarding papal and comital censure and the

territorial consolidation and hierarchical organisation of the Tebaldi demonstrated the increasing sophistication of these extended aristocratic kin-groups. The Sansoneschi family epitomised this process, aggressively expanding their patrimony, occupying strategically important communication links and rejecting the reprimands of Margrave Hugh of Tuscany and the Attonid counts. As in much of southern Italy, this increase in aristocratic autonomy and disintegration of centralised power provided the context for many of the successes of the emergent Norman power.

The establishment of the Norman lordships of Abruzzo, often ignored by modern scholarship, presents some important contrasts to the Norman conquest of southern Italy as a whole. Developing relatively swiftly, and without an initial mercenary phrase, the invasion of Abruzzo was predicated on a consistent network of Norman political connections and was not characterized by the cycles of internecine conflict that afflicted the Norman annexations elsewhere. Norman authority in Abruzzo, stimulated by the defeat of the Attonid counts in the battle of Ortona, was anchored on Robert of Loritello's lordship in Chieti. Here Robert established a mutually beneficial alliance with Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and oversaw the foundation of a network of Norman lordships that radiated from his dominion. Drogo Tassio, Robert's brother, created the most northern Norman lordship in Italy, the county of Loreto. To the west, Nebulo of Penne's lordship was founded on a negotiated detente with the Bernardi clan. On the Chieti-Valva borderlands, the lordship of the most maligned and misrepresented Abruzzese Norman lord – Hugh Malmouzet – was established. Contrary to the condemnations of John Berard, which have influenced the conclusions of modern historians, Hugh was not an iniquitous persecutor of the church. Hugh's exaltation by Alexander of San Bartholomeo, however, was also inaccurate. Hugh forged a durable alliance with Bishop John of Valva, facilitated the territorial transactions of San Clemente and generously patronised the abbey of San Bartholomeo while maintaining an alliance with the abbey's adversaries, the Bernardi. Hugh's relationship with the Sansoneschi has also been misinterpreted by medieval and

modern scholars. Their persistent enmity ultimately secured the destruction of the Malmouzet lordship.

The twelfth century proved a challenging time for Norman power in southern Italy. The princes of Capua were driven from their city, Gaeta rejected Norman control and the city of Bari developed ever more autonomy, while the conflicts of Bohemond of Taranto and Roger Borsa threatened to undermine ducal power in Apulia. In Abruzzo, the defeat of Hugh Malmouzet and the death of Robert I of Loritello ushered in a new generation of Norman lords and a new set of challenges. Though Robert II of Loritello focused his interest on the southern regions of his lordship, he continued to maintain his father's important ties to Bishop Raynulf of Chieti and the Norman lords of Abruzzo. Moreover, the disintegration of the lordship of Hugh Malmouzet was managed by the intervention and cooperation of William Tassio of Loreto and the counts of Manoppello. William maintained Hugh's relationship with the bishop of Valva, while the counts of Manoppello attempted to preserve relations with the abbey of San Clemente. Connections to the local aristocracy were developed, as demonstrated by William Tassio's network of *vicecomites*, yet this second generation of Norman lords sustained the network of Norman political associations established by their predecessors and, despite the resurgent threat of the Sansoneschi, ensured the survival of Norman authority in the region until the incorporation of Abruzzo into the *Regno* in 1140.

To ensure their own survival in the face of this Norman corporation the local aristocracy of Abruzzo employed a diversity of political strategies. Further south, established authorities, such as the prince of Capua resisted violently, autonomous polities, such as the cities of Gaeta and Bari, negotiated surrenders and some aristocratic families, such as the Borelli of Sangro, collaborated readily. The Attonid counts were able to employ a strategy unavailable to the majority of the southern Italian aristocracy and to engage in a tactical retreat. The 1085-6 donations of Count Trasmund III established a buffer to Norman

expansion and attempted to disrupt Norman authority in Chieti in order to facilitate a restoration of Attonid authority in the county of *Aprutium*. Further south, the Bernardi clan, contrary to the claims of Alexander of San Bartholomeo, came to an alliance with the emergent Norman power, negotiating a beneficial submission to Nebulo of Penne and forging a persistent alliance with Hugh Malmouzet. This collaboration necessitated the acceptance of certain Norman annexations but allowed the family to extend their power over the abbey of San Bartholomeo and later regain their base at Brittoli. In contrast, the Sansoneschi family – despite the assertions of John Berard, endorsed by modern scholars – proved themselves implacable adversaries of Norman authority and secured the downfall of the Malmouzet lordship. Resurgent after this victory, the Sansoneschi negotiated a political detente with the abbey of San Clemente which resolved their recurrent territorial conflicts that had lain dormant during the ascendancy of Hugh Malmouzet and bolstered their political power in the face of the expanding counts of Manoppello. Thus each aristocratic faction adopted a particular political strategy that enabled them to negotiate the shifting political environment of late-eleventh- and twelfth-century Abruzzo

The most accomplished historian of medieval Abruzzo, Laurent Feller, has concluded that the region was fundamentally a ‘periphery’ which lacked the ‘exceptional dynamism’ inherent in the development of *incastellamento* in Lazio or the expansion of urban autonomy in Lombardy.<sup>3</sup> This thesis, however, has exposed the dynamic nature of aristocratic society in medieval Abruzzo. This subject is largely absent from the accepted narrative of the history of medieval southern Italy, while research on this topic has been persistently coloured by the prejudices of John Berard of San Clemente and Alexander of San Bartholomeo. Therefore, this thesis has analysed the available primary sources for medieval Abruzzo to highlight their ideological prejudices, demonstrating how this ideology may be understood and thus critically evaluating these historical accounts. This source analysis has helped reveal the political

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<sup>3</sup> Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, p. 853.

fragmentation that developed in Abruzzo in the century before the Norman arrival. These divisions contextualised the rapid successes of the Normans in Abruzzo and informed the diversity of political strategies that the aristocratic factions of medieval Abruzzo developed in response to the new Norman authority. Finally, this thesis has exposed the network of Norman political connections, founded on the leadership of Count Robert I of Loritello and maintained into the twelfth century by a second generation of Norman lords, which ensured the stability of Norman authority in Abruzzo and, ultimately, precipitated the transformation of the province from a northern-orientated march of the duchy of Spoleto to a frontier region of the kingdom of Sicily.

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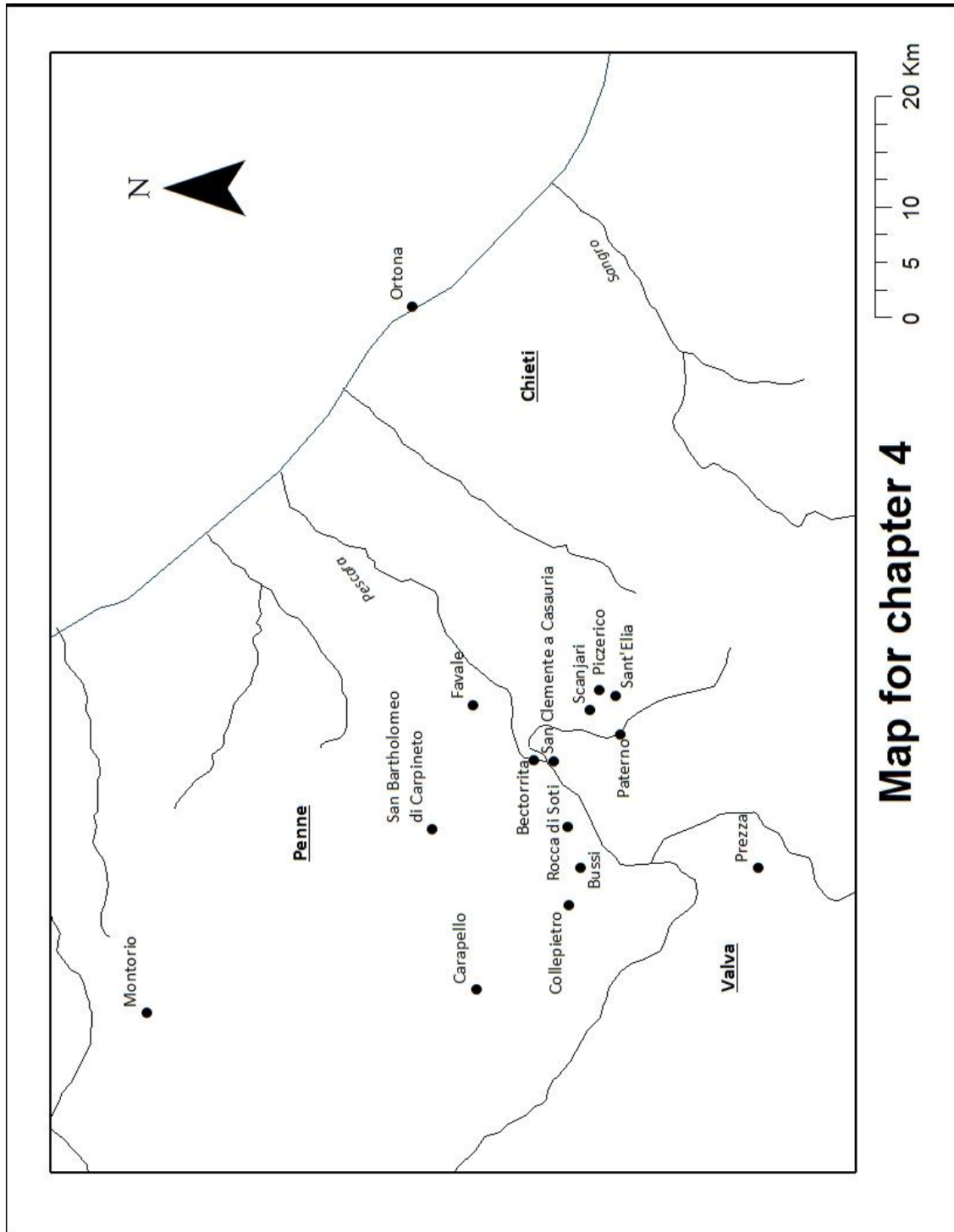
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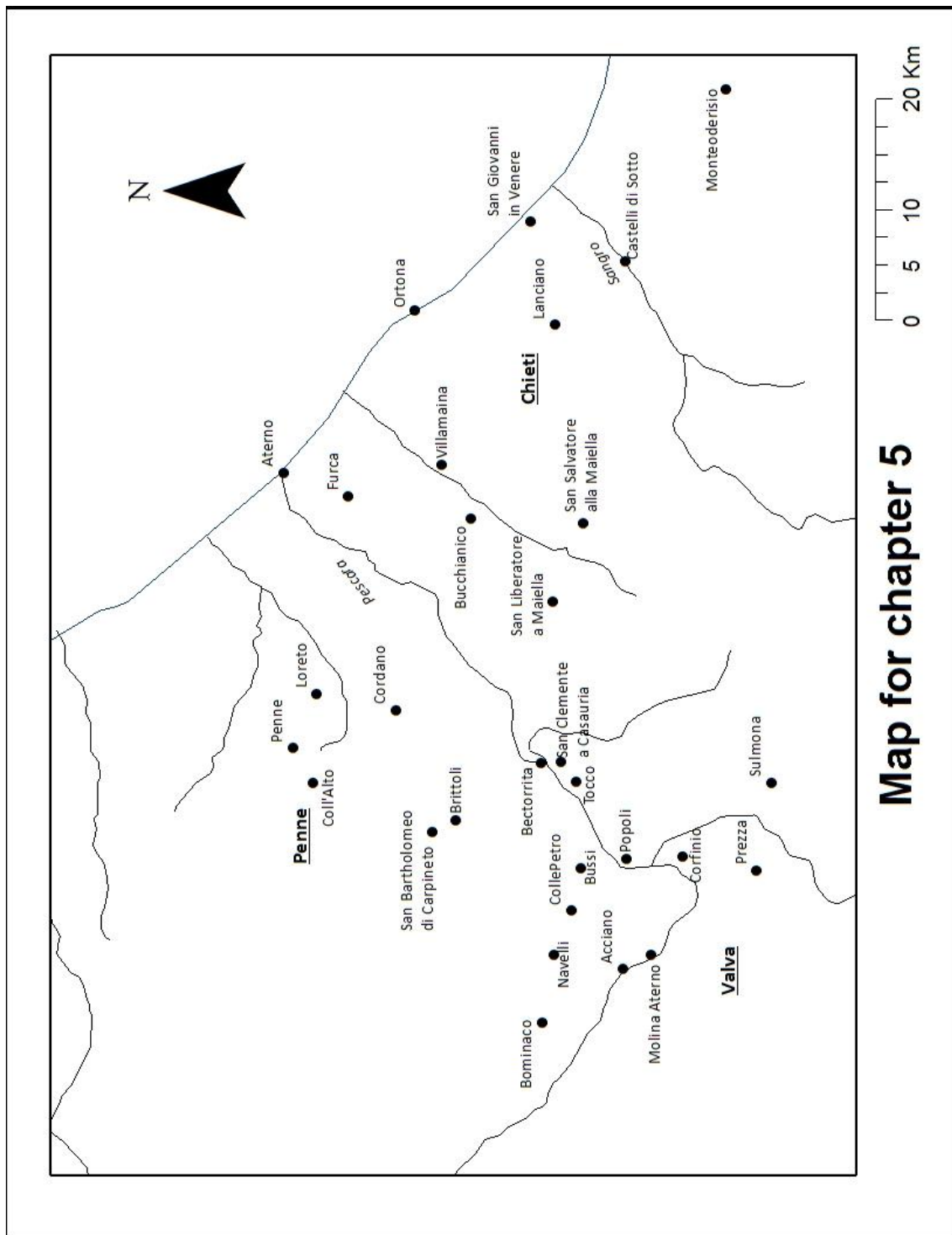


## Appendices

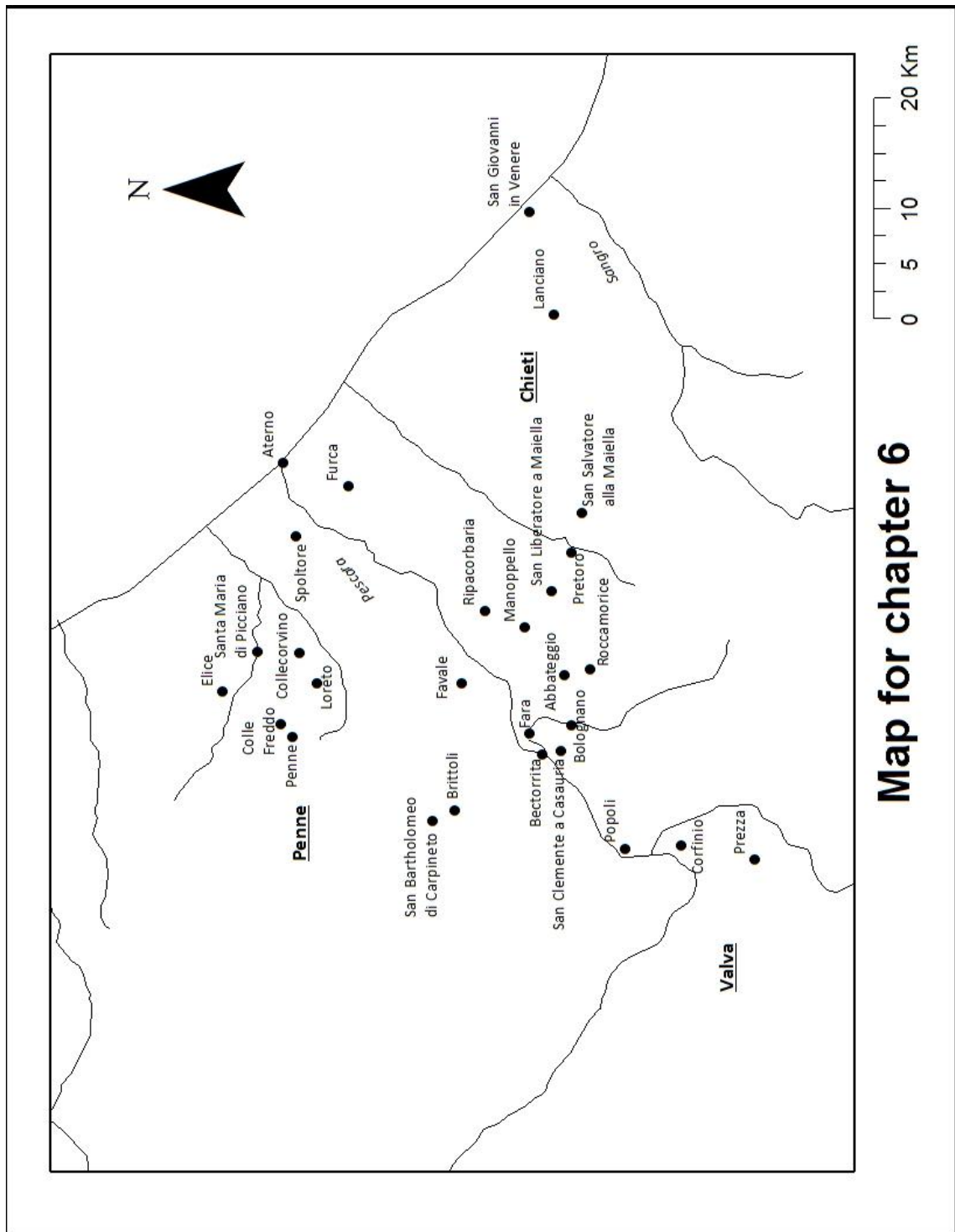
## 1. Map for chapter 4



2. Map for chapter 5



3. Map for chapter 6



Map for chapter 6



5. The tympanum of the abbey-chapel of San Clemente a Casauria

