Crossroads of Latin and Greek Christians in Norman Italy

Oliver Gerlach

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Byzantine Italy and Reciprocal Influences between Greek and Latin Chant (11th-13th Century)

Abstract

Latin traditions in southern Italy, especially Beneventan and Norman chant traditions, followed in chant as well as in architecture Byzantine prototypes. Although the historical imagination of the Orthodox Archdiocese Italy and Malta associates the Norman conquest of Byzantine Apulia with the expulsion of Greek traditions, Greek monastic centres were established under Norman rule and Franconorman patrons founded and supported also Greek monasteries, while the process of Latinization continued very slowly.

Though the relationship between Greek and Latin Christians was ambiguous and complex, the richness of local traditions in southern Italy is the result of a long period of exchange. In a comparative study I would like to give some examples of chant and sacral architecture, which may illustrate, how the different traditions could flourish by an exchange in craftship, in science, and in the art of chant.

The main subject of this essay is the conversion of Bari from a Greek into a Latin centre of Christianity. This town located in central Apulia, played a central role in the medieval history of southern Italy, because it was the capital of the Byzantine catepanate which ruled over the two, originally three Byzantine provinces (*themata*) including Calabria, Basilicata and Campania. After the Norman conquest of the catepanate Bari could still hold a key position, the reliquaries of S. Nicola were transferred from Myra in Lycia and turned the capital of Byzantine Italy into a centre of Eastern and Western pilgrimage.

It was during a conference about the medieval Italo-Byzantine tradition held at Grottaferrata in autumn 2010, when Christian Troelsgård had given a paper about a kalophonic composition made up of an *akrostichon* dedicated to S. Nicola.[1] I simply asked myself how and where exactly these *akrosticha*

[1] *Akrosticha* are several strophes in the meter of the heirmologic *odes* of the *canon* which are composed over a melody of the *heirmologion* and collected in a second book without

could have been performed in Bari. This essay is a first trial to enter this "terra incognita" and, while I am entering it, I would like to start from my own visit of the town some weeks before the symposium was held in Salonica.

It was during the patronal feast of S. Nicola, the *translatio Sancti Nicolai* of 7 May, when I saw falcons as the attribute connected with Federico Secondo around the fortress of the town, which was built during his time. Some pilgrims from Abruzzo were so kind as to show me the room that Bari offers to their community, when they go there on pilgrimage once a year. They need about one week to reach Bari on foot, and the leader of the group is a man about 80 years old. During the procession into the Basilica S. Nicola he led the group with the traditional banner of his community. Its procession had a station before the statue of S. Nicola, where the pilgrims sang the traditional hymn in honour of S. Nicola, then the choir screen was opened for this privileged community, so that it could take place in the right choir chairs (fig. 1).

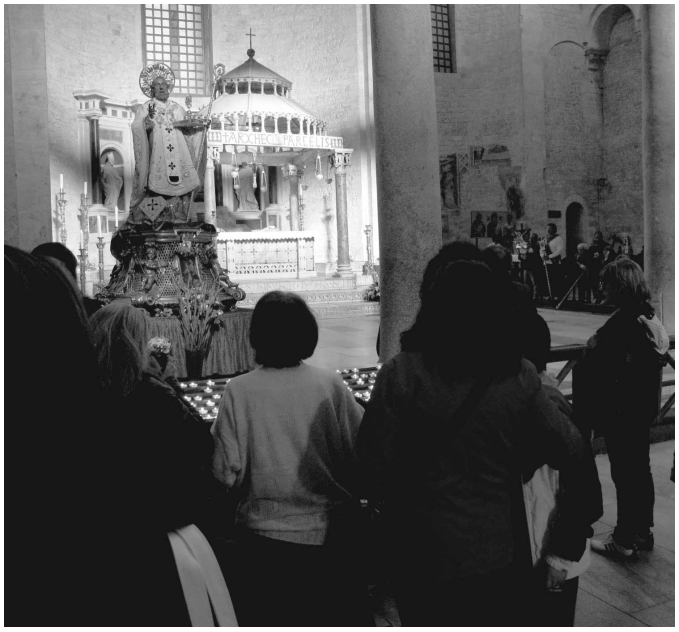

Figure 1: Singing before the Statue of S. Nicola in the Basilica di S. Nicola

Small communities like S. Salvo are the soul of the cult around S. Nicola and there are several rural communities between Abbruzzo, Campania, Apulia and Basilicata—as well those of the Arbëreshe, Orthodox communities which exist within the catholic church administrated by three so called "Archdioceses of the Byzantine Rite" in Italy.

After I had left the Basilica di S. Nicola, I was immediately reminded

musical notation called *mēnaion*. The *kalophonic* ("embellished") melos is a melismatic elaboration of the traditional melodic model or *heirmos*.

of the fact, that Bari as a centre of this cult is as well a highly ideological matter. We were interrupted by a loud noise, which came from the car park before the church full of TV equipment. It was just a sound check to prepare the dramatic final moment, when the procession would have reached its final destination, during the night. And all this technical equipment was needed to underline it with artificial effects, as in a patriotic air force parade, stage fog, a light show projected on the West façade, and a hyperpathetic soundtrack. It is possibly not really necessary, but it is a clear statement of the economic and secular aspect of any pilgrimage.

Despite its appearance does not seem to be very authentic, the ideological turn came already with the reliquaries in 1087, and since their arrival there was a struggle between two parties for more than 2 years. Bari, a mercantile port town, had to be turned from the capital and centre of the whole Byzantine Italy into an economically prospering "second Myra", and it was probably not a coincidence that these plans and ambitions had developed in a time, while French aristocrats, who were present in Norman Italy, had realized their dreams to re-establish Santiago de Compostela as a Western Jerusalem.[2] Bari as well as Venice looked for the reliquaries of St. Nicolas of Myra in order to become an important station for European pilgrims on their way from Jerusalem at Easter to the feast of Sant Iago on 25 July. And Venice as well as Bari had good chances to unify Western and Eastern Christianity. The reason why a lot of historians today believe that the Byzantines simply adopted the local Latin rite, are mainly two:

1. Unlike Rome Byzantium respected the local habits of the Latin rite in Southern Italy and never had ambitions to reform them.[3] Probably Byzantine authorities even identified with certain habits derived from

[2]The necrophile and economic desire to break and open the grave of the local saint and Archbishop Nicola in the cathedral of Myra and to steal the left bones as reliquiaries had been developed among Venetiana and Barese merchants and mariners in 1087, according to *Translationes Sancti Nicolai* of the Lycean churchman Nikephoros the Barese mariners met a Venetian ship in the port of Antioch which came for exactly the same reason (Falkenhausen, 1986, note 12; p. 211, note 126).

[3]I have to admit that the interventions in Constantinople during the 1050s are an exception, when the Latin churches were closed because of their habit to use unleavened bread for consecration. But it was just an extension of a coloniastic attitude that some Greek and Slavic theologues had shown in front of the recently conquested Armenian provinces, and the criticism of this habit was connected with a dogmatic campaign against monophysitism. The motivation to extend this campaign against Latin Christians was that Patriarch Keroularios was not willing to accept compromises which were proposed by Pope Leo IX and by the Emperor Constantine IX, and that he abused the monophysitism controversy in front of the Latin Catepano Argyrios, when he refused to offer him communion. But his provocations could hardly be called a "reform", while it was evident that Leo IX and his successors tried to re-establish the Roman administration of South-Italian church provinces which included also a control over the celebration of the Latin and finally the Byzantine Rite. For an introduction into the conflict and its numerous historical interpretations, see Bayer (2004).

the time of the Ravenna exarchate as Latin cantores in Southern Italy usually did.

2. It is not easy to find some traces of Bari's Byzantine history which makes it very hard to answer my simple question.[4] Nevertheless the assumption that the capital of the *catepanate Italy* and of the *thema Longobardias*, which had existed for about a hundred years (at least between 969 and 1071, the *thema* since the administrative reform of 892), had never represented its own culture and power in certain celebrations, the very particular one in Italy which had little in common with Constantinople, as well as a rather representative one like the cathedral rite of the Hagia Sophia which imitates the sacral and liturgical representation of the Byzantine court, seems to me hardly plausible.

The former reason found some evidence, because Guglielmo Cavallo described the inventary of S. Maria Nea e dei SS. Giovanni Battista e Giovanni Evangelista, a Greek monastery near Bari which was founded by the Catepano Pothos Argyros in 1032, and mentioned 10 manuscripts written in Turri—including a liturgical roll, which could well have been an *Exultet roll* or *Benedizionale* of the local Bari type:

> un evangelario, un apostolos, un meneo, un salterio, un sticherario, un anastasimatario, un ottoëco, un eucologio, ed ancora un codice di contenuto biblico ed un rotolo liturgico non più specificamente indicati [...][5]

The latter reason proves how complete the conversion of Byzantine Bari into a centre of pilgrimage for S. Nicola defined by the Roman church was—and not despite, but because of its efforts to intermediate in the conflicts between Eastern and Western Christianity. The question which I will try to answer in this essay, is how this could be done so successfully.

0.1 How to Convert the Memorial Map of Byzantine Bari

It was Mary Carruthers who pointed out that this ideological work was part of the *ars rhetorica* and especially clerics were recognized for this *métier* during the Middle Ages. Concerning the conversion of Antioch from a Hellenic into a Christian town, she has given us the example of John Chrysostom and analysed his technique:

[4] Liturgical sources with musical notation have been slowly developed between the 10th and 12th centuries. This might be the reason why the most representative sources date to the Norman period as those without musical notation which document the activities of Greek scriptories in Apulia.

[5] Cavallo (1983, 107).

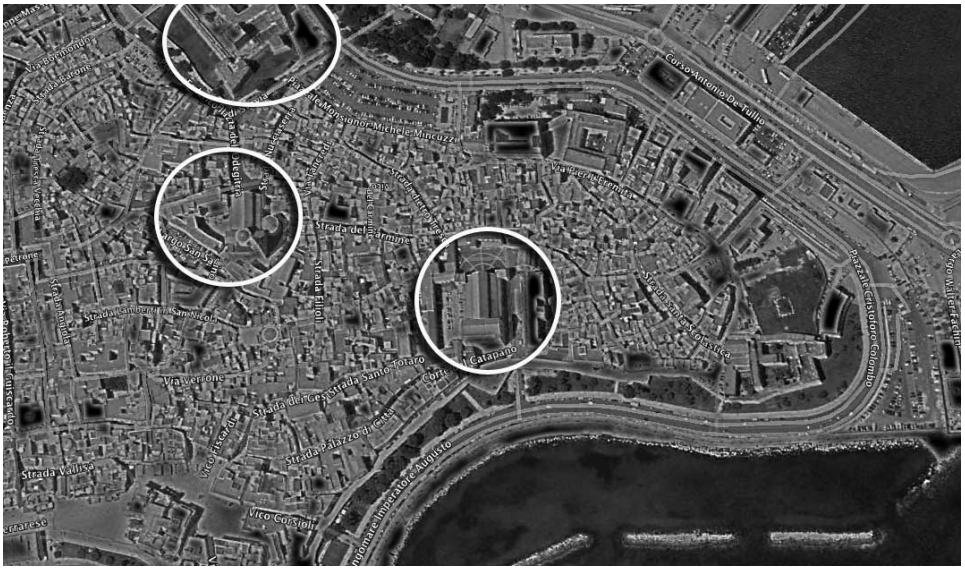

Figure 2: Three Marks in the Historical Centre of Bari

> The battle of processions that is such a feature of Chrysostom's story is a case in point. "Crowding" was a well-recognized principle of "forgetting". Too many images overlapping one another in a given location, images that are too much alike, will confuse and even cancel one another out.[6]

His strategy was to redefine the same memorial places which made up the orientation of the mind within the urban structure, so that it could represent something new, while they did not stop to mean something entirely different—another meaning or reference which already existed before. John Chrysostom learnt this technique so well from his rhetoric teacher Libanius, that he became one of the great disappointments in his teacher's life:

> When this sophist was on his death-bed he was asked by his friends who should take his place. "It would have been John," replied he, "had not the Christians taken him from us."[7]

Exactly the same technique of overlapping images, of "crowding", of constructing the collective "forgetting" can be studied in Bari. The historic centre has a few markant places which will be arranged in the map of the human mind, if it tries to find its way through the town. The Byzantine does not simply disappear, it is commemorated in the name of the streets,

[6] Carruthers (1998, 54-55).

[7] Sozomen (1886, book VIII, chap. ii, p. 399), available at http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf202.iii.xiii.ii.html (accessed 19 August 2011).

but what we will find in these places, is something different, which turns the Byzantine into something else—by a contest of stories in which the Byzantine one plays a prominent part. Without any doubt medieval Bari today displays the Norman version of these stories (fig. 2).

Figure 3: Basilica di S. Nicola in Bari—the Model of Apulian Romanesque Churches

There are mainly three places which strike the mind of somebody who passes through the town: the Basilica and convent of S. Nicola from the coast line, the citadel on the West side, and between both, right in the centre of the old town, the town cathedral and convent S. Sabino. The two latter are later buildings. The cathedral was rebuilt after its destruction since the mid of the 12th century, and the long period of construction in a characteristic style created during the reign of the Norman King Roger II finally finished before its inauguration in 1292. The citadel was as well expanded during the 13th century in the Swabian age on the foundations of the former Norman fortress. The Basilica di S. Nicola was exclusively designed for the reliquaries

of S. Nicola and it became the prototype for various cathedrals in other towns of the region, often dedicated to the same patron (fig. 3).

There are probably only very few European towns, which had so often changed into something else—their colour, their religion and their administration and government—as Bari. In the earlier centuries it was turned into the residence of a Beneventan Gastaldato, into a Maghrebine Emirate, then into the capital of a Byzantine "thema Longabardias" (θέμα τῆς Λογγοβαρδίας), and finally also the capital of the "catepanate Italy" administrating still two themata: "Longobardia" with the capital Bari (Βαρύς) which later had grown by some Lucanian regions, and "Kalavria" governed by Reggio ('Ρήγιον).

But never it was to change in such a radical way than under the Normans—on the one hand, it was the result of the deal that the Normans did with Roman reform papacy (it obliged them to support their reforms), on the other hand, they were influenced by a certain eclectic open-mindedness. They were especially interested in the imitation of Byzantine and Arab culture, as it had established during a contest between Kairo and Bagdad in the caliphate of the Eastern Mediterranean and Córdoba in Spanish Andalusia and its Maghrebine provinces during the 11th century, when Norman invasions moved towards Sicily and Northern Africa, and soon after towards Byzantium and Antioch.

This is the reason why the reduction of "Beneventan neumes" into a medium of written transmission according to a Roman "Neo-Gregorian reform", despite the fact that manuscripts can be found on both sides of the Adriatic sea (the territory of Slavic, Beneventan and Ravenna chant), is hardly convincing. But there was obviously a rich exchange with Greek culture since the Antiquity, and in spite of the isolated and rural form of Byzantine monasticism—eremitic and anchorite traditions, usually of Sicilian or Calabrian origin—and its unrepresentative ceremonies (from a secular point of view) and its untouchable asceticism (from an administrative point of view), the manuscript sources indicate a turn towards Constantinople and its representative liturgy under the Norman rule. The change of Byzantine monasticism came under Norman rule, but not earlier than after the Norman conquest of the Byzantine catepanate, when Franconorman notables and Greek officers founded new Greek monasteries and the Norman Kings of Sicily established *archimandritates* following the example SS. Salvatore di Messina in 1133, which had to supervise the smaller *metochia*.[8] This control had never existed under Byzantine rule.

According to the local archeologist Nino Lavermicocca, who has published 3 books about "Byzantine Bari", the period of "the decline" of the

[8]The *typikon* of SS. Salvatore di Messina became the model for other *archimandritates* in Calabria and Apulia (Luke of Messina, 2000). Horst Enzensberger and Vera von Falkenhausen found testimonies of the conflicts, which existed between the (Arch)Diocese and the Archimandritate (Enzensberger, 2000a).

Byzantine Bari lays between 1071, that is the end of the *catepanate* after the Norman conquest of the town, which was followed by other invasions including a crusade to Constantinople and by the transfer of Nicolas' reliquaries from the Lycaen town Myra to Bari in 1087, and the reconstruction of the cathedral S. Sabino in 1156, after the Byzantine town and its cathedral had been completely destroyed by order of William I.[9] These are the same coordinates, as we can see them in figure 2, but we regard them now as coordinates in time, not in space—as stations which correspond to a long term process of "Latinization" in Norman Italy.[10]

0.1.1 Bari as "Res Publica Sancti Nicolai"

Concerning Bari it was Abbot Elia who followed into the footsteps of John Chrysostom, because the place of the two churches as we find them in Bari today, were something completely different in the medieval Bari after the Norman conquest of the catepanate in 1071: the palace and court of the catepano and the newly built archiepiscopal cathedral.

A similar struggle as between Libanius and his gifted student John broke out between the Archbishop Ursone who was rather interested in the residence of Canosa than in Bari, and the Barese population who had a particular—also economical—interest in turning their hometown into an Italian Myra, and they wanted nothing less than a sanctuary on exactly the place where the Byzantine Palace still was. For diplomatic reasons, Archbishop Ursone was against these plans.[11] The Abbot Elia of the Abbazia S. Benedetto di Bari who was educated in the Abbazia S. Benedetto di Montecassino, offered that the reliquaries of S. Nicola could be deposed in his Abbey, before being taken to its final destination. He waited about two

[9]The three coordinates, the Basilica, the cathedral, and the citadel, divide the "end of the Byzantine history" of this town: the end of the *catepanate* (1071), the "decline", and a "post Byzantine period" which proved, how present Byzantine culture still was during the Staufen dynasty (Lavermicocca, 2003, 2010a,b).

[10]There is a lot of literature dedicated to this topic whose authors often had come to quite different conclusions. But in summary of the recent research, there is a consense that the Norman conquest of Byzantine Italy caused a slow process of Latinization, because Norman dukes accepted the claim of papal primacy, and accepted to be papal vassals charged with the conquest of Arab Sicily. The contemporary reform was continued by several Popes during the century, and aimed to re-establish the administration of the church provinces in Southern Italy, as well as the establishment of an administration of Sicilian Christians who were still in a large majority Greek, when Franconorman noblemen ruled as Kings in Sicily. Nevertheless Franconorman dynasties patronized and founded not only Latin, but also Greek monasteries and organized a hierarchical self-administration among the Greek monasteries—a control which had never existed during the time of the catepanate and which established monastic centres with a much more representative and secular liturgy (Enzensberger, 2000b; Falkenhausen, 1977; Loud, 2007).

[11]The archdiocese Canosa-Bari was originally created by the patriarchate in a kind of contest between the Roman and Constantinopolitan church administration, the papal confirmation in 1025 needed nearly 50 years (Falkenhausen, 2007; Kamp, 1977).

years until Ursone died in February 1089, then he became elected by the local clergy of the archdiocese as the new Archbishop and Rector.[12]

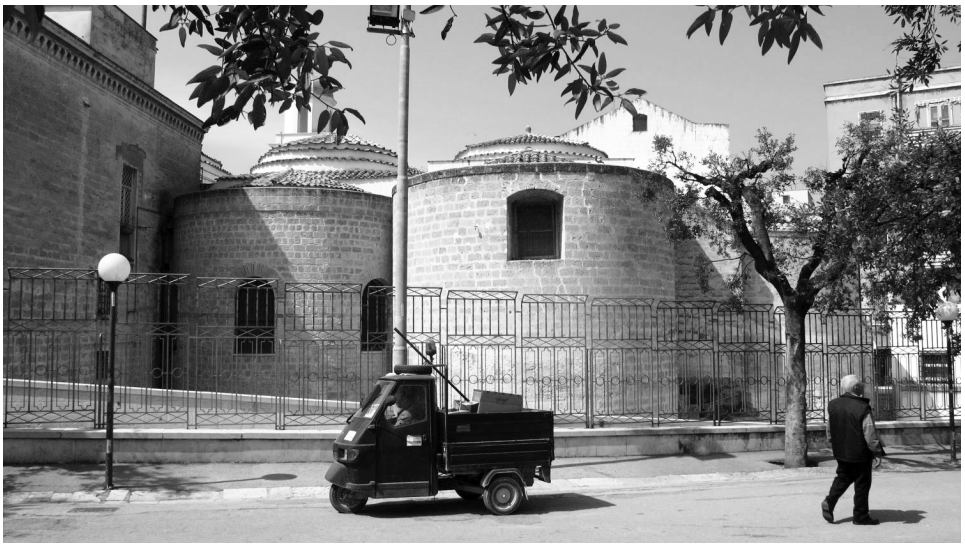

Figure 4: Basilica di S. Sabino in Canosa—
the original Crypta for the Reliquaries of Bishop Sabino

In autumn he used the opportunity to be confirmed as Archbishop of Bari-Canosa and Rector of the new constructed Basilica di S. Nicola by Pope Urban II. During the Synode of Melfi, held on 30 September, he was still treated as "elect".[13] Pope Urban II came to inaugurate the Basilica by a first procession and translation of the reliquaries on 1 October, in the presence of the Norman Dukes Bohemond and Roger I. On 5 October he changed the title of the Archdiocese in favour of Bari. With this legislative statute Elia had by chance prepared a second conversion: that of the Byzantine cathedral which was dedicated to the "Odegitria" (Ὁδηγήτρια), named after a popular iconic tradition of the *Theotokos* (the Mother of God "who shows the good path"), into a second mausoleum besides S. Nicola dedicated to the episcopal Patron S. Sabino.[14] The reliquaries of S. Sabino, once Bishop of Canosa, which were brought to Bari by the Canosian Bishop Angelarius during the 9th century, after Saracenes had destroyed the church, had been rediscovered

[12]Herbert Houben once characterized Elia as a figure who intermediated between the Barese notables and their "unpopular" Archbishop Ursone (Houben, 1999, 96). In my opinion this was not at all a question of Ursone's or Elia's Barese or non-Barese origin or their "popularity", it was a clear conflict of interest between the merchants of Bari and their Archbishop.

[13]According to Herbert Houben the concentration of power by the double charge of Archbishop and Rector was prohibited by the law soon after Elia (Houben, 1999, 102).

[14]While episcopal churches were dedicated to the virgin Mary, the dedication to Hodegetria included within the Byzantine tradition a certain distance to Constantinople during the crisis of iconoclasm in favour of Antioch (Bacci, 2005, 322).

in the crypta of Bari cathedral in 1091, which became now dedicated to this local saint and patron of Canosa. As a long term project Archbishop Elia and Pope Urban II already fixed the date for the Council of Bari in order to discuss the differences between Western (Roman) and Eastern (Byzantine) Christians in 1098, as they have been raised since the Ottonic times (the 980s) and during the East West Schism in 1054.[15] The technique of memorizing and "forgetting" the Byzantine past is worth studying in detail. Although the Court of the Catepane had to make place for the new Basilica, the alley between the town wall and the Basilica is still named today "Corte del Catapano". But it is hardly believable that the architectonic arrangement of the Basilica's East façade has any relation to some ruins of the Byzantine Palace, whereas it was rather a kind of reference to something absent (fig. 5).

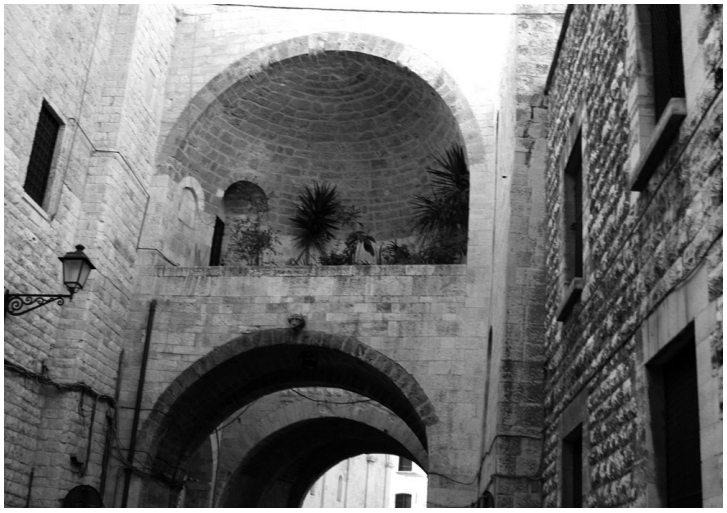

Figure 5: Via Corte del Catapano

[15]It was Benjamin Pohl—in the publication of his paper given at the conference "Byzanz in Europa" (Greifswald)—who pointed out, that the later synode in Bari was even less mediative, but rather confirming the disagreements concerning the Pope's insistence on his primacy granted by the Normans—again motivated by more recent Norman conquests during the crusades (Pohl, 2011). In my opinion there were not only the Normans who risked their diplomatic relationship with Byzantium, but it was as well Elia who pretended to be engaged for a better relationship between "Christians of the Greek" and "of the Latin Rite". Since Mary Carruthers' analysis of John Chrysostom's rhetoric capability, we might also assume that he understood very well what he was doing: he was not so inexperienced as to censor or to suppress Byzantine culture, he simply added another meaning to the Byzantine monuments, so that they changed their former meaning entirely. At the end Bari was no longer perceived as the capital of the catepanate. This was also the philosophy of the Bari synode which should again establish Bari as mediator between the Western and the Eastern world. Instead of emphasizing the cultural diversity which always respects the other culture in its way of being different, the differences had to be neglected. He simply aimed to fade out the history of Byzantine Italy in one of its most prominent places.

Why did Elia try so carefully to memorize the Byzantine monument which he made disappear so actively?

As an educated master in rhetorics, he knew very well that a repression of the Byzantine history would have reactivated the memory of the catepanate and provoked resistence among Bari's Greek community. Like John Chrysostom who referred to the memory of pagan Antioch and to his teacher's speeches about it, Elia never failed to refer to Byzantine Italy—not only for diplomatic, but rather for ideological reasons. Nevertheless he took advantage of the reliquaries in order to redefine the town according to the contemporary crusades—as an important station for pilgrims between Jerusalem and Santiago di Compostela, and S. Nicola was the right saint to refer to the Greek tradition present in Palestine and Capadocia as the origin of Christianity.

0.1.2 The Norman Cathedral

Figure 6: The Norman Cathedral S. Sabino of Bari

The dedication of the new archepiscopal cathedral to the "Mother of God" (*Hodegetria*) was done by Archbishop Nicola who followed Bisanzio after his election in 1035, the former episcopal one was destroyed one year ago in order to construct a larger building in its place. As a cleric loyal to the Byzantine authorities he mediated between Patriarch Michaēl Keroularios and Umberto da Silva Candida, the Bishop of Trani between 1053 and 1054, when the dogmatic Azymon debate escalated into a diplomatic conflict.

Elia tried to walk into Nicola's footsteps. After the first crusade had passed Constantinople between 1096 and 1097, the mission of a reunification might have failed during the Bari synode of 1098, because Pope Urban II did not change anything concerning the Roman claim of papal primacy, he simply followed his predecessors.[16] Nevertheless Elia had converted Byzantine Bari into a second Myra—established and confirmed by the Pope, but carefully enough, that he never had to experience an upriot of the Greek population during his lifetime.

The final destruction of Byzantine Bari happened about the mid 12th century, when the Norman Kingdom of Sicily included Southern Italy (not only the former territory of the *catepanate*, but also the whole of Campania, Abbruzzo, and Sicily). In a certain way the history of the 1050es was repeated 100 years later: The Byzantine forces under command of Ioannis Doukas and Michaēl Palaiologos allied with Norman rebels (around Guglielmo's I cousin Roberto di Loritello) and conquested Trani, Bari, and Giovinazzo in the summer of 1155. Since September this rebellion against King William I was even supported by Pope Hadrian IV. Another upriot in Sicily (Butera) was abated in 1156, and after the reconquest of Brindisi in May, the whole town of Bari except of the Basilica was destroyed as a kind of revenge against the Byzantine Empire and against all who had dared to support it in Italy. Again the Pope tried to ally with the Byzantine Empire and Apulian mercenaries against the Normans, again the mercenaries were not reliable—or at least they tried to take economic advantage of the situation and escaped as it did not work out, and again the Normans had proved to be invincible or the alliance to be badly organized. While Elia had converted Byzantine Bari as a cleric, using the local interests for his personal career and his craft of thought and of historical imagination (not unlike Libanius' student the "golden mouth" John), King William I did it as a politician, using armed violence to destroy a whole town and to massacre partly its inhabitants—mainly the rebellious Norman population. The second place, the Byzantine cathedral, vanished with the old town, what was left was the Basilica di S. Nicola, which remained untouched, and the old bapistery and the sanctuary of the cathedral, where the reliquaries of S.

[16] According to Benjamin Pohl and Georg Gresser (2006, 322) the primacy claimed by the Reform Papacy caused the fundamental dissens between Greek and Latin Christians—especially in the context of the first crusade (Pohl, 2011).

Sabino were deposed. On its foundations another cathedral was constructed, in an architectonic style similar to Norman Palermo constructed under the rule of his father Roger II (fig. 6). Together with this cathedral medieval Bari was constructed—not unlike the one which we know today.

Figure 7: The Dome in the Roof Construction inside the Cathedral S. Sabino of Bari

The roof construction over the crossing is remarkable, it is like the dome of the Hagia Sophia as it became a model for Byzantine cathedrals as well as for mosques (see the combination of a three-naved Basilica and the oriental dome inside—fig. 7). William's father, King Roger II, in Palermo had a very strange attitude to Muslim culture. On the one hand, he liked to imitate Andalusian court culture as it had developed in Taifa kingdoms like Zaragoza, on the other hand, Muslim courtiers who usually came from the local population, were named after a weired combination: court titles of Latinized Arabic with a Latin name, as they had got it during a conversion ceremony. Roger II's concept of religious tolerance was quite unique, and often it did not really correspond to the enthusiastic ideas, which some Sephardic or Muslim travellers had about Norman Sicily, before they visited it. His son, William I, had the reputation of being more interested in court life than in politics, and that he had left the latter business mainly to a Barese Langob-

ard Maione di Bari, who had the Latinized title "Emir of Emirs" (*ammiratus ammiratorum*) and who had to execute very unpopular orders like the relocation of Latin Christians in Sicily.[17] It was mainly court rivalry between Maione and William's cousin Roberto which had caused Robert's rebellion against the King.

According to Nino Lavermicocca who published a third book with the subtitle "1156-1261 ; Bisanzio dopo Bisanzio" (Lavermicocca, 2010b), the period of Byzantine Bari was still not over after its urban architecture had disappeared. Despite the unlucky tasks of Byzantine *strategoi*, who tried to reconquer Byzantine Italy from the Normans, the Altavilla dynasty and other noblemen were still engaged in patronizing Greek monasteries. And it was during this post-Byzantine period, when a kalophonic composition about the *akrosticha* in honour of S. Nicola must have been performed. This poses questions concerning the liturgy celebrated in Norman churches, which nobody so far has tried to answer...[18]

0.2 Crossroads of Church Architecture in Norman Apulia

Especially for the later time—for the last two decades of the 13th century—enough Greek manuscripts written in Apulian scriptories have been conservated, to provide a basis for a stylistic analysis.[19] Hence, we must assume something very similar for Norman Italy to what is known about other parts of the Byzantine Empire, which were conquered by the Caliphate or later by Turkish Sultans. Despite the fact that a lot of Greeks left these conquered parts, Greek culture was still continued (often after a phase of decline) and this was quite often in the interest of the conquerors, because their interest in Greek culture was not in contradiction with their conquests, it was the real motivation to make them. For this reason the end of the Byzantine political and administrative presence should not be misunderstood as a decline

[17] During an upriot in Palermo Maione was killed in 1160.

[18] The only exception is Vera von Falkenhausen in her essay dedicated to Bari who believes that the cathedral and episcopal church always celebrated the Latin rite, while there was an earlier church S. Nicola de Monte, which was used by the Greek community since its foundation in 1026 until the final destruction of the Byzantine town in 1156 (Falkenhausen, 1986, 218, note 178). The presence of an earlier community dedicated to the patron St. Nicolas would raise the question, while the local merchants who stole the reliquaries from Nicolas' tomb in Myra, never thought about a sanctuary in this church and how it was related to the later Basilica during processions of patronal feasts. The author does not answer these questions.

[19] According to André Jacob these activities had been more oriented to rather representative Constantinopolitan trends as in earlier centuries, when Italo-Greek monasticism had still preserved a quite unique local tradition (Jacob, 1977). This is in particular true for manuscripts with music notation. Except for the early layer of ekphonetic neumes, a detailed music notation has been developed between the late 11th and the 13th century, so even the early Italian chant books of the Byzantine cathedral rite cannot be dated earlier than to the time, when it had already disappeared in Constantinople: after 1204, when the Court and Patriarchate had already gone into exile in Nikaia.

of its culture. The quality and uniqueness of the Apulian romanesque style is not based so much on the Norman tendency to eclecticism, but on the presence of capable Arab, Greek and Langobard craftmen who created together something new, which was never repeated in any other place or other period of Italian history. And this was even possible under the circumstance that vassal agreements with Rome were more concerned about the Eastern Christian religion than any Islamic caliphate, which usually did not regard its regulation as their business.

0.2.1 Ingenious Norman Elements

Despite the eclectic side, the imitation of Byzantine and Beneventan liturgies, the architecture of the Norman romanesque style has some very unique features which are very distinctive. Hence, they form an original style which has no precedents in Norman France.

One of these features are the *bestiaries*, as they appear both in sculpture and in the floor mosaics. It is evident that Mediterranean elements, such as Egyptian and Ancient Roman motives, reappear in the architecture of Norman Italy.

So we have sculptures of sphynxes in the Southern façade of the cathedral of Trani, which was constructed by the end of the 11th century (1099)—see fig. 8.

Figure 8: The Sphynx in the Southern Façade of the Trani Cathedral

As a sculpture the sphynx reappears not less surprising than in any sacral architecture of Norman Italy, though it was probably justified by the icono-

graphic convention of the evangelists. Also the Trani cathedral is located directly on the sea, which is typical for the Apulian romanesque style (fig. 9).

Figure 9: Cattedrale di S. Nicola Pellegrino at the coast of Trani

Another *bestiary* motive which is not as rare as the sphynx, are the two lions at the entrance, which can not only be found at the doors and on the rose windows of churches built during the Norman period, but also at the only entrance of Castel del Monte. The two lions usually have different faces. The difference between the lions around the side door of the Barese Basilica di S. Nicola is more evident in their legs than in their faces. In this early example we have nearly a symmetric construction. For reasons unknown to me, the rose window in the West front of the Barese cathedral has doubled the lion pair on the left and on the right (fig. 10).

In most medieval *bestiaries* the divine nature of the lion as a guard is given by its natural disposition not to close its eyes, while it is asleep. But the guarding function does not explain the antagonism, as it is usually expressed in the faces of the two lions which flanked a door or a rose window. The doubled lions around the rose window in the Norman cathedral of Bari have two male lions on the left and two female ones on the right. They could provide an explanation of the smiling and scary face, as they are opposed

Figure 10: Lions around the Rose Window of the Norman Cathedral in Bari

to each other. Since the "Etymologiae" of Isidore of Seville which contains a *bestiary* in the 12th book ("De Animalibus"), there is the concept that the cubs are born asleep and that they will sleep for three days until the tremendous howl of the father will wake them:

> Cum genuerint catulum tribus diebus et tribus noctibus catulus dormire fertur· tunc deinde patris fremitu vel rugitu veluti tremefactus cubilis locus· suscitare dicitur catulum dormientem·[20]

Later elaborations of this passage by Isidore of Seville—the "Physiologus" and illustrated "Bestiaria"—add a nourishing and protective mother nature to the initiating and threatening father nature. Although the father nature was identified in later allegoric interpretations with an almighty and illuminating God who awoke his son from the dead (*triduum paschalae*), the sculptures and mosaics in Norman cathedrals suggested a rather profane reading. Both natures in Norman architecture corresponded to a certain double role that Norman Kings—the lion always displayed both the celestial and the secular power—and former Dukes played in front of the Byzantine Empire and also in front of the Roman Papacy. As long as certain Popes tried to establish alliances with the Byzantine Empire against the Normans, the male lion nature had shown its rough face in politics, while Franconorman noble families that founded, supported and patronized Latin as well as Greek monasteries, especially in Sicily, were not unlike the female lion nature, as long as they could grant the material existence of the founded monasteries. Not only lions represented royal and sometimes spiritual power, Norman churches were also full of similar references to the *bestiaries*, like eagles, elephants, and

[20]Isidor of Seville (1911, librum XII, cap. 2: De Bestiis, 5). A 9th century redaction can be studied in the facsimile of St. Gall, MS 232 (p. 45), available at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0232/45/large (accessed 19 August 2011).

rather fabulous creatures as the griffon which was imagined as a gigantic bird with a lion body—tall enough to grab elephants and to smash them on the ground from a great height (see the mosaic fragment on the floor of the Trani cathedral in fig. 11).

Figure 11: Fight between a Griffon and an Elephant
Mosaic Fragment in the Trani Cathedral

Another cathedral, built on the foundations of a paleochristian church according to the model of the Barese Basilica di S. Nicola, added a griffon with royal attributes to the original mosaics of the former church, but close to the main entrance on West front (fig. 12).

Figure 12: Griffon on the Escavated Floor Mosaic
Cattedrale di S. Maria Assunta (Bitonto)

0.2.2 Paleochristian Elements

The griffon was probably taken from Late Roman sculptures which show griffons in hunting scenes killing deers rather than elephants.

Norman cathedrals also integrated older layers of the paleochristian period, as they were usually constructed on the foundations of older architecture. This is not only true for the Bitonto cathedral, where recent excavations discovered fragments of a geometric mosaic floor which—as a whole—had once probably appeared like the floor in a mosque covered with little tapestries as they were used for prayers. The older layers, as they were conservated in the church of the former Archdiocese in Canosa, include columns and mosaics of a paleochristian basilica similar to those in Late Roman settlements like Ostia or Pompei.

0.2.3 Arab Elements

Figure 13: Copper Doors of the Cathedral S. Sabino (Canosa)

The most astonishing aspect of the Apulian romanesque style are contributions which are clearly ascribable to Arab craftmen. In this respect the architecture in central Apulia anticipates the constructions built during the reign of Roger II, and represented the starting point of the whole development of a civilization in Norman Italy which allowed a symbiosis among different religions similar to the reign and the court culture of Andalusia and of its provinces in North Africa.

The copper doors of S. Sabino di Canosa combine iconographic compositions of the local Christian tradition (already a combination of Western and

Eastern elements) with the artistic Arabic calligraphy which creates images within scripture according to a rigid understanding of Mosaic law, which prohibits the iconic representation of the divine (fig. 13).

Figure 14: Stone Windows in the Central Nave of the Cathedral S. Maria Assunta (Bitonto)

Another example might be the Cattedrale di S. Maria Assunta in Bitonto which follows in its construction the three nave basilica, as it was later realized in the Basilica di S. Nicola of Bari—the original construction was later expanded by two side aisles. The cathedral of Bitonto was not just a simple copy of the Barese Basilica, it outranged not only the model by its old mosaics inside, but also visibly outside, because the light inside came through stone windows in the upper central nave—a sculptural craftship well-known in the traditional houses (*caravanserai*) of Damascus and Aleppo. The stone is sculptured like a curtain, and each stone window of the central nave is designed in a unique way, different from the others (fig. 14).

0.2.4 Byzantine Elements

As usual, the Occident's need to imitate the Orient—especially the Greek Christian civilization—was much higher than vice versa. On a first sight it looks like the "irony of fate" or "of history" that a political enemy, as Boemondo Altavilla was for Byzantine authorities, was buried in such a Byzantine tomb as his mausoleum at the Southern wall of the cathedral of Canosa (fig. 15).

But he was not an exception among the earlier crusaders who usually benefitted and profitted from the culture which they once attacked. The early crusaders were also the ones who comdemned the later crusaders of the 12th century for their uncivilized and violent way of fighting—especially

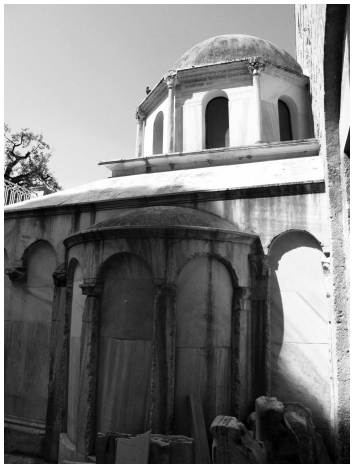

Figure 15: Boemondo's Mausoleum at the Cathedral S. Sabino (Canosa)

concerning violence against the local civil population.

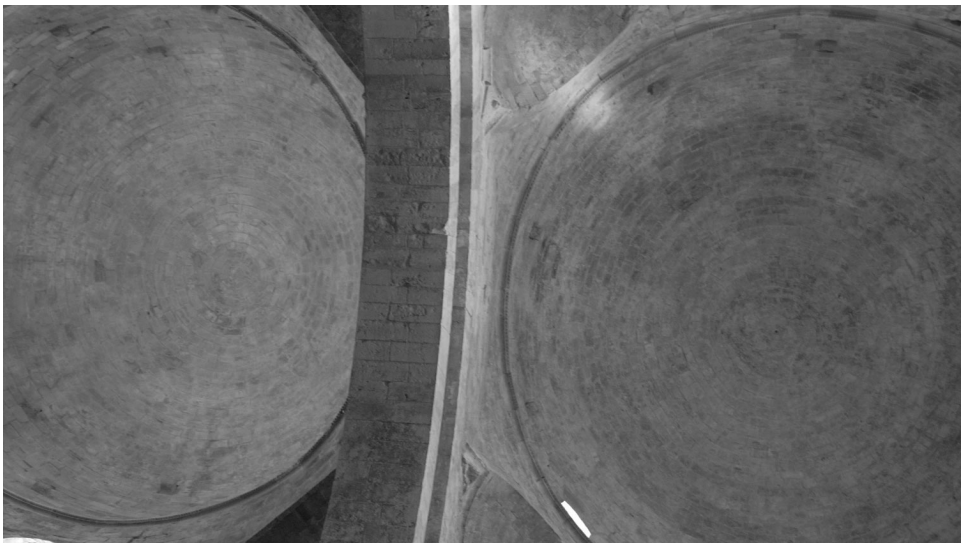

Figure 16: The Two Main Domes Constructed in Octogonal Towers
Cathedral Maria SS. Assunta in Cielo (Molfetta)

Another example of sacral architecture imitating Byzantine architecture which was very eclectic and very original at the same time, is the Duomo di S. Corrado, or concattedrale of Molfetta, built during the second half of the 12th century and originally dedicated to Maria SS. Assunta in Cielo, before a later cathedral usurped its name. The central-plan church used the same dome construction as the Cattedrale di S. Sabino in Bari (fig. 7), but without combining it with the roof construction of a basilica (fig. 16).

0.3 The Ambo and Its Role in the Greek and Latin Rite

The final part of this essay is dedicated to the *ambo*—a central feature in the architecture of the Apulian romanesque style and in the liturgy of Southern Italy, be it the "Greek" or the "Latin rite". Concerning the Greek, rite André Jacob studied the particular role of the *ambo* in certain prayers of the *euchologia* used during the 12th and 13th century.[21] Concerning the Latin rite, the *ambo* is recognized in the illuminations of the "Exultet roll" which reflect its decorative function during the ritual. Easter candles are lit, while the diacon is reciting the local prayers from the roll. The read parts hang down from the *ambo* with the text and notation upside down and the illuminations are turned the other way round, so that the community can see them properly.[22] The usual form of the *ambo* shows the roll laying over an eagle in front of the reader—the common form in the Apulian romanesque style as it is also conserved in the cathedral of Bitonto (fig. 17).

Figure 17: The Cathedral of Nicolaus Magister
The Ambo of the Cathedral S. Maria Assunta (Bitonto)

[21] Jacob (1966, 1967).

[22] In the Roll 1 (Bari, Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Exultet 1) which belongs to the Bari type. There are also illuminations which change their meaning according to the direction from which we look at them. At the beginning of this roll there is a double-headed illumination surrounded by four angels. Seen from the point of view of the reader on the *ambo*, it represents God, seen from the angle of the community it represents His son, Jesus Christ. The illumination of this Latin liturgical roll is somehow a comment to the dogmatic debate about the "filioque"...

Although the majority of Exultet rolls were written at the Abbey of Montecassino, often in a quite original and extravagant style, there is a particular "Bari type" which testifies a very unique tradition for the resurrection feast in the local cathedral rite. It also testifies that the destroyed cathedral had a *cyborium*, not in the usual shape present in the later Apulian romanesque style (fig. 1), as we know it from both the main churches of Bari today, but in a Constantinopolitan shape. The "Exultet roll I" dates back to the beginning of the 11th century, when the palace and the cathedral of Byzantine Bari still existed. As the illuminations of these rolls are usually precise, concerning the architectonic forms as the *ambo* and the *cyborium*, the roll "Exultet 1" presumably testifies the interior of the only Byzantine cathedral of Bari before the construction of the *Hodegetria* cathedral since 1035 (fig. 18).

Figure 18: The Lecture of the Exultet Roll in Bari (early 11th century)
Bari, Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Exultet 1

Another "Benedizionale" roll conservated at the "Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano" shows that special ceremonies of Holy Saturday were connected with baptism. In an 11th-century gradual of S. Sophia in Benevento (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 40, fol. 19) the mass for Holy Saturday contains an *exaposteilarion* for the dismissal of the "cathechumeni", but not—as usual—after the scriptual readings. Here the dismissal is at the beginning of the mass and corresponds to the later baptism song used as an *offertory*.[23] It is evident that this liturgy was connected with the practice of

[23]According to Kenneth Levy (1970), the mass of the Easter vigil as written in Beneventan graduals is part of the Ravenna Chant of Aquilea and Croatia.

baptism in the context of a local cathedral rite similar to that of Ravenna.[24] The "Benedizionale" of Bari confirms this practice also for the Byzantine cathedral of Bari, but here it can be be found in a separate roll—obviously used for the baptism of Latin Christians.[25] After the cathechumeni are dismissed, it follows a short oration of the diacon, followed by the answer of the community or of the choir, and after the confirmation "Dignum et iustum est.", the diacon shows a picture of a baptism scene. One of the Eastern candles is dipped into the baptistery, before the baptism is performed (fig. 19).

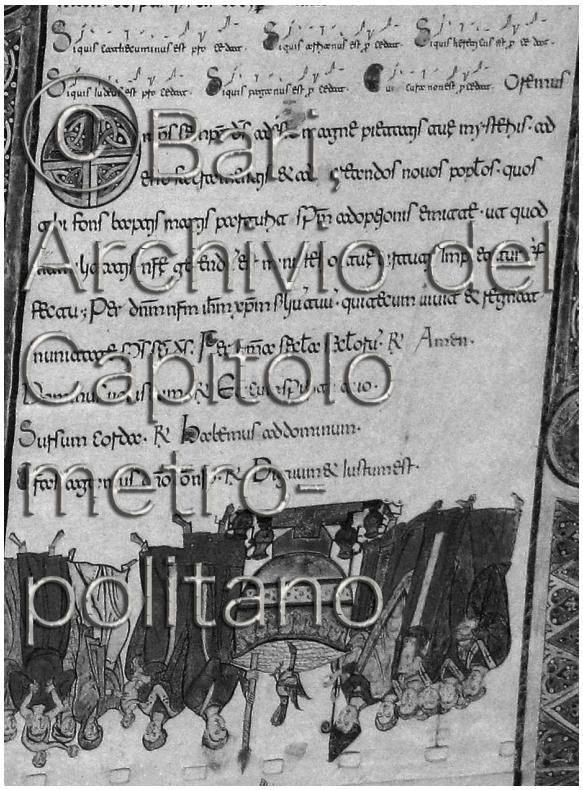

Figure 19: Dimissal of Cathechumeni and Oratio preceding the Ceremony of Baptism (Bari, Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Benedizionale)

[24] I discussed this particular mass and its Byzantine elements in a paper during the Conference "Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel Medioevo" in December 2010. My contribution will be published in the proceedings, released by Viella Editrice in Rome.

[25] The use of a Latin liturgical roll in combination with Byzantine books has also been testified for the Greek monastery S. Maria Nea e dei SS. Giovanni Battista e Giovanni Evangelista, patronized by the Catepano (note 4). Hence, the existence of this manuscript offers no evidence that only the Latin rite was celebrated in the Byzantine cathedral. It is probably helpful to regard its liturgy as something unique, which integrated the local tradition, rather than replacing it by liturgical habits of Rome or Constantinople—similarly to some local Greek liturgies in contemporary Venice.

The baptistery is the oldest layer of the Cattedrale di S. Sabino today. According to codicological studies of the Greek manuscripts, a grown interest for different sources (liturgical as well as those with scientific or philosophical treatises) developed late about the end of the Norman period.[26] But it is certainly misleading to draw too many conclusions about it. Manuscripts with systematic music notation can hardly be found before the 12th century, because notation has developed later than in Latin manuscripts—medieval musicians did never really need it. This does not necessarily mean that a prestigious tradition like the Byzantine cathedral rite did not exist in Byzantine Italy before 1200. But it means that famous manuscripts like the trilingual psalter in Greek, Latin, and Arabic (MS 5786 of the Harley collection) were not meant for a specifically liturgical use, but rather created as part of a didactic project of the Royal Court in Palermo.[27]

This explains why Italian libraries contain today the oldest collection of chant books used for the Byzantine cathedral rite (*asmatika, psaltika, kontakaria*), although they were written when this tradition did no longer exist in Constantinople.[28] Nevertheless, Byzantine culture in Italy kept a conservative and old-fashioned attitude and never followed the later trends emerged during the Palaiologan dynasty without a certain reservation.[29]

Today there are only two *asmatika* which contain the *cherouvikon*, and these books do not say much about its performing practice, and the major part of the text, sung by a soloist alternating with the right choir and its leader *domestikos*, did not survive in the Italian *psaltika* or *kontakaria*.[30] In comparison with a late Constantinopolitan *akolouthiai*, which is certainly a document of a late reception, it is not only possible to reconstruct all the parts, but also the rubrics of the *typikon*.

In the *akoulouthiai* written in 1453—probably after the collapse of the Empire—a rubric describes the first change between the right choir and the soloist replacing the left choir called "monophōnaris":

> εἶ τὰ ἀνέρχη καὶ ὁ μονοφωνάροις ἐπὶ ἄμβωνος· λέγων: [31]

So the *monophōnaris* continues with the third line, after the choir has finished the last section over εἰκονίζοντες, and sings the rest of the *troparion*

[26] Canart and Leroy (1977); Jacob (1977).

[27] The British Library published the facsimile in the internet, available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5786 (accessed 5 September 2011).

[28] In 1204, three years after the conquest by Western crusaders, the Patriarchate and the Court went into exile in Nikaia.

[29] I never found any indication that an Italo-Greek monastery ever used the new book *akolouthia* since the 14th century, also the diary by Athanasios Chalkeopoulos never mentions this book, but it mentions *asmatika, kontakaria*, and *psaltika*. This conservative attitude corresponds to other parts of the Empire outside Constantinople.

[30] Both *asmatika* are preserved in Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia greca: Γ.γ.I (fol. 34'-35') and Γ.γ.VII (fol. 149-150').

[31] Athens, National Library, MS 2406, fol. 237'.

"from the ambo". In comparison with this late kalophonic version of the "cherouvikon asmatikon", the versions in the Italian *asmatika*, one from the 1220s, the other in a later appendix added by the end of the 14th century, are much shorter. While the earlier version is quite conventional in comparison with other contemporary *asmatika*, the latter combines *kalophōnia*—sections over asmatic or abstract syllables—with abbreviated passages during which the text is set into music in a rather syllabic way (fig. 20). In comparison with the right choir and the *teretismoi* of the *domestikos* in the *akolouthiai* of Constantinople, the part of the later Italian *asmatikon*, although much longer than the earlier version, is probably a tenth of the choir part written in the *akolouthiai*, while the part of the *monophōnaris* which can only be studied in the *akolouthiai*, has no passages using *teretismoi*. These manuscripts give some evidence that Byzantine Italy continued to exist for a long time after the political expulsion—also in churches which are supposed to have celebrated the Latin Rite. So Italobyzantine scribes had obviously preserved the tradition of the cathedral rite with a very distinct attitude as well towards Rome as towards Constantinople.

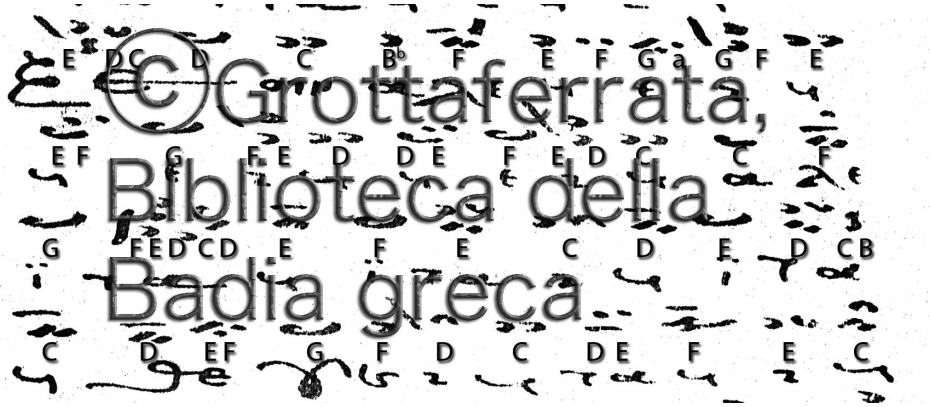

Figure 20: Teretismos (of the Domestikos?) before the Final Allēlouiarion Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Γ.γ.VII, fol. 150

0.4 Conclusion

Just to answer my initial question, there is still a lot of work to be done—but there is no doubt that Bari as a centre was at least as important as SS. Salvatore and its cathedral in Messina. The questions which have still to be answered, concern not only the Greek rite in Byzantine foundations as the Palatine chapel, the monastery S. Maria Nea e dei SS. Giovanni Battista e Giovanni Evangelista, and the church S. Nicola de Monte, but also the rite celebrated in rather representative churches and how they could integrate the traditions of Norman, of Beneventan and of Italo-Byzantine chant—

and how Bari had become a model for the co-existence of these different traditions in Southern Italy, before the town was destroyed in 1156. Perhaps answers to these questions should be looked for in sources such as polemic reports or diaries of travellers containing descriptions of certain ceremonies. These sources are less normative, but despite their subjective and polemic nature they are often much more precise, if we want to know what really happened during the divine services instead of what was supposed to happen. Those sources could lead to a deeper understanding of the music manuscripts, whether hey contain a synagogal chant transcribed into Beneventan neumes or a kalophonic composition about the *akrosticha* dedicated to S. Nicola di Bari.

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