

Church Reform and  
Social Change in  
Eleventh-Century Italy

Dominic of Sora and His Patrons

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## Dominic's World

ITALY DECEIVES THE CASUAL TOURIST who sees the fields, gardens, orchards, and vineyards surrounding Florence and Rome. These civilized landscapes are atypical pieces in a complex geographical mosaic. Dozens of distinct regions are cut off from each other by hills and mountains, Fernand Braudel's "impressive and demanding presences," part of the Mediterranean's encircling "high, wide, never-ending mountains."<sup>1</sup> The Alps tail off into the Maritime Alps, out of which emerge the Apennines, stretching southeast to flank the Valley of the Po and then extending down the peninsula. Through Tuscany and Umbria they are often pleasant rolling hills, but in central Italy the mountains widen as the Italian boot narrows, leaving little room for hill country or coastal plain. Here is the Abruzzi, "the highest, widest, and wildest part of the Apennines."<sup>2</sup> Even today, only seventy-five miles east of Rome, there are still bears and wolves.

Dominic and his patrons helped reshape this central Italian landscape, but ultimately it shaped them far more. They had to struggle to prosper, to communicate, sometimes even to survive. They never completely transcended its intricate, often harsh geography. Lazio and the Abruzzi are transversed by a series of limestone uplifts. The ridge line is closer to the eastern shore of the Italian peninsula, marginalizing the Adriatic coast. Depressions at Rieti, L'Aquila, the former Lago Fucino, and Sulmona form broad, isolated valleys with their own inverted weather. Major faults run from the northwest to the southeast, providing channels for swift-flowing rivers such as the Aniene and the Liri. By Mediterranean standards water is relatively plentiful, retained by the local limestone and released gradually through a multitude of springs. Otherwise this is a land of extremes, of

1. Quotation from Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 1:26. Fuller detail in John Robert McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. 13-14.

2. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1:40.

severe winters and hot summers, of rivers that flood or trickle. The heights still reveal distinct ecological zones: oak and mixed growth from about 1,500 to 3,200 feet, beech from about 3,200 to 5,200 feet, and rocky high pasture above. Now, however, the woodland survives only in patches, and the lower slopes are often overrun by *macchia*, the scrubby tangles of holm oak, laurel, chestnut, and wild myrtle analogous to the drought-resistant vegetation that Americans call “chaparral.” Good farmland, rare today, was rarer still in the Middle Ages. Then the river valleys, whose heavy bottomlands are now valued highly, were accumulating new fill and becoming marshier. Farmers preferred small, well-drained hillside terraces, located above the malarial lowlands, where they could mix plots of grain, fruit trees, vineyards, and gardens. People were scarce; farms and villages small and relatively isolated.<sup>3</sup>

Rome was the only major city. Even during its tenth-century nadir, poets still hailed “Noble Rome” as “Queen of the world, greatest of all cities.”<sup>4</sup> Its bishops, Italy’s largest landholders, had income from a vast system of outlying estates. They continually built and rebuilt major churches, palaces, and fortifications. Although Rome’s ancient churches no longer corresponded to actual needs in their sizes and locations, those that were superfluous were maintained by monastic communities. Other buildings were continually recycled by a much-reduced population whose center of gravity had shifted west toward the Vatican. There were gardens and vineyards among the ruins. Noble families dominated not only the urban areas surrounding their fortified residences but also regional power bases beyond the city walls.<sup>5</sup>

3. The geographical features of southeastern Lazio are described in Toubert, *Structures*, 1: 135–98; those of the Abruzzi in Jean Démangeot, *Géomorphologie des Abruzzes adriatiques*, Centre de recherches et documentation cartographiques et géographiques, Mémoires et documents (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965), esp. 11–14. On recent geological changes, see Claudio Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys: Geological Changes in Historical Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), esp. 101–3, 107–8, 114–15, 119–20; and McNeill, *Mountains of the Mediterranean World*, 72–74, 84–93, 272–76.

4. The tenth-century panegyric “O Roma Nobilis” is edited in F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 1: 291. Contemporary images of Rome are discussed in Tellenbach, “Die Stadt Rom in der Sicht ausländischer Zeitgenossen (800–1200),” *Saeculum* 24 (1973): 1–40, reprinted in his *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, 1: 265–340; and in Rudolf Schieffer, “Mauern, Kirchen und Türme: Zum Erscheinungsbild Roms bei deutschen Geschichtsschreibern des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts,” in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter*, 129–37.

5. The physical plant of early medieval Rome is described in Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Étienne Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du Xe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, Collection de l’École

Outside Rome, the most powerful communities were monastic corporations: Subiaco, Monte Cassino, San Vincenzo al Volturno, Farfa, and others. These were built out of and usually on antique ruins. They were nearly cities themselves. By the end of the ninth century, Farfa's multitowered walls contained a palace for imperial visits, an elaborate monastic cloister, five subsidiary churches, and a grand basilica roofed with lead and boasting an onyx baldacchino over the high altar.<sup>6</sup> San Vincenzo al Volturno had eight churches constructed or rebuilt within its monastic precincts between 792 and 856, among them a large, triple-aisled basilica anchoring a complex that evoked the classical world through fresco work, inscriptions, and Roman spoils.<sup>7</sup> The great monasteries controlled networks of estates donated by Lombard and Carolingian rulers and aristocrats. Farfa under Abbot Peter (890?–920?) possessed not only its territorial core in the Sabina but also churches and farms scattered from Milan to the Abruzzi, a section of Rome which included the whole area now covered by the Piazza Navona and the Palazzo Madama, and even a

française de Rome 135 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990); and Veronica Ortenberg, "Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990," *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 197–246, esp. 208–28. On the use and reuse of Roman buildings, see Bryan Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300–850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 203–29. Papal estates are described in Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 6–9, 35–36.

6. Sicard of Farfa, *Libellus Constructionis Farfensis*, edited in *Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino; precedono la "Constructio Farfensis" e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa*, ed. Ugo Balzani, 2 vols., FSI 33–34 (Rome: ISIME, 1903), 1:3–23; Hugh of Farfa, *Destructio Monasterii Farfensis*, edited in *Chron. Farf.*, 1:28–31. On the remains of the ninth-century construction, see Peter Donaldson, Charles McClendon, and David Whitehouse, "L'Abbazia di Farfa: Rapporto preliminare sugli scavi 1978–80," *Archivio della SRSP* 103 (1980): 5–12; and Charles B. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 54–75, esp. 74.

7. Angelo Pantoni, *Le Chiese e gli edifici del monastero di San Vincenzo al Volturno*, MC 40 (Monte Cassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, 1980), 18–21; *Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise: San Vincenzo al Volturno. Atti del I Convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale (Venafro-San Vincenzo al Volturno, 19–22 maggio 1982)*, MC 51 (Monte Cassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, 1985), 205–7, 218–19; *San Vincenzo al Volturno: The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery*, ed. Richard Hodges and John Mitchell, British Archaeological Reports International Series 252 (London: B. A. R., 1985), 1–2, 12–15, 27, 125; Mitchell, "Literacy Displayed: The Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 186–225; Hodges, Catherine Coutts, and Mitchell, "San Vincenzo al Volturno," *Current Archaeology* 12 (1994): 244–50; Richard Hodges, "In the Shadow of Pirenne: San Vincenzo al Volturno and the Revival of Mediterranean Commerce," in *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI–X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia: Convegno Internazionale (Siena, 2–6 dicembre 1992)*, ed. Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé (Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994), 112–16 and 123.

ship exempted from port fees by the emperor.<sup>8</sup> San Vincenzo had a block of land that included the whole upper valley of the Volturno.<sup>9</sup> Subiaco had the upper valley of the Aniene.<sup>10</sup> The heart of Monte Cassino's *Terra Sancti Benedicti* consisted of about 200,000 acres stretching from the mouth of the Garigliano to today's Parco Nazionale d'Abruzzo.<sup>11</sup>

The Latin word *curtis* is used to designate the manorial unit that organized these lands. The *curtes* differed from ideal transalpine manors in that they lacked regular labor services and neat divisions between demesne lands and private plots. Even the greatest tended to be sprawling agglomerations of small fields and orchards. Vineyards were so common, in fact or in wishful imagination, that they appear in more than 85 percent of Farfa's eighth- and ninth-century property descriptions. Despite sparse populations and diffused settlement patterns, the *curtes* were coherent administrative and economic complexes centered on churches, workshops, and other structures. Their names were used by notaries to describe surrounding territories. They dominated the rural Italian landscape until the disruptions that began in the late ninth century.<sup>12</sup>

8. Ildefonso Schuster, "L'Abbate Ugo I e la riforma di Farfa nel secolo XI (998-1030)," *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 16 (1910): 615; *L'imperiale Abbazia di Farfa: Contributo alla storia del ducato romano nel medio evo* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1921), 144; Richard Raymond Ring, "The Lands of Farfa: Studies in Lombard and Carolingian Italy," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972, 67, 124-25; Isa Lori Sanfilippo, "I possessi romani di Farfa, Montecassino e Subiaco—secoli IX-XII," *Archivio della SRSP* 103 (1980): 14-21; Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome*, 161, 182-84.

9. Chris Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale: L'esempio di San Vincenzo al Volturno*, Studi sulla Società degli Appennini nell'Alto Medioevo 2, Quaderni dell'insegnamento di archeologia medievale della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Siena (Florence: Edizioni all'Insegna del Giglio, 1985), 12-16, which is partially published in English as "The *Terra* of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Eighth to Twelfth Centuries: The Historical Framework," in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, ed. Hodges and Mitchell, 227-58.

10. Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento*, 53-54.

11. Luigi Fabiani, *La Terra di S. Benedetto: Studio storico-giuridico sull'Abbazia di Montecassino dall'VIII al XIII secolo*, 3 vols., MC 33, 34, and 42 (Monte Cassino: Badia di Montecassino, 1968-1980), 1: 3-23. Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura/Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), describes Monte Cassino's dependencies.

12. On the *curtis* system in general, see Toubert, "Il sistema curtense: La produzione e lo scambio interno in Italia nei secoli VIII, IX e X," *Storia d'Italia. Annali 6: Economia naturale, economia monetaria* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 5-63, reprinted with the same pagination in Toubert, *Histoire du haut moyen âge et de l'Italie médiévale* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987); Bruno Andreolli and Massimo Montanari, *L'Azienda curtense in Italia: Proprietà della terra e lavoro contadino nei secoli VIII-XI*, Biblioteca di storia agraria medievale 1 (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1985); Toubert, "L'assetto territoriale ed economico dei territori longobardi: Il ruolo delle grandi abbazie," in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione: Momenti e aspetti di storia cassinese (secc. VI-IX). Atti del II Convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale (Cassino-Montecassino, 27-31 maggio 1984)*, ed. Faustino Avagliano, MC 55 (Monte Cassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, 1987), 280-95; and Ross Balzaretto, "The *Curtis*,

As the ability to administer the far-flung *curtes* demonstrates, the ancient infrastructure still functioned. Roman roads survived, although with minor adjustments in some routes. They carried what commerce existed. They were followed by clerks of all types, from monastic estate managers to exalted prelates seeking *pallia* and privileges. Along them marched armies of invaders, domestic and foreign. Most frequent were crowds of pilgrims visiting a network of local and international shrines unparalleled in Western Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Early medieval Italy possessed a surprising amount of central government. Lombard kings had abundant lands and resources, granted by dukes whose infatuation with independence had been cooled by a decade of kinglessness. Pavia's law codes, courts, tax collectors, and archives made it Western Europe's most advanced secular bureaucratic capital (at least after Toledo had fallen to Islam). Below the level of the royal court, the political structures were more nebulous. In each region the multiple, interlocking civil, military, and ecclesiastical systems of antiquity were gradually being replaced by individual lords. Power, which derived from control over land and the soldiers it could support, ultimately resided in those who could establish regional territorial dominance, be they dukes, gastalds (originally royal estate managers), or even bishops who had managed to maintain or regain control over their cities. Charlemagne, after taking the iron crown of Lombardy in 774, built upon the institutions he found. Although he imposed a Frankish military network of nonurban counts and marquesses, he also regularized Lombard authorities. Franks usually received vacant secular posts; the older elites retained most lands and bishoprics.

It must be granted that the first Carolingian kings of Italy were eminently forgettable: Charlemagne crowned his four-year-old son Pippin (781–810), whose death led to another regency for Pippin's son Bernard (812–17); Bernard's revolt left the kingdom to Emperor Lothar (817–55), who was primarily interested in transalpine politics. Yet an absence of monarchical interference may actually have benefitted the legal system. The

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the Archaeology of Sites of Power," in *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano*, 99–108. For a concise attempt at definition, see Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 132–33. Toubert, *Structures*, I: 303–5, 450–73, emphasizes how little is known about agriculture in early medieval Lazio in particular, since few documents survive except from Farfa. The percentage of vineyards found in early Farfa documents is taken from Ring, "The Lands of Farfa," 86–90.

13. Toubert, *Structures*, I: 626–31 and 651–57 describes the road network and the traffic it carried.

state remained so strong that when Charlemagne's great-grandson Emperor Louis II (850–75) did offer dedicated resident leadership, he was able to create a major new imperial monastery (Casauria), repel invaders, and threaten to extend Carolingian power into southern Italy. What broke royal authority was his death without a direct heir, leaving the kings of France and Germany, Louis's two uncles, with equal claims on the Italian crown, and thus leaving Italy almost a century of wars of succession.<sup>14</sup>

Early in the ninth century, Muslim raids began. The independent city states on the shores of Campania—Gaeta, Naples, Amalfi, and Salerno—had routinely traded with Islamic merchants and pirates. Naples used Muslim mercenaries in the 830s, and perhaps in the 820s. Soon Islamic bands in close touch with their cohorts in North Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia became regular features of the southern Italian world. Their full-scale military expeditions captured Taranto, Bari, and the suburbs of Rome itself, ransacking St. Peter's basilica in 846 and destroying the apostle's tomb. Christian Italy fought back: by 852 Leo IV had surrounded the Vatican with the impressive Leonine walls; in 871 Louis II, nineteen years after his first attempt, led the alliance that successfully retook Bari; in 880 the Byzantines regained Taranto; then even Naples was briefly coerced into an anti-

14. The reputation of Lombard and Carolingian central institutions has been rehabilitated to a considerable extent by Tabacco in studies synthesized in *Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, and by Wickham, most notably in *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (1981; reprint, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), esp. 47–63, but also in “Land Disputes and Their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700–900,” in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), esp. 112. The problems involved in fitting Carolingian comital institutions into the preexisting Italian order are elucidated in Paolo Delogu, “L’istituzione comitale nell’Italia carolingia (Ricerche sull’aristocrazia carolingia in Italia, I),” *Bullettino dell’ISIME e Archivio Muratoriano* 79 (1968): 53–114; and “Strutture politiche ideologia nel regno di Lodovico II (Ricerche sull’aristocrazia carolingia in Italia, II),” *Bullettino dell’ISIME e Archivio Muratoriano* 80 (1969): 137–89, who emphasizes the personal bases of Carolingian power more than Tabacco and Wickham do. On Carolingian administration in Italy, see Antonio Sennis, “Potere centrale e forze locali in un territorio di frontiera: La Marsica tra i secoli VIII e XII,” *Bullettino dell’ISIME e Archivio Muratoriano* 99 (1994): 15–17. On Frankish domination of the aristocracy, see Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962): Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 8 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Eberhard Albert Verlag, 1960), esp. 74. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 168–81, surveys post-Carolingian struggles for the crown. On the sophistication of the legal system, see Charles M. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence, Pavia and Bologna 850–1150* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 20, 26, 37–86; and François Bougard, *La Justice dans le Royaume d’Italie de la fin du VIIIe siècle au début du XIe siècle*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 291 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995).

Saracenic league. Yet, after the loss of their urban bases, the Muslim bands became even more mobile and dangerous. In 881 they sacked San Vincenzo al Volturno, leaving its surviving monks to a thirty-three-year Capuan exile. In September of 883, Muslims operating out of a camp at the mouth of the Garigliano destroyed Saint Benedict's monastery on Monte Cassino; its monks then dwelt in San Salvatore, at the base of the mountain, until it fell in October of the same year to Muslim marauders who murdered the aged Abbot Bertharius at the high altar. The remaining monks retreated to their cell in Teano; in 914 they moved to Capua, after electing a well-connected archdeacon from that city as their abbot. Farfa defended its monastic complex for seven years, but by 897 Abbot Peter, recognizing that its position was untenable if it could not secure its estates, dispersed his monks, treasures, and books to Rome, Rieti, and the *castello* of Santa Vittoria in Matenano (diocese of Fermo, in the Marches). Farfa became a temporary Muslim redoubt until one night, while its occupiers were away, some Christian scavengers accidentally burnt it down. The strongest Muslim band, the one controlling the Garigliano, became so entrenched that it took a combined force of papal, Byzantine, Campanian, and Spoletan contingents to annihilate it in 915.<sup>15</sup>

Another menace was the Magyars from Hungary. They encountered little organized opposition after they destroyed, in a battle on the Brenta in 899, what the Venetian chronicler John the Deacon claimed was a 50,000-man royal army. Their most famous depredations were in the Po

15. General accounts of the Muslim raids in southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries include Nicola Cilento, "I Saraceni nell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 77 [n.s. 38] (1959): 109–22, lightly retouched as "Le incursioni saraceniche nell'Italia meridionale," in *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 2nd ed. (Milan/Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1971), 175–89; Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter*, 50–82; and Barbara Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 18–62, 75–79. For the revised chronology placing the beginning of these raids earlier than the mid-830s, see Paolo Bertolini, "La serie episcopale napoletana nei secoli VIII e IX: Ricerche sulle fonti per la storia dell'Italia meridionale nell'alto medio evo," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 24 (1970): 439–40. Armand O. Citarella sketches the economic context in "The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 299–312, and details the background of the fall of Monte Cassino in "The Political Chaos in Southern Italy and the Arab Destruction of Monte Cassino in 883," in *Montecassino dalla prima alla seconda distruzione*, 163–80. On the destruction of the tomb of St. Peter and on Roman responses to this catastrophe, see Federico Marazzi, "Le 'città nuove' pontificie e l'insediamento laziale nel IX secolo," in *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano*, 252–68. The major document on the Garigliano battle of 915 is a charter edited and analyzed in Otto Vehse, "Das Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915," *QFLAB* 19 (1927): 181–204.



Valley, but at various times they also attacked Tuscany, the suburbs of Rome, and even Apulia. Since their goal was booty, they kept to the Roman roads, the better to cart things home. Although Italy offers no definite evidence that the Magyars ever conquered a defended city, no archeological traces of their artifacts, and few toponymic indications of their passing, they certainly contributed to a widespread sense of insecurity.<sup>16</sup>

According to the laments of Italian chroniclers, the destruction was total. Saracens “completely depopulated Calabria” as well as “the regions of Naples, Benevento, and Capua”; “they depopulated nearly all the cities of Apulia, and mowed down all the men who had grown up in the fields,” until “not only the monastery [of Monte Cassino] but all the plains around it were so deserted because of the assaults of the Saracens that only a rare man—or no man at all—could be found there who would give due allegiance to the monks.” At San Vincenzo al Volturno, 900 monks were allegedly killed, like the martyrs of the Theban legion, and in its possessions there was “no dwelling place of man, but everything was the possession of beasts . . . you would see cities deserted, churches destroyed, and the whole earth soaked with the blood of Christians, nor was there any refuge by flight since slaughter was likewise carried to the mountains and hills. People were thinking that the end of the world had already arrived.”<sup>17</sup>

Close reading of such descriptions reveals hyperbole. For example, it is hard to accept literally the Salernitan chronicler’s account of how Amalfi had been captured by Salerno, and “depopulated . . . and everything

16. Scholars debate the severity of the Hungarian raids. The catastrophic view is preeminently championed by Ginà Fasoli in studies that include *Le incursioni unghere in Europa nel secolo X*, Biblioteca storica Sansoni, n.s. 12 (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1945), esp. 224; “Points de vue sur les incursions hongroises en Europe au Xe siècle,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles* 2 (1959): 17–35, esp. 24–26; and “Encore des Hongrois?” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles* 5 (1962): 461–62. A revisionist approach, involving a more skeptical attitude toward the sources, is exemplified in Albert d’Haenens, “Les incursions hongroises dans l’espace belge,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles* 4 (1961): 423–40; and Aldo A. Settia, “Gli Ungari in Italia e i mutamenti territoriali fra VIII e X secolo,” in *Magistra Barbaritas: I barbari in Italia*, ed. Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Garzanti: Scheiwiller, 1984), 185–218 (Settia includes a bibliography on the Hungarian raids in Italy). On the psychological impact of the Hungarians, see Fasoli, “Unni, Avari e Ungari nelle fonti occidentali e nella storia dei paesi d’Occidente,” in *Il Secolo di ferro: Mito e realtà del secolo X, 19–25 aprile 1990*, 2 vols., Settimane di studio del CISAM 38 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1991), 1:32–43.

17. Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* xxxv, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS *Rerum Langobardorum et Italicarum, Saeculi VI–IX* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1878), 248; *Chron. Salern.* lxxx, 79; *Chron. Cass.* II i, 166; *Chron. Vult.*, 1:359, 362, 368, 370.

around it depopulated,” since the next few lines describe the attempts made by the prince of Salerno to promote intermarriage between the peoples of the two cities. The Monte Cassino chronicler's claim that the Hungarians were “burning and depopulating everything in the region of the Marsi” is similarly suspicious, given that the Marsi successfully attacked the baggage train of those same Hungarians on their way home.<sup>18</sup> Archeological investigations document damage,<sup>19</sup> but even the Duchy of Gaeta, the harassed western neighbor of the Garigliano Muslims, still had most of its preinvasion settlements in place after 915.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the chroniclers are especially apocalyptic because the raiders hit their monasteries hardest. The great rural houses were destroyed, their monks dispersed, their *curtes* lost to monastic control.

The most significant damage may have been psychological. Today's historians, blessed with excellent hindsight, know that after 915 “the Arab peril in central Italy was past” and that after Otto I's victory at the Lechfeld in 955 there was “no great threat from the East.”<sup>21</sup> Contemporaries had no such confidence. Salerno's late-tenth-century chronicle offers no hint that Muslim raids are over. Liutprand of Cremona (d. 972), who begins his *Antipodasis* with an account of the Saracen devastation at La Garde-Freinet, is anxious about hostile neighbors in all his literary works.<sup>22</sup> The same fears animated Rodulfus Glaber, who in a section of his *Histories* revised in the late 1030s still awaits the next Muslim onslaught.<sup>23</sup> In fact, North African rulers did continue to support piracy and raids on the “Land of Rome” until Pisan counterattacks finally overwhelmed them in the late eleventh

18. *Chron. Salern.* lxxiv, 73; *Chron. Cass.* I lv, 141–42.

19. Hodges, “The San Vincenzo Project: Preliminary Review of the Excavation and Surveys at San Vincenzo al Volturno and in Its Terra,” in *Castrum 2: Structures de l'habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens. Les méthodes et l'apport de l'archéologie extensive*, ed. Ghislaine Noyé, Collection de l'École française de Rome 105; Publications de la Casa Velázquez, sér. arch. 9 (Rome: École française, 1988), 425.

20. Jean François Guiraud, “Le réseau de peuplement dans le Duché de Gaete du Xe au XIIIe siècle,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen âge—temps modernes* 94 (1982): 497–98.

21. Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 82; R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953), 25.

22. Karl J. Leyser, “Ends and Means in Liutprand of Cremona,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988): 119–43, esp. 143.

23. Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque* I v, ed. and trans. John France as *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 33–47; or ed. and trans. Guglielmo Cavallo and Giovanni Orlandi, as *Rodolfo il Glabro: Cronache dell'Anno Mille*, 3rd ed., Scrittore Greci e Latini (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1991), 39–53. Note also France, “War and Christendom in the Thought of Rodulfus Glaber,” *Studia Monastica* 30 (1989): 105–19, esp. 109–10 and 113.

century.<sup>24</sup> The result was a lethal legacy—the crusades would be created by Italian popes.<sup>25</sup>

Northern Europeans responded to barbarian attacks by building internal fortifications, especially castles, that is, fortified lordly residences. In Mediterranean Europe people built *castelli* (in Latin, *castra*), fortified set-

24. Overviews can be found in Hilmar C. Krueger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–89), 1:40–53; Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," *The English Historical Review* 92 (1977): 8–9, reprinted with the same pagination in *Popes, Monks, and Crusaders* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984); and Giuseppe Scalia, "Contributi pisani alla lotta anti-islamica nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale durante il secolo XI e nei primi decenni del XII," in *Actas del Primo congreso internacional de historia mediterranea*, published in a special issue of *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980): 135–44.

25. The 1095 call to battle given by Urban II to his fellow Franks was actually the logical culmination of initiatives taken by his Italian predecessors:

Leo IV (847–55), in the aftermath of the Muslim sack of Saint Peter's, pledged a heavenly reward to Franks killed in battle (*PL* 115:656–57 and 161:720).

On the spiritual rewards that John VIII (872–82) promised to opponents of the Saracens, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and Their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 64–65.

Sergius IV (1009–12), following the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, participated in a crusading project memorialized in an altered bull, ed. Harald Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, 3 vols., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 174, 177 and 198 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984–89), 2:845–48. On the problems connected with this document, the authenticity of which has been repeatedly challenged and defended, see Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 113–16, esp. 113n; Hans Martin Schaller, "Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius' IV," *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991), 135–53; and Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 64–66.

Benedict VIII in 1016 promised divine aid to soldiers who would defend Luni against Muslim attack, an incident recorded in Thietmar, *Chronicon* VII xlv, ed. Robert Holtzmann, *MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum* n.s. 9 (1935, reprint, Munich: MGH, 1980), 452–55.

Alexander II in 1063 and subsequent popes promised to commute the penances, and pardon the sins, of men who would fight the Muslims in Spain. See Erdmann, *Origin of . . . Crusade*, 138–39n; and Giovanna Petti Balbi, "Lotte antisaracene e 'militia Christi' in ambito iberico," in *Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII: Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto–1 settembre 1989*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 13 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), 519–49. For an unconvincing attempt at minimizing the influence of the Spanish theater on the development of crusade ideology, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 70–114.

The Norman campaigns in Sicily were interpreted in crusade terms, at least according to later sources described in Wolf, *Making History*, 106–9.

Gregory VII in 1074 proposed a military expedition against the Turks. See Erdmann, *Origin of . . . Crusade*, 164–69; Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), 27–40; reprinted with the same pagination in *Popes, Monks, and Crusaders*.

The role played by Victor III in the Pisan/Genoese expedition against Mahdia on the coast of Tunisia is treated in Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign," 1–29, esp. 4, 6, and 17–18.

tlements for large numbers. These were located on naturally defensible hill-top sites, protected by rough stone walls, and sometimes provided with a second fortified level, a house for the lord or his agent. The surviving records suggest that the *castelli* were pioneered by the great monasteries, often in partnership with lay magnates. By the end of the eleventh century, Monte Cassino had about forty, Subiaco thirty, Farfa sixty.<sup>26</sup> By then the scattered households of the *curtes* had been replaced by the tightly defined hilltop communities that still dominate the central Italian countryside. English-speaking medievalists, groping for a word analogous to the Italian “*incastellamento*,” have dubbed this process “encastellation.”

Was encastellation a military response to foreign invaders? So thought medieval writers.<sup>27</sup> So also thought most contemporary historians up until the mid-1950s, when Mario Del Treppo, on the basis of the incomparable San Vincenzo resettlement records, began to stress other aspects of encastellation, tying it to repopulation, land clearing, and more intensive cultivation. He claimed that, insofar as encastellation was a military measure, it was aimed not against foreign invaders but against aggressive lay lords.<sup>28</sup> Pierre Toubert went further, and, dismissing military considerations almost entirely, treated encastellation as a means of seignorial exploitation of the peasants, emphasizing that there was no clear chronological correlation between real external military threats and the encastellation of particular regions (which often occurred much later).<sup>29</sup> After subsequent debate he retreated slightly, acknowledging that the original purpose of the fortified settlements was to protect the lands of the *curtes*, admitting that he may have overreacted against traditional military explanations.<sup>30</sup>

26. The statistics on monastic ownership of *castelli* are from Toubert, “Pour une histoire de l’environnement économique et social du Mont-Cassin (IXe–XIIe siècles),” in *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, nov.–déc. 1976 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1976), 698; reprinted with the same pagination in *Histoire du haut moyen âge et de l’Italie médiévale* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987).

27. *Chron. Vulg.* I, 1:231.

28. Mario Del Treppo, “La Vita economica e sociale in una grande abbazia del Mezzogiorno: San Vincenzo al Volturno nell’alto medioevo,” *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* n.s. 35 (1955), 31–110, excerpts reprinted as “Frazionamento dell’unità curtense, incastellamento e formazioni signorili sui beni dell’abbazia di San Vincenzo al Volturno tra X e XI secolo,” in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1977), 285–304.

29. Toubert, *Structures*, passim, esp. 1:330–38 and 367.

30. Toubert, “Pour une histoire de l’environnement économique . . . du Mont-Cassin,” 698, reprinted with the same pagination in *Histoire du Haut Moyen Age*; “Les destinées d’un thème historiographique: ‘Castelli’ et peuplement dans l’Italie médiévale,” in *Flaran 1: Actes des premières journées internationales d’histoire de Flaran (Flaran, 20–22 septembre 1979)* (Auch: Comité départemental de tourisme du Gers, 1980), 25–26, reprinted with the same pagination in *Histoire du Haut Moyen Age*. For criticisms of his initial position, see Hoffmann,

Chris Wickham nuances the problem further by distinguishing between the military functions of the *castello*, which could have been served by a castle without concentrated settlement, and its economic functions, which encouraged group cohesion for land development. This dichotomy explains encastellation's regional diversity in terms of variations in the relative importance of military and economic factors.<sup>31</sup> Yet such distinctions may isolate the motives of the fortifiers better than they themselves could.

Perhaps there is still wisdom in the "external threat" explanations. Few things can better motivate people to modify traditional customs and accept expensive changes than an alleged menace from abroad. Preparing for the last war rather than the current one is an ancient tradition. Encastellation was certainly stimulated by fears of Muslim and Magyar invasions long after these had actually ceased. Then, once the process of fortification and re-settlement was well underway, it would have taken on a life of its own as insecure proprietors attempted to counter their competitors' *castelli*.

Encastellation was the most important economic, military, and social development in Dominic's world. It enabled monasteries to reorganize and reclaim their estates. It gave power to those nobles who could take the lead in developing monastic and public lands. It increased population and prosperity. Toubert claims that "There is not the least doubt of the fact that the first encastellation signalled the beginning of the process of recovery, of the 'Renaissance of the Tenth Century.'" <sup>32</sup>

Yet encastellation proved to be a mixed blessing for the great monasteries, because their ability to control the process had been eroded by years of deleterious exile. The monks of Monte Cassino, according to a com-

"Der Kirchenstaat im hohen Mittelalter," *QFIAB* 57 (1977): 1-45, esp. 12-13, 42; and Giovanni Tabacco, rev. of Toubert, *Structures*, in *Studi medievali* 3rd ser., 15 (1974): 901-18, esp. 908-9.

31. Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento . . . San Vincenzo al Volturno*, 25, 58, 61-71, and 82-86; *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 303-6.

32. Toubert is quoted from "L'Assetto territoriale," 286. To gain some impression of scholarship on encastellation, note the series of conferences signaled in his introduction to *Castrum 3: Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au moyen âge: Colloque organisé par la Casa de Velázquez et Madrid, 24-27 novembre 1985*, ed. André Bazzana, sér. arch. 12; Collection de l'École française de Rome 105 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988); and his sketch of the debate in "L'Assetto territoriale," 276-95. Note also Wickham, "L'incastellamento e i suoi destini, undici dopo il *Latium* di P. Toubert," in *Castrum* 2, 411-20; Francesco Bosco, "Incastellamento, territorio e popolamento dell'Italia centro-meridionale nella recente storiografia," *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 78 (1988): 55-83; and *Archeologica medievale* 16 (1989), a special issue devoted to "incastellamento."

plaint by Pope Agapitus II (946–55), were scattered all over their remaining possessions, conducting themselves dishonestly and shamefully (“inhoneste et turpiter”).<sup>33</sup> Tenth-century Farfa seems to have been even worse. Abbot Ratfredus did succeed in reestablishing monks there between 930 and 933, but he was promptly poisoned by two of them: Campo, who ruled at Farfa (936?–943?), and Hildebrand, abbot of Farfa, ca. 939, who, after dividing its lands with Campo, established his headquarters at Fermo, where he was still claiming to be Farfa's abbot as late as 971. Attempts at Cluniac reform were frustrated when the monks refused to admit Abbot Odo of Cluny around 937; when they expelled Cluniac visitors in 947; and when they poisoned Abbot Dagibert of Cuma (947?–953?), a reformer installed by force by Prince Alberic of Rome (932–54). As Jean Décarreaux once observed, Farfa's custom of poisoning abbots was “unquestionably faithful to a tradition that goes back to the first disciples of St. Benedict.”<sup>34</sup> Yet the unfortunate community lacked similar fidelity to Benedictinism's more positive aspects. Farfa sold its library books to raise money. It alienated some estates to abbots' children and divided others among its monks.<sup>35</sup>

Disorganization put the landholdings of the great monasteries at risk. Central Italian noble families found acquisitiveness expedient, even necessary, because they practiced partible inheritance, dividing lands and often titles among all male heirs and transferring considerable wealth to daughters. If a family with many children failed to increase its landed possessions, the result could be disastrous, but if it could gain control over new resources it could become a great lineage. Italian nobles did not take power for granted. They were quick to exploit weaknesses in the central govern-

33. Agapitus II, *Epistula* (J–L 3664), in *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, ed. Zimmermann, 1: 191–93 (no. 110). Most studies of papal correspondence treat this letter as a forgery by Peter the Deacon, who includes it in his *Register*. For full references see Zimmermann, *Papstregesten, 911–1014*, vol. 2 (5th part) of J. F. Boehmer, *Regesta Imperii* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1969), 75. Yet the letter must antedate Peter, since Leo Marsicanus used it in *Chron. Cass.* I lviii, 146–47. Its picture of tenth-century Monte Cassino's degradation may be a little one sided: see Leccisotti, “Il secolo X e l'influsso della riforma monastica romana a Montecassino,” *Archivio della SRSP* 103 (1980): 79–89; and Penco, *Storia del Monachesimo in Italia: Dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*, 2nd ed. (Milan: Jaca Book, 1983), 180.

34. Jean Décarreaux, *Normands papes et moines: Cinquante ans de conquêtes et de politique religieuse en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (milieu du XIe siècle–début du XIIe)* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1974), 44.

35. Gregory of Catino, *Chron. Farf.*, 1: 324–29. Hugh of Farfa, *Destructio Monasterii Farfensis*, ed. Balzani, in *Chron. Farf.*, 1: 33–47. Commentary on these chronicles by Ildefonso Schuster can be found in “L'abbate Ugo I e la riforma di Farfa,” 617–20; and *L'imperiale Abbazia di Farfa*, 96–100. On the alienation of Farfa's books, see Giorgio Brignoli, “La biblioteca dell'Abbazia di Farfa,” *Benedictina* 5 (1951): 5 and 9–10.

ment and in the great monastic corporations. Public lands were privatized. Abandoned or poorly defended monastic ones were appropriated or, to the same effect but with better grace, “leased.”<sup>36</sup>

An excellent example of this dynamic is offered by the lineage of the counts of Marsica, a family that figures prominently in this book because of its support of Dominic of Sora. Their county is named after the Marsi, an ancient Italian tribe that once dwelt around the Lago Fucino, about fifty-five miles east-northeast of Rome. In an extended sense, however, the name “Marsica” was applied to the whole southern part of the Duchy of Spoleto. Monte Cassino’s chronicle, well informed about Marsican affairs because its first author was Leo Marsicanus, describes the origins of these counts as follows: “Along with [King] Hugh there came to Italy Count AZZO, uncle of that Berardus who is called the Frank, a relative of the king himself, from whom the counts of the Marsi arose.” Hugh of Arles (926–47), the most effective post-Carolingian king, was notorious for placing his Burgundian and Provençal kinsmen in high positions whenever he got the chance.<sup>37</sup> His relative Berardus, founder of the first documented *hereditary* line of Marsican counts, was still living in 954. He appears to have had seven sons. They and their descendents, seeking spheres of influence and bases for new counties, spread throughout the southern part of the duchy of Spoleto and even into the Sabina and the Molise, absorbing all public lands, gaining control over episcopal sees, and acquiring monastic estates from Farfa, Subiaco, Monte Cassino, San Vincenzo al Volturno, and Casauria. From Berardus the Frank would descend the counts of Marsica, Valva, Rieti, Balsorano, Sangro, Collimonto, and so forth.<sup>38</sup>

36. David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, Studies in Cultural History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 88–89, describes inheritance practices. The emergence of new tenth-century extended lineages in Tuscany is detailed in Cinzio Violante, “Le strutture familiari, parentali e consortili delle aristocrazie in Toscana durante i secoli X–XII,” in *I Ceti dirigenti in Toscana nell’età precomunale. Comitato di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana: Atti del 10 Convegno: Firenze, 2 dicembre 1978* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1981), 2–10. Atto of Vercelli’s *Polypticum* documents the insecurity of the comital elite, in passages analyzed in Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State, and Christian Society in Tenth Century Italy*, *Temi e testi* 27 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979), 90–95. See also Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 175.

37. Hugh’s partiality for foreigners, especially for his relatives, is analyzed in Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, 85–86; and in Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli*, 87–91.

38. Two monographs early in this century dealt extensively with the counts of the Marsi: Cesare Rivera, *I Conti de’ Marsi e la loro discendenza fino alla fondazione dell’Aquila (843–1250): Cronistoria medioevale dell’Abruzzo e della Sabina de Rieti*, Biblioteca abruzzese pubblicazione periodica 1 (Teramo: Giovanni Fabbri Editore, 1913–15) [never finished]; and Hermann Müller, *Topographische und genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Herzogtums Spoleto und der Sabina von 800 bis 1100: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Dok-*

The counts of Marsica had many competitors. In the domains of Farfa and Subiaco, for example, their major rivals as feudatories were the Crescenzi, another lineage that would support Dominic. Although their exact origins are debated, their power is connected to the Theophylact who, in Roman records from the early tenth century, rose from knight to "magister militum" to "gloriosissimus dux" to "consul et dux" at the time of his death, acquiring titles resembling those used by independent rulers of southern Italian cities. His ascent was presumably aided not only by sections of the Roman aristocracy, but also by the favor of the dukes of Spoleto, who were then actively interested in Rome. Popes from the time of Sergius III (904–11) worked closely with Theophylact and his daughter Marozia, whose succession of politic marriages was ended by a coup that brought into power her son Alberic II (932–54). Scholars have now rehabilitated Theophylact's family to some extent, looking beyond the invective of Liutprand of Cremona, a propagandist for Emperor Otto I who deposed them, and paying more attention to the Romans who hailed Alberic as "Princeps Omnium Romanorum" and "Cultor Monasteriorum." Yet the last years of the dynasty have no defenders. It is to be expected that Liutprand would vilify Alberic's son, Prince John-Octavian, who was only about eighteen years old when he became Pope John XII, but the *Liber Pontificalis* treats him little better, claiming that he "passed his days in vanities and adulteries." Even Benedict of Sant'Andrea of Monte Soratte (fl. ca. 980), who despised the Germans, still describes their opponent John XII as a "homo ferus," a wild man who "blazed with passions." John was deposed in absentia by the emperor in 962, and his efforts to return to Rome were stopped by his death in 964. Yet his downfall did not end his family's power.<sup>39</sup>

*torwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Greifswald* (Greifswald: Buchdruckerei J. Herper, 1930), 54–57, 58–68, and 70–75. Much of Rivera's research on the early history of the descendants of Berardus is recapitulated in his "Valva e i suoi conti," *Bullettino della R. Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* ser. 3, 17 (1926): 79–91. Unfortunately, Müller did not have access to Rivera's work. A "tesi di laurea" on "La Contea dei Marsi fino al XII secolo" submitted by Antonio Sennis to the University of Rome "La Sapienza" in 1992, which I have not seen, is presumably subsumed into his "Potere centrale e forze locali."

Leo Marsicanus is quoted from *Chron. Cass.* I lxi, 153–54. That Berardus was still alive in 954 is witnessed by two charters in the *Liber Largitorius vel Notarius Monasterii Pharpensis*, ed. Giuseppe Zucchetti, 2 vols., ISIME/Istituto Storico Prussiano Regesta Chartarum Italiae II and 17 (Rome: Hermann Loescher, 1913 and 1932), I: 114–15 (nos. 159 and 160).

39. Overviews of the house of Theophylact are given by Willi Kölmel, *Rom und der Kirchenstaat im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert bis in die Anfänge der Reform: Politik, Verwaltung; Rom und Italien*, Abhandlungen zur mittleren und Neueren Geschichte 78 (Berlin-Grunewald: Verlag für Staatswissenschaft und Geschichte, 1935), 1–25; Paolo Brezzi, *Roma e l'Impero medioevale, 774–1252*, Storia di Roma 10 (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli Editore, 1947), 97–134; Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 77–90; and Toubert, *Structures*, 2: 974–98. Vehse, "Das



The Crescenzi relatives of the Theophylact clan became dominant when Otto I, groping for a way to govern the Romans, accepted as pope John XIII (965–72). John quickly established a certain Benedict, who was related to Theophylact’s family and who may also have been a papal nephew, as Count of the Sabina, and arranged Benedict’s marriage to Theodoranda, daughter of “Crescentius a Caballo.” Soon after the death of John XIII, the Crescenzi launched the first of a number of attempts to put their candidates on the papal throne. Despite some bloody reversals at the hands of the emperors, this lineage dominated Rome for nearly two generations and the Sabina for more than a century. Its survival graphically illustrates how much power had fallen into the hands of aristocratic factions organized in family arrays, power so great that even emperors generally found it easier to compromise with them than to root them out of their fortified strongholds.<sup>40</sup>

Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen,” 185, examines Theophylact’s early titles; Toubert, *Structures*, 2:963–64, urges caution in interpreting them. The family’s role as monastic patrons is described in Bernard Hamilton, “The Monastic Revival of Tenth-Century Rome,” *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962): 35–68; and “The House of Theophylact and the Promotion of Religious Life among Women in Tenth-Century Rome,” *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970): 195–217, both reprinted with the same pagination in his *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979). Praises of Alberic II are quoted from Benedict of San Andrea di Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, ed. Giuseppe Zucchetti, FSI 55 (Rome: ISIME, 1920), 166–67. Disparagements of John XII can be found in Liutprand of Cremona, *Liber de Rebus Gestis Ottonis Magni Imperatoris*, edited in Joseph Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, 3rd ed., MGH SS *Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* (Hannover: Hahn, 1915), 159–75; *Liber Pontificalis* cxxxiii, edited in Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2nd ed. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes & de Rome, 3 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, Editeur, 1955–57), 2: 246; and Benedict of Sant’Andrea di Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, 173.

40. Crescenzi family history is analyzed in Vehse, “Die päpstliche Herrschaft in der Sabina bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts,” *QFLAB* 21 (1929/1930): 120–75; Kölmel, *Rom und der Kirchenstaat*, 25–46; Brezzi, *Roma e l’Impero medioevale*, 137–95; Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, 90–103; and Toubert, *Structures*, 2:1009–22. Scholars have long debated the family’s precise origin. Gaetano Bossi, “I Crescenzi di Sabina: Stefaniani e Ottaviani (dal 1012 al 1106),” *Archivio della R. SRSP* 41 (1918): III–70, considered Pope John XIII a nephew of Alberic II, a notion accepted, for example, in Vehse, “Die päpstliche Herrschaft in der Sabina,” 137–38. This and other alleged early genealogical links were challenged by Carlo Cecchelli, “Note sulle famiglie romane fra il IX e il XII secolo,” *Archivio della R. SRSP* n.s. 58 (1935): 75–79, who did, however, identify residential and political connections between the pope and the family of Crescentius. Brezzi, in *Roma e l’Impero medioevale*, 138, 142–46, and 148–52, carefully addresses the issues raised and outlines the unknowns. For a revised perspective that treats the Crescenzi as a lineage formed by the combination of several different families (a “consorteria” that became a family), see Harald Zimmermann, “Parteiongen und Paptswahlen in Rom zur Zeit Kaiser Ottos des Grossen,” *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 8/9 (1964/65 and 1965/66), 29–88, reprinted with bibliographical additions in *Otto der Grosse*, ed. Zimmermann, *Wege der Forschung* 450 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 325–414. Toubert, *Structures*, 2:1016–17, doubts that this group constituted a “family,” but his arguments, based on the diverse policies followed by different branches, seem hypercritical.

To appreciate how such ruling elites could disrupt monasteries, one need only look at what happened to several of the greatest abbots around the year 1000. Abbot Manso of Monte Cassino (986–96) was fatally blinded by agents of Bishop Alberic of Marsica, one of the sons of Count Berardus the Frank.<sup>41</sup> Almost simultaneously, Abbot Roffridus of San Vincenzo al Volturno and most of his monks were driven out for ten months by an unnamed “invasor” who had to be removed by Emperor Otto III (d. 1002).<sup>42</sup> Between 1003 and 1005, Abbot Peter III of Subiaco, who had refused to cede power over certain *castelli*, was captured, blinded, and imprisoned until his death by the counts of Monticelli, a branch of the Crescenzi.<sup>43</sup> These were bad years, but even in better ones counts continually encroached upon the landholdings of the great monasteries.

Could anyone check the predatory lineages and the regionalism they abetted? Decades of fighting had resulted in ruined central authority, alienated public lands, and subinfeudated military forces. Although it has been claimed that “The Italian state in 950 was still . . . the most sophisticated in Western Christendom, with a complex legal-administrative system that ran courts and collected dues across the Po plain and Tuscany in a more systematic manner than any other part of the Carolingian empire,” whatever coherence it retained came from its semiautonomous court system, not from monarchical power. Italian kings had been chosen from outside first because the Carolingian heirs were outsiders; then because neutral outsiders might not provoke internal rivals; and finally because, by the mid-tenth century, the native Italian candidates were just too weak. None had the power and prestige of King Otto I of Germany, who, in 951, made his first foray into Italy, during which he defeated King Berengar II, declared himself king, and rescued and married Adelaide, the wealthy widow of King Hugh of Arles’ son, King Lothar II (d. 950). Political troubles in Germany and difficulties in securing the cooperation of Prince Alberic II

41. The details of the plot against Manso are said to have been divulged by the priest Andrew, one of the co-conspirators, to John, a former archpriest of Marsica, who, after a short stint as a Monte Cassino monk, became bishop of Sora (1073–1086). He apparently told the story both to his nephew, Leo Marsicanus, the Monte Cassino chronicler, and to Peter Damian. The major sources are *Chron. Cass.* II xvi, 196–200; and Peter Damian, *Epistula* 157 (old numbering IV viii), in *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, 4 vols., MGH *Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* 4(1–4) (Munich: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1983–93), 4:79–84.

42. *Chron. Vulg.* II, 1:325–26.

43. For an overview, see Benedetto Cignitti, “Pietro III,” *BS* 10:787–90. The principal sources are Hugh of Farfa, *Relatio Constitutionis*, ed. Balzani, 1:55–56; and *Chron. Subl.*, 7. The dates of Peter and other abbots are established from the eleventh-century *Register* by Pietro Egidi, *I Monasteri di Subiaco* (Rome: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1904), 207–18.

of Rome led to a reprieve for Berengar, but a decade later further troubles in Italy prompted Otto's return, and on 2 February 962 he received from the pope an imperial crown.<sup>44</sup>

A Western Roman emperor ruled again. Yet his authority was essentially military, superimposed over preexisting secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Great landholders were independent within their own localities, a fact concealed by the way they swore oaths of loyalty to the emperor, participated in his court ceremonies, and supported his military expeditions when it suited them. After the royal palace in the old Lombard capital of Pavia was destroyed during a riot in 1024, it was not rebuilt—its elaborate system of judges and archives had ceased to be relevant. Saxon and Salian emperors concentrated on controlling their personal possessions and attempting to control the Church (never entirely successfully). They were able to destroy individual enemies, and sometimes even to shuffle properties around, but only the most talented mastered the art of using force in occasional well-timed applications. Calamities such as a disputed regency nullified central power. While in theory the emperors were the divinely appointed guardians of peace, in fact they were significant only when present with their armies. The arrival of an emperor in Rome was a portentous event, awesome as a comet, destructive as an earthquake. But almost as soon as he had recrossed the Milvian bridge, the local factions reasserted themselves.

The attempt by Otto III to end the impasse by living in Rome failed to quell discontent. From then on the city saw its emperors only in armed processions marred by bloody riots such as those associated with the coronations of 1014 and 1027. Central Italian hatred found its spokesman in Benedict of Sant'Andrea of Monte Soratte, for whom German rule failed in theory because it humiliated Rome's proper dignity and failed in practice because its sporadic manifestations were marked by plague, bloodshed, and cattle rustling.<sup>45</sup>

44. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 168–93, esp. 171, surveys the late and post-Carolingian Italian kings. He is quoted here from "Lawyer's Time: History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 54; reprinted with revisions in his *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994), 276. An unannotated narrative survey, emphasizing economic and social history, is given by Vito Fumagalli, *Il Regno italico*, vol. 2 of *Storia d'Italia* (Torino: UTET, 1978). A concise overview of current scholarship on the transformation of the kingdom of Italy is found in Tabacco, "Regno, Impero e aristocrazie nell'Italia postcarolingia," in *Secolo di ferro*, 1:243–71. Note also Barbara H. Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888–924)," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 247–89.

45. For general studies of the workings of the Empire, see Timothy Reuter, "The Imperial Church System of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration," *Journal of*

An imperial alternative was the eastern "Emperor of the Romans." Constantinople was not much farther from Rome than Aachen or Paderborn and was easier to reach by sea. Perhaps it was not as distant culturally as Western scholars tend to assume. Rome had Greek monasteries, and among their philhellene supporters was one of the most important families, the Tuscolaners, direct descendants of Alberic II. Their family chapel was the Greek monastery of Grottaferrata located in their seat at Tuscolo, an ancient hill town about twelve miles from Rome.<sup>46</sup> The Italo-Greek hermits who made regular pilgrimages to Rome were saints esteemed even by the ascetical connoisseurs of the East.<sup>47</sup> The duke of Gaeta, whose territory

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*Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 347–74; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts: Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich*, 2 vols., Monographien zur des Mittelalters 30 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1984), 1:224–25; trans. (without notes) by Patrick J. Geary as *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 164–65; and Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood, 1050–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 1–14. The ideological structure of the Empire is discussed in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 4 vols. in 5 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968–71), 3:33–437. On the City of Rome's hostility to the Germans, see Brezzi, *Roma e l'Impero medioevale*, 130, 132, 133, 138, 145, 148, 155–56, 175–77, 196, and 203. Benedict of Sant'Andrea, *Chronicon*, 162, 177, and 186, compares Bavarians to Saracens.

46. On the Greek monastic presence in Rome, see Anton Michel, "Die griechischen Klostersiedlungen zu Rom bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952): 32–45; and Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, Studi di Antichità cristiana pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana 23 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1957), 449. Greek influence is described in Hamilton, "The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century," *Orientalia Periodica Christiana* 27 (1961): 5–26; Patricia M. McNulty and Hamilton, "Orientale Lumen et Magistra Latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963: Études et mélanges*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne/Venice: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1963–64), 1:184–90; and "The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance in Tenth-Century Rome," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 2 (1965): 265–310—all three reprinted with the same pagination in Hamilton's *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades*. The links between the Crescenzi and the Greeks are sketched in Brezzi, *Roma e l'Impero medioevale*, 131, 132, and 167; and in Zimmermann, "Parteiungen und Paptswahlen in Rom," 78–80, reprinted in *Otto der Grosse*, 406–7. The relationship between the counts of Tuscolo and Grottaferrata is briefly described in Brezzi, "Aspetti dell vita politica e religiosa di Roma tra la fine del sec. X e la prima metà del sec. XI," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 9 (1955), 115–26. On Byzantine features of Grottaferrata's architecture, see Luigi Devoti, "L'Abbazia di Grottaferrata dalla fondazione alle fine del medioevo," in *Tra le Abbazie del Lazio*, ed. Renato Lefevre (Rome: Gruppo Culturale di Roma e del Lazio, 1987), published as a special issue of *Lunario Romano* 17 (1988): 127–43.

47. General surveys of the expansion of Italo-Greek monasticism include G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60): 89–173; Silvano Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici in Napoli, 1963), 37–76; and McNulty and Hamilton, "Orientale Lumen," 181–90, 196–206. On some particular aspects, see Francesco Russo, "La 'peregrinatio' dei santi italo-greci nelle tombe degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 22 (1968): 89–99;

bordered Rome's, still bore the Byzantine title of "hypatos" ("consul").<sup>48</sup> Naples was a bilingual city, an active center of Greek/Latin translation between 875 and 975.<sup>49</sup> The Lombard princes had protected their jealously guarded political independence from the Franks by forging cultural and political links with the Byzantines.<sup>50</sup> The Greek emperor held the south more tightly than the German emperor held the north; during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries he was expanding his territories at the expense of the Lombard princes, even making serious plans for the reconquest of Muslim Sicily.<sup>51</sup> The wealth he needed to support such projects came in part from Southern Italy's silk industry.<sup>52</sup> Yet he was hated at least as much as his western colleague. He faced not only jealousy, xenophobia, and religious suspicion, but also general hostility to all centralized political authority—Western or Eastern. Regionalism had triumphed.

In theory, the bishops of Rome could have provided overlordship. But first they had to establish an independent position against the major secular authorities. The hostility between the Crescenzi and the German emperors resulted in violence, bloodshed, and the imposition of bishops from

Enrica Follieri, "Il culto dei santi nell'Italia greca," *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, 3 vols., Italia Sacra 20–22 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1969), 2: 553–57; and Annabel Jane Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery: A Comparative Study of Four Provinces* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 127–60.

48. Patricia Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

49. Bibliography on the Greek element in Neapolitan life can be accessed through François Dolbeau, "Le rôle des interprètes dans les traductions hagiographiques d'Italie du sud," *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge: Actes du Colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, les 26–28 mai 1986*, ed. Geneviève Contamine (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989), 145–68, esp. 145–46; and Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, 2: 339–47. For the larger context of this activity, see Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1980), esp. 204–7, 252–55.

50. On the relationship between the princes of Salerno and Byzantium, see Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale*, 2 vols., Collection de l'École française de Rome 152 (Rome: École française, 1991), 1: 183–87 and 221–26.

51. Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 90 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, Éditeur, 1904), 229–429. For proposed Sicilian campaigns, see the *Annales Barenses* for 1027, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 5: 53; and the accounts of the expedition of 1038–40 cited in Wolf, *Making History*, 12–13. Yet weaknesses existed in southern Italian Byzantine government, intensifying in the early eleventh century, which are treated in France, "The Occasion of the Coming of the Normans to Southern Italy," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 185–205.

52. André Gillou, "Production and Profits in the Byzantine Province of Italy (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries): An Expanding Society," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 89–109; "La soie du Katépanat d'Italie," *Recherches sur le XIe siècle*, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de byzance, travaux et mémoires 6 (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1976), 69–84.

abroad, including Gregory V (996–99) and Sylvester II (999–1003), the first German and French popes. The Crescenzi appeared to triumph when Otto III and Sylvester II died within a year of each other, but then their own faction fell victim to the same fate in 1012 when their patrician and pope both died in the same week. The Tuscolan counts seized the city.

Historians have long accepted Ferdinand Gregorovius's characterization of the Tuscolaners as "diese wilden Barone," but a more favorable picture is beginning to emerge. Benedict VIII (1012–24), a son installed by the family patriarch, was a great success. He coopted potential opposition by working closely with the German emperor (he even made an archbishop of Cologne Rome's honorary "Bibliothecarius") and with the deposed Crescenzi faction (he kept members as rector of the Sabina and count of Campania). He supported moderate reforms, consistently strengthened papal authority in southern Italy, and increased Rome's international activity. After his death, his office was inherited by his brother, John XIX (1024–32). The dynasty only faltered when the papal crown was handed down to a miscast nephew, Benedict IX (1032–44, 1045, 1047–48). Although historians normally begin the story of papal reform with the reign of Leo IX (1049–1054), he was greatly indebted to the Tuscolaners, who kept the emperors at a distance and established precedents for an active, reforming, independent papacy.<sup>53</sup>

Much of the dynamism of the Italian Church was found at a level below the papacy and the great abbeys. Aristocrats were building private monasteries in record numbers.<sup>54</sup> Crowds of hermits were reappearing throughout Italy. Perhaps there had always been hermits living anony-

53. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen, 1869–74), 4:11. For current interpretations, see Toubert, *Structures*, 2:1015–38 and 1226; and Klaus-Jürgen Herrmann, *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012–1046): Benedikt VIII., Johannes XIX., Benedikt IX*, *Päpste und Papsttum* 4 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1973), who offers a narrative treatment (1–24) and an evaluation of Tuscolaner importance (166–78). Cowdrey, *Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 36–43, stresses their role in promoting Cluniac monasticism. Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum*, 52–56, 78–87, 115–19, examines their reform councils. G. A. Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua, 1058–1197* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 10–11, argues that the Tuscolaners often handled local administration better than the popes of the Gregorian Reform. Although Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 159 and 163–64, invokes various *argumenta ex silentio* against this more positive appraisal of the Tuscolaners, he does not convincingly undermine it.

54. The wave of private monastic foundations that swept Italy around the year 1000 has been especially well studied for Tuscany. See Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana*, 47–73; Wilhelm Kurze, "Adel und Klöster im frühmittelalterlichen Tuszien," *QFLAB* 52 (1972): 90–115, invoking themes he takes up again in "Nobilità toscana e nobilità aretina," *I Ceti dirigenti. Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Convegno*, 257–65, and in "Monasterium Erfonis, I primi tre secoli di storia del monastero e la loro tradizione documentaria," 950<sup>o</sup> [anno] *della consecrazione della nuova chiesa dell'Ab-*

mously during the hagiographical dark ages that lie between the *Dialogues* of Gregory I (d. 604) and its eleventh-century imitation, the *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino (1058–87).<sup>55</sup> Yet most scholars believe that radical asceticism at least revived during the eleventh century. Various theories attempt to explain why. One links the rise of hermitism to the prestigious example of the Italo-Greek monks, a group whose continuous eremitical tradition is well documented and whose prominence in Rome was greatest in the late tenth century.<sup>56</sup> Another credits Romuald of Ravenna (d. ca. 1027), an organizer driven “to turn the whole world into a hermitage,”<sup>57</sup> although to attribute the revival of hermitism to him alone necessarily oversimplifies, since he was part of a tradition manifesting itself independently in many areas.<sup>58</sup> Some scholars suggest the influence of the

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*bazia di San Salvatore al Monte Amiata, 1035–1985* (Rieti: Monaci Cistercensi dell’Abbazia di San Salvatore, 1986), 27 [studies presented in Italian, in *Monasteri e nobiltà nel senese e nella toscana medievale: Studi diplomatici, archeologici, genealogici, giuridici e sociali* (Siena: Ente provinciale per il turismo di Siena, 1989), 155–64, 295–318, and 357–74]; Werner Goetz, “Reformpapstum, Adel und monastische Erneuerung in der Toscana,” *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, Vorträge und Forschungen Herausgegeben von Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte 17 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1973), 211–16; and Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, 185–94. For Europe in general, see Howe, “The Nobility’s Reform,” 321–24.

55. The frequency of hermits at each end of the centuries that span the period from the close of late antiquity to the eleventh century revival of communal life is obvious from a cursory reading of Gregory I, *Dialog.* and of Desiderius, *Dialogi de Miraculis Sancti Benedicti* xxii, ed. Gerhard Schwartz and Adolf Hofmeister, in MGH SS 30(2): 1111–51.

56. Enrico Morini, in “Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell’Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977): 354–90, analyzes the monastic and eremitical lifestyles of Italo-Greek saints. On their possible role in the eleventh-century Western revival of hermitism, see Howe, “Greek Influence on the Eleventh-Century Western Revival of Hermitism,” 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1979, esp. 1:2–9; 2:365–69; and Pasquale Corsi, “Studi recenti sul monachesimo italo-greco,” *Quaderni medievali* 8 (1979): 244–61. The evidence is greater than indicated in Derek Baker, “‘The Whole World a Hermitage’: Ascetic Renewal and the Crisis of Western Monasticism,” in *Medieval Church and Society: Studies for Denis Bethell*, ed. Marc A. Meyer (London: Hambleton Press, 1993), 207–23.

57. The quotation is taken from Peter Damian’s *Vita Romualdi* xxxvii, ed. Giovanni Tabacco, *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, FSI 94 (Rome: ISIME, 1957), 78. Romualdian hermitism is competently surveyed, and the relevant literature invoked, in Christian Lohmer, *Heremi Conversatio: Studien zu den monastischen Vorschriften des Petrus Damiani*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums 39 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), 1–35. On the alleged primacy of this Romualdian tradition, see Tabacco, “Romualdo di Ravenna e gli inizi dell’eremitismo camaldolese,” in *L’Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII: Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 30 agosto–6 settembre 1962*, Pubblicazioni dell’Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi ser. 3, var. 4; Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 4 (Milan: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1965), 73–121, esp. 95–96, 100–103; Penco, *Storia del Monachesimo in Italia*, 197–204; and Baker, “‘Whole World a Hermitage,’” 207–8, 216–20.

58. Romuald was only one of many contemporary hermits. He himself began life in the desert as a pupil of the uneducated Venetian hermit Marinus (Damian, *Vita Romualdi* iv, 20–

ascetic side of Cluniac spirituality, with which Romuald himself had some connections.<sup>59</sup>

Whatever the reason, hermits were becoming more visible in the first half of the eleventh century. The best known illustration is the career of the Ravenna scholar Peter Damian, who had joined a Romualdian community in the 1030s, had begun to identify himself as the "ultimus heremitarum servus" by at least 1043, and had become a leader of the papal *curia* by 1057.<sup>60</sup> Dominic of Sora's career is an early manifestation of this wider movement.

21). Pietro Palazzini, "Fonte Avellana e Pier Damiani," in *Le Abbazie delle Marche: Storia e Arte. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Macerata, 3-5 aprile 1990*, ed. Emma Simi Varanelli, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata 66, Sezione "Atti di Convegni" 20 (Cesena: Badia di S. Maria del Monte, 1992), 127-58, esp. 150, treats the Fonte Avellana community that Peter Damian joined as a pre-Romualdian milieu. The monastery of Chiusa in the Alpine Valley of Susa seems to have originated out of late tenth-century hermitism, although its hagiographic records present problems surveyed in Giuseppe Sergi, "Culto locale e pellegrinaggio europeo: Un'interferenza nel medioevo piemontese," *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990), 6-73. On Bononius of Lucedio (d. 1026), trained as a hermit near Mount Sinai, see Patrizia Cancian, *L'Abbazia di S. Genuario di Lucedio e le sue pergamene*, Deputazione subalpina di storia patria Biblioteca storica subalpina 93 (Torino: Palazzo Carignano, 1975), 20-21. For hints of a Tuscan pre-Romualdian eremitical tradition, see Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana*, 61-64; and, more generally, his "Storia Religiosa," 470-75. On Aldemarius of Monte Cassino (d. early eleventh century), see Laurent Feller, "Pouvoir et société dans les Abruzzes autour de l'an mil: Aristocratie, incastellamento, appropriation des justices (960-1035)," *Bullettino dell'ISIME e Archivio Muratoriano* 94 (1988): 11-25, and "L' 'Incastellamento' inachevé des Abruzzes," *Archeologia medievale* 16 (1989): 133-35. On Adalbertus of Casauria (d. post 1047), see Renato Aprile, "Adalberto, monaco di Casauria," in *BS*, 1:180-81. Dominic of Sora, almost an exact contemporary of Romuald, obviously belongs on this list. Other examples are noted in Penco, "Eremitismo irregolare," 201-21. Romuald is better understood not as the cause of the new eremitical enthusiasm but as one of its most conspicuous symptoms.

59. Kassius Hallinger, "Progressi e problemi della ricerca sulla riforma pre-Gregoriana," *Il Monachesimo dell'alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale*, 8-14 1956, Settimane di studio 4 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1957), 268; Tabacco, "Romualdo di Ravenna," 104-6, 111-12; Federico Farina and Benedetto Fornari, *Storia e documenti dell'Abbazia di Casamari*, 1036-1152 (Casamari: Edizioni Casamari, 1983), 4.

60. Quotation from Peter Damian, *Epistula* 3 (old numbering III ii), 1:106.